VIKRAMA VOLUME

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Lieutenant-General His Highness Maharaja Sir JIWAJIRAO SCINDIA,
G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., Alijah Bahadur.

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MESSAGE.

The great King Vikramaditya of revered memory has, in Indian history and legend, been the emblem of valour, chivalry, patriotism, love of learning and culture. Around his heroic personality have been woven tales of great deeds nobly done, fabulous gifts so generously bestowed, and the cultivation of ancient Arts and Sciences so liberally patronised. King Vikram also figures as the great patriot who freed ~~the motherland~~ from the tyranny and bondage of the blood-thirsty foreigner—the Shakas. Through him came not only freedom from oppression and slavery but he also heralded the renaissance of Indian Art, Literature, and Science and won a high place for this ancient land in the comity of Nations.

A grateful country has enshrined the memory of this great personage by naming an era after him and enthroning him to

immortal glory in the annals of history. His name stands for all that is great and good in our traditional history while in folklore he stands for justice and fair-play.

It is a matter of great pride and joy to me that a tribute is being paid to the sacred memory of this great King in the form of a series of commemoration volumes published by the Vikram Bimillenium Celebrations Committee, Gwalior. The volume in English has been edited by a savant whose scholarship in every way equals the magnitude of the task. No better person than Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerji could have been chosen for this important work. I have much pleasure in commending this scholarly work as a befitting memorial to the great statesman-warrior. I hope its contents will inspire the present generation to greater efforts in the fields of arts, sciences and culture to the everlasting glory of our beloved motherland.

PREFACE

The 2000th year of the Vikrama Era was rightly regarded as a memorable occasion in the long and glorious traditions of Indian history and culture. Emperor Vikramaditya who has been glorified as an emblem of valour, chivalry and justice in legend and literature had, it is said, his capital at Ujjayini or Avantika. Since this city was in modern times included in the former Gwalior State (now the United State of Gwalior, Indore and Malwa or Madhya Bharat), a proposal to celebrate the Vikrama Bimillenium on a befitting scale received the gracious approval and patronage of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia. A Committee was constituted in 1943 A. D. for this purpose of which the undersigned had the honour of being the General Secretary. An ambitious plan for celebrating the historic occasion was drawn up and was well on the way of implementation. As Providence would have it the celebrations could not be held. It was, however, found possible to continue with the scheme to publish commemoration volumes in Hindi, Marathi and English. Commemoration volumes in the first two languages have been published earlier. The English volume which has been edited

by a scholar of the eminence of Dr. R. K. Mukerji of the Lucknow University is being published now. It is hoped that the scholarly and authoritative articles on the Vikrama Problem included in this volume will more than compensate the delay in publication. The thanks of the Committee are due to Dr. R. K. Mukerji for having kindly edited the volume and to other scholars for having contributed valuable articles to it. Thanks are also due to Mr. A. K. Shirke, Manager, A. D. Press, for having arranged to print the book in spite of various handicaps.

The publication of these commemoration volumes would not have been possible but for the generosity and patronage of Lt.-General His Highness Maharaja Sir Jiwajirao Scindia to whom the Committee is particularly grateful.

Varsha Pratipada,
Samvat 2006,
(30th March 1949).

YUDHISHTHIR BHARGAVA;
Secretary.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

The year 1943 marked the year 2000 of Vikrama Era and the whole of Hindu India was stirred to celebrate the occasion. There were many local celebrations of the event at different centres, and a central celebration was held by the All-India Hindu Mahāsabhā at Amritsar in December 1943, which was opened by the then Minister of the Panjab Government Sir Manohar Lal and presided over by my humble self. But there was a keen popular demand in the whole country that His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, as the ruler of the region with its city of Ujjayinī associated with King Vikramāditya of old, should also make his princely contribution to the Vikrama Bi-Millennium Celebration on a fitting scale. A Manifesto was issued by distinguished Indian leaders under the auspices of the Government of Gwalior, pointing out that "a celebration of the 2000th anniversary of the commencement of the Vikrama Era would not be out of place especially at a time when India is culturally in the transitional stage, and when, with a view to forging the metal of things to come, a careful valuation of the materials of the past is much to be desired."

The Government of Gwalior decided that a most suitable form of the Vikrama Celebration should be

"the publication of a Commemoration Volume containing articles by eminent scholars on any subject connected with the following broad divisions, *viz.*, (*a*) The (Mālava) Vikrama Era in Indian History; (*b*) King Vikramāditya in Indian History; and (*c*) Ujjain as a centre of India's History and Culture through the ages."

The Government of Gwalior also set up a Central Committee for the Vikrama Second Millennium Celebrations and was pleased to appoint me as the General Editor of the projected Vikrama Volume.

I have much pleasure in now presenting the Volume before the public. The delay in its publication has been caused by the conditions created by the War and the resulting difficulties of printing due to shortage of paper.

It is a source of great gratification to me as the Editor of the Volume that it has been able to attract so many learned articles from scholars who are acknowledged authorities on the topics and themes on which they have written. These deal with every possible aspect connected with the subject-matter prescribed for the Volume. I owe special acknowledgement to everyone of the contributors to the Volume for the readiness and promptitude with which his promised contribution was sent. My only regret is that the Press and the Executive concerned were not as ready and prompt in printing off the articles as they came.

The promoters of the Scheme were not unmindful of the inherent difficulty of their task. In their Manifesto they state: "A large part of India has for many centuries recorded the passage of time by the Saṁvat reckoning, according to which the present

year is Saṁvat 2000. Traditionally, the name of King Vikramāditya is associated with the commencement of this Era, and there is a wide-spread belief that the capital of that ancient hero-king was in the vicinity of the present city of Ujjain, in Gwalior State....Whatever be the basis of the above tradition in historic fact, it seems certain that such a cultural centre did exist, and the Vikrama Era dates from the time when its creator held sway in or near Ujjain."

Thus the entire Vikrama Celebration has been inspired by tradition, a romance of History, but a romance which has influenced the national mind of India as much as the actual facts of life or historic realities and movements.

The Editor's task is the difficult one of assessing and appraising the varied and conflicting material presented by scholars holding different views on the main topics of the Volume, and to help the reader, if possible, to his own conclusions.

Indeed, the problem of Vikramāditya is one of the most difficult controversies of Indian History. The solution of the problem is handicapped by the usual disadvantage attaching to the ancient history of the Hindus, its lack of chronological data and documents with the help of which history proper, as a record of dated facts and events, can be constructed. While we are all familiar with the Vikrama Era, and the numerous reckonings in that era through centuries of our national history, we do not yet know precisely who was the great king that founded this remarkable era adopted by so many dynasties of rulers in different provinces and periods. King Vikramāditya still remains a name and a tradition in Indian

History to whom even the most arduous research has not been able to impart its due degree of historicity.

But, in the meanwhile, we can feed our nationalism upon romance, for romance also has a reality of its own, and can in some cases influence national reconstruction more than the real characters of history. Is not Desdemona a far more real and moving character than many an actual example of womanhood, a far more inspiring example of womanly chastity than many a *Satī* in real life ? The poet creates characters which are sometimes more potent and living than real men and women in life. Ūrmilā of whom we get glimpses on rare occasions in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is an example of feminine perfection for all time, no matter whether she was the real consort of heroic Lakshmaṇa.

Similarly, Vikramāditya is our great heroic and representative character round whom is woven a cycle of legends, the centre of our national hopes and aspirations of which he stands out through the ages as their unique embodiment. We associate with that romantic name the great Indian ruler who waged successfully the war of Indian independence against the foreign domination of the Śakas and earned for himself the abiding title of *Śakāri.* We look upon him as an unexampled patron of learning who gathered round his court a galaxy of master-minds, the Nine Gems or literary celebrities, each of whom was an unrivalled genius in his own sphere of creative art and shed his lustre of learning and culture on his age. We can well imagine what would be the accumulated effect of the combined lights of all these Nine Gems put together, the dazzling glare and glory of learning which to this day illumines India's literary firmament.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

Vikramāditya stands out also as the embodiment of the spirit of Indian independence at its best and highest, one who gave to India a sense of her national unity by achieving her political unification as a *Chakravartī* sovereign, but a sovereign who believed more in an empire of righteousness than in an empire won by force and maintained by violence.

As a student of history, I can only say that there is a historical sovereign who approximates very closely to what tradition records about Vikramāditya. He may be taken to be the great Gupta sovereign Chandra Gupta II, who was so fond of assuming the title of Vikramāditya on his coins and other titles based on *Vikrama* or prowess as the distinguishing feature of his personality. Thus he calls himself a "*Siṁha-Vikrama*", "*Ajita-Vikrama*", and even "*Vikramāṅka*".

But apart from titles, King Chandra Gupta II also corresponds to Vikramāditya of tradition as a Śakāri, the invincible adversary of the Śaka rulers of India, of whom he rid his motherland by his crushing conquests. Lastly, we may say that the great Gupta emperor also believed in other ideals, cultural and social, which are associated with the traditional Vikrama.

Even V. Smith has recorded his conclusion that "India was never governed better in the oriental manner than it was under this king." His opinion was based upon the record of the Chinese traveller, Fa-hien, who testifies to the remarkable degree of material and moral progress achieved by India under Chandra Gupta's beneficent administration. Fa-hien saw with his own eyes hundreds of educational institutions imparting the highest knowledge to their resident students who numbered thousands

at each of these institutions. Even the frontier region of Swat Valley counted as many as 500 colleges, while the residential colleges in the Panjab counted a total of 10,000 students.

Lastly, the country was endowed with an adequate apparatus of public works of utility of different kinds, free hospitals, rest-houses giving free board and lodging to travellers, *Dharmaśālās* offering all possible amenities to the poor, and schools and colleges giving to their students free board, lodging, medicine, and tuition (See Article No. 15 adapted from a chapter in my work on *Gupta Empire* just published by Hind-Kitabs, Bombay).

Without losing ourselves in difficult chronological controversies, let us build up our national history on the basis of some of its romances which are more powerful formative forces than some of its actual events.

The present position of the controversy regarding the Vikrama problem may be now briefly stated. In this English Vikramāditya Volume have been brought together special articles written by learned scholars dealing with the various aspects and different points of the problem. The way to the solution of the problem is to comprehend the problem in all its possible bearings. Accordingly, the total Vikramāditya tradition in its different versions has to be critically examined and accurately recorded. This has been done by different scholars contributing to the Volume learned articles dealing with the Vikramāditya tradition in Sanskrit, Jain, and Prakrit works. A critical study of this vast and varied tradition provides the basis upon which proper trustworthy history can be constructed out of its material.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

As the General Editor of the Volume, I may sum up briefly some of the facts, arguments and conclusions adduced by different scholars towards the construction of such a history.

Time was when Vikramāditya was denied recognition as a historical person, in spite of the vast volume of literary and oral tradition testifying to his historicity, on the ground that there was hardly any epigraphic evidence to support the literary. Of late, however, there has been a change in that attitude by the consideration that a long-continued tradition which was, moreover, by its vitality capable of growth in time, must have had its roots in some kind of reality to sustain it. This view has been held by several Western Scholars like Drs. Franklin Edgerton, Sten Konow, E. J. Rapson, and several others.

The Vikramāditya tradition, as will be seen from some of the papers on the subject, is made up of two elements, one of which is predominantly supernatural and the other more historical. The miraculous powers of the hero are generally emphasised in the Sanskrit stories such as *Vetālapañchaviṁśati* and *Dvātriṁśatputtalikā*. These try to make out the king as a superman. The corrective is, however, applied by the Jain works which take him as a real historical personage whose father, Gardabhila, lost the kingdom of Ujjayinī to the Śaka invaders. But he recovered the lost kingdom of his father and reigned in glory for sixty years, as is stated, for instance, in the Jain work Merutuṅga's *Therāvalī*. This work also attempts a chronological history of the times, assigning to Vikramāditya a reign of sixty years from 57 B. C., the starting-point of the era founded by him. As has been shown by Dr. R. C. Majumdar (Article No. 13), Merutuṅga's version of

history is not entirely out of keeping with the history derived from other sources. For instance, in the age of Vikramāditya, while the Sātavāhanas were ruling in the Deccan, the Śakas were already penetrating into its neighbouring regions. Their leader Chashṭana founded his kingdom in Western India and its capital at Ujjain. There is nothing inherently improbable in an Indian king coming into conflict with the Śakas and trying to rid his country of foreign rule.

Much is made of the fact that there is no contemporary evidence testifying to his existence, such as a coin or an inscription. But such evidence is also lacking for some of the great kings of early age such as Chandragupta Maurya, or his son Bindusāra, or the Śuṅga king Pushyamitra, or an earlier king like Mahāpadma Nanda, whose historicity is taken to be established on the evidence of literary works, foreign and Indian. At the most, we should keep King Vikramāditya for the time being on the waiting list, pending fuller examination of the legends that have gathered round him through the ages, instead of exploding him completely.

The next point of doubt and controversy regarding Vikramāditya and his connection with the Vikrama era is that this connection appears much later after its starting point and grew up by a gradual process. But this fact by itself should not lead to any definite conclusion. The Śaka era, for instance, labours under the same disadvantage, the earliest inscription using the name Śaka along with the era of 78 A. D. being dated as late as 500 of that era. Besides, the name of the founder of the Śaka era is not mentioned in any one of the numerous inscriptions dated in that era. In some inscriptions, even

the name of the era is the composite name *Śalivāhana-Śaka*. The same kind of epigraphic practice is also seen in the case of the Gupta era. Most of the Gupta inscriptions omit the name of the Gupta era. A few mention the era as *Gupta-Kāla*, while the larger number refer to the era as merely *Saṁvat*, or *Varsha*, or *Abda*. At the same time, like the inscriptions of the Śaka era, the inscriptions in the Gupta era do not mention the name of the King who founded the era, nor even the fact that a Gupta King was the founder of that era, and yet these facts are not taken to militate against the conclusion that the Śaka era dates from the reign of Kanishka I and the Gupta era from that of Chandra Gupta I. Mr. R. V. Patwardhan (Article No. 18) further points out that very often eras are started not by the heroes associated with them but by their followers, as in the case of Hejira of Islam or Śālivāhana-Śaka era.

The epigraphic position on the subject may be usefully summarised at the outset. Mr. Harihar Niyas Dvivedi (Article No. 6) has given the entire epigraphic material which makes his article very useful to the reader and for the Volume. The earliest inscription which first uses the Vikrama Era bears the date of 898 V. S. (*Kālasya Vikramākhyasya*). The inscriptions of later dates use such expressions as *Śrīmad-Vikrama-nṛipa-Kāla*, *Śrī-nṛipa-Vikrama-Saṁvat*, *Vikrama-Saṁvat*; also *Vikramāditya-bhūbhṛitaḥ* (Udaipur, V. S. 1028), *Vikramāditya-Kāle* (Vasantagaḍh, V. S. 1099), *Śrī-Vikramādityotpādita-Saṁvatsara* (Navsari, V. S. 1131).

Thus these inscriptions mention *Vikrama* Saṁvat by name, that it was named by a King (*nṛipa*) named Vikrama, and that it was founded (*utpādita*) by him. They also assume the date of 57 B. C. as the date of

its commencement. The difficulty which Epigraphists feel on the subject is that the name of Vikrama Era first receives its mention after a lapse of about 1,000 years from the date of its commencement.

Indeed, the epigraphic history of the Vikrama Era is somewhat curious. An era called by a different name *Kṛita* is mentioned in inscriptions dated V. S. 282 (Udaipur), 284 (Jaipur State), 295 (Do.), 335 (Do.), and 428 (Bijayagaḍh).

Next, the Mandasoṛ (Gwalior State) inscription of 461 V. S. first records the curious fact that the era designated (*saṁjñita*) as *Kṛita* was handed down (*āmnāta*) by the Sovereign (*Srī*) Republic (*Gaṇa*) of the Mālavas. The Gaṅgdhār inscription of 480 V. S. mentions the *Kṛita* era, but the Nagarī (Udaipur State) inscription of 481 V. S. mentions the *Kṛita* era as identical with the Mālava era (*Kṛiteshu asyām Mālava-pūrvāyām*).

The second Mandasor inscription of 493 V. S. drops the name *Kṛita* era which it calls *Mālava* era. The third Mandasor inscription of 524 V. S. uses the expression *vikhyāpake Mālava-vaṁśa-kīrteḥ* and thus mentions the Mālava era as commemorative of the *Kīrti* or fame of the Mālava clan (*Vaṁśa*). A fourth Mandasor inscription of V. S. 589 uses the expression *Mālava-gaṇasthitivaśāt kālajñānāya likhiteshu*. It refers to the Kāla or Era which is to be understood or reckoned in accordance with the system (*sthitivaśāt*) established by the Mālava-*gaṇa*. The term *Sthiti* is used in the Smriti texts, *e. g.*, *Nārada* (X. I), in the sense of an established custom which is also called *Samaya* and *Saṁvit*, the fundamental agreement or constitution upon which a corporation is founded. Thus the above expression should mean the reckoning of time in accordance

with the established law and constitution (*Sthiti*) of Mālava Republic, which means reckoning in the Mālava era. Another inscription of 795 V. S. uses the expression *Saṁvatsara...Mālaveśānām*, which implies that the Mālava era was founded by the Chiefs of the Mālavas.

It will thus be seen that, as Dr. A. S. Altekar points out (Article No. 1), it is not possible to argue that the Vikrama, Mālava and Kṛita eras are different, for it is well known that the dates of these eras are confirmed only if they are referred to the era founded in 57 B. C. Later, as we have seen, these three eras, *Kṛita*, *Mālava* and *Vikrama*, which had a common starting point, had their separate names merged in a common name, *viz.*, the *Vikrama* Era.

It may be noted in this connexion that the word *Gaṇa* should not in my view be taken as *gaṇanā* or reckoning, as some scholars are inclined to take. For, it is a technical term for a republic on which the *Mahābhārata* (*Śāntiparvan*) contains a regular disquisition. That the Mālavas were a republican people was known even in the older times of Pāṇini who refers to the Mālavas as an *āyudhajīvi-Saṅgha*, a *Saṅgha* who lived by the profession of arms (V. 3. 114). Later, the Greek writers on Alexander's campaigns in the Panjab also have referred to the *Malloi* or Mālavas as a republican people who offered the most stubborn resistance to Alexander, in alliance with the sister community of the Oxydrakai or Kshudrakas, and they both pooled their military resources in a federal fighting force known as early as the time of Pāṇini as *Kshaudraka-Mālavī Senā* (IV. 2. 45). The term *Sthiti* is the legal term for the Constitution in the Smṛiti texts, as already stated, so that the expression

Mālava-Gaṇa-Sthiti admits of only one interpretation and should mean the constitution of the Mālava republic or *Gaṇa.*

Another epigraphic difficulty centres round the meaning of the term *Kṛita.* Dr. A. S. Altekar (Article No. 1) takes it to be the name of an individual, a General or President of the Mālava *Gaṇa*, a name that is known as the name of a god, of the son of Vasudeva and Rohiṇī, and even the name of a king in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Penzer, III. 19), and so forth. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (Article No. 4) answers him by pointing out that in none of the inscriptions the usual honorific *Śrī* has been prefixed to *Kṛita* as it should have been if he were a Chief or a General. Besides, the expression in the Nāndsā inscription, '*Kṛitayor=dvayoḥ śatayor* etc.', cannot be taken to mean 'of 200 rulers named Kṛita'. It clearly means 282 years in the Kṛita era. Dr. Bhandarkar takes the Kṛita years to be years of the *Kṛita Yuga,* which he supposes to have been inaugurated by Pushyamitra as a Brāhmaṇa King whose date is to be altered from the accepted date of 180 B. C. assumed on the basis of the Purāṇas to 75 B. C. in the light of the Ayodhyā inscription written in characters of the first century A. D. and issued by Dhanadeva who was sixth in descent from Senāpati Pushyamitra and may be assigned to 75 A.D. He goes so far as to assume that Pushyamitra corresponds to the description of Kalkī Avatāra in the *Mahābhārata* describing how he would exterminate the Dasyus, perform *Aśvamedha,* and give back the earth to Brāhmaṇas.

There is again a view that the term *Kṛita* may be taken to mean the year which is not current but elapsed (*atikrānta*). But it is difficult to reconcile it with the expression—'*Mālava-gaṇāmnāte Kṛitasaṁjñite*'.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

Dr. D.C. Sircar (Article No. 24) puts the epigraphic position on a different and totally new footing. Firstly, he points out that before the Christian era India had no popular and regular era of her own and of indigenous origin. Aśoka, for instance, had his dates counted from his *abhisheka* or coronation. The use of an era was popularised in India by foreigners. Secondly, Dr. Sircar thinks that the Scytho-Parthian era used in the inscriptions of Gondopharnes, Maues, Soḍāsa and others is to be identified with the Vikrama-Saṁvat of 58 B. C. and that it was connected with the tradition of King Vikrama, whom he takes to be Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya (A. D. 376-414), about the eighth century A. D. Thirdly, he holds that the Kanishka era is to be identified with the *Śakābda* of 78 A. D. which was named after the Śakas owing to the Śaka Satraps of Western India using the era continuously for a long time.

Another difficulty in the way of establishing the historicity of King Vikrama and his era is that the inscriptions show the continuity of Śaka rule in Ujjayinī from the time of Chashṭana (*c.* A.D. 78-110) up to that of Rudra Siṁha III whose coins show that he had ruled up to at least 390 A. D. till he was killed by Chandra Gupta II who thus earned the credit of putting an end to the Śaka rule which had continued unbroken for about 300 years. There is no place for any other *Śakāri* in the true sense of the term than Chandra Gupta II who for ever exterminated the Śakas in India. At best, the earlier *Śakāri* of 57 B. C. was not able to crush the power of the Śakas except for a short period.

In this connexion may be considered the view of the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal that Vikramāditya

is to be identified with the Āndhra king named Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (*c.* 106-130 A. D.). No doubt, Gautamīputra *was* a *Śakāri* who avenged himself on the Kshaharāta Śaka king Nahapāna (*c.* 118-124 A. D.) by defeating him and recovering the Āndhra territories conquered by him. In the year 19 (A. D. 149) of his reign, King Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi issued his Nasik Cave Inscription which describes Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi as the exterminator of the Kshaharāta dynasty (*Khakha-rāta-vasa-niravasesa-karasa*), and "the destroyer of Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas", and details his conquests. But most of these conquests were soon lost to the Kshatrapa king Rudradāman I (A. D. 130-150) who 'twice in fair fight completely defeated his son Śātakarṇi taken as either Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇi or his brother Puḷumāvi. The Āndhra-Śaka conflict was ended by a matrimonial alliance. Their dates are also later than 57 B. C. Besides, Gautamīputra does not take the title of *Vikramāditya*, though an allusion to the title is read by some in the following words of the inscription—"*Varavārana-vikrama-chāru-vikramasya*". He also had his capital at Pratishṭhāna and not at Ujjayinī or Pāṭaliputra.

Some very original and novel evidence is given in a learned article contributed by Dr. Charlotte Krause (Article No. 11). As she points out, Jain literature, works of poetry, legends and ecclesiastical history contain references to Vikramāditya as the *Śakāri* and *Saṁvatsara-Pravartaka*. But even the dry literature of chronological and genealogical Lists of Pontiffs and their contemporaneous rulers, the Gurvāvalis and Paṭṭāvalis, etc., repeat that Vikramāditya was a historical Jain king whose Saṁvat started 470 years after Mahāvīra's Nirvāna. They

also connect the king with the Jain poet and logician Siddhasena Divākara. Verse 10 of the 22nd Prakaraṇa of the work known as *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* mentioning Kshapaṇaka as one of the Nine Gems of Vikramāditya's court may be no other than this Siddhasena also called Śrutasena in Verse 9. Besides, the two works named *Ratnasañchaya-Prakaraṇa* and *Vichārasāra-Prakaraṇa* which are taken as historical works state that Siddhasena Divākara flourished five hundred years after Mahāvīra, and Vikrama, 470 years, thus making them contemporaries.

Siddhasena's own work named *Guṇavachana-Dvātriṁśikā* throws new light on Vikrama problems. It is addressed to his royal patron in words of panegyric which can best apply to a king like Samudra Gupta whose many qualities of head and heart, of military heroism and literary art, are described so graphically in his Allahabad Pillar Inscription. A close comparison of these two documents leads Dr. Krause to identify Vikramāditya of the tradition with Samudra Gupta, the most famous of the Gupta Emperors. The reader is referred to the text of the aforesaid Jain work and its translation given by Dr. Krause in her Article.

Regarding the Jain tradition already discussed, it is to be noted that it is very late. Its most important texts date from V. S. 1200 to 1500. The main texts of this period are referred to by Prof. H. D. Velankar (Article No. 28) in his article. It seems that Vikrama was acceptable to Jain thought by degrees and stages. Some of his virtues and achievements which were connected with violence and adventure were not in keeping with Jain ideals.

Eventually he was assimilated to Jain thought. One important work named *Vikramacharitra* written by *Devamūrti* about V. S. 1475 (a MS used by Prof. Velankar) makes Vikrama as a regular devout Jain king. In fact, the Jain tradition representing Vikrama as a Jain king was a somewhat late growth, appearing after about a hundred years after the Jain king Kumārapāla.

It is noteworthy that the Jain tradition represents Vikrama as a commoner and an adventurer who conquered the kingdom of Avanti by force. He is also represented as being possessed of a spirit of abandon and generosity which made him risk his life and kingdom in the service of others. This has suggested a theory that Vikrama was the leader of *Mālava-gaṇa* and in a patriotic and generous spirit put his community before himself and allowed the Era to be called after it. Or, again, it has been held (by late Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar) that Vikramāditya with the help of the tribes headed by the Mālavas defeated the Śakas and the victory was celebrated by the Mālavas founding their era and their leader assuming the title of Vikramāditya. In later tradition, he was given his due when other kings like Chandra Gupta II began to assume the title of *Vikramāditya.*

Of all literary works, the Jain story contained in the *Kālakāchārya-Kathānaka* approximates most to acceptable history. Kālaka, a prince of Dhārā, and his sister Sarasvatī turned ascetics, and wandered about. Kālaka became the head of his *Gaṇa.* He visited Ujjayinī where the King Gardabhila confined his sister. To avenge this outrage, he sought the help of the Śakas of Sindh then known as *Śakakula* under their emperor called *Shāhānushāhi.* One of the Śaka

chiefs who lost the favour of the emperor fell in with the plan of Kālaka and became an adventurer and with the help of Kālaka was able to conquer Ujjayinī, defeating its infamous king. Then the story relates that the Śaka rule at Ujjayinī was after a short time (*kālena kiyatāpi hi*) extirpated (*uchchhedya*) by 'Rājā Srī-Vikramāditya' who became 'like a *Sārvabhauma*', King of Kings, and founded an era of his own (*vatsaram nijam*). But his dynasty (*anvaya*) was in its turn put an end to by the Śakas, after an interval of 135 years from the Vikrama era, when they founded an era of their own.

This story contains some historical elements. The Purāṇas know of a Gardabhila Dynasty as ruling in Ujjayinī. There was also Śaka rule in Sindh in the first century B. C. The terms *Śakakula* and *Shāhānushāhi* give historical touches to the legend. And it was quite probable that Śaka power extended up to Ujjayinī and roused Indian national sentiment which found its exponent in the heroic leader who liberated his sacred motherland from the yoke of foreign rule and earned the title of Vikramāditya and founded his era to mark that important victory and independence day of his nation. The weak points of the story are its references to a prince of Dhārā and King Śālivāhana of Pratishṭhāna of different known dates. The reader is referred to the details of the Jain tradition given in several Articles.

We may now examine the Sanskrit tradition regarding Vikrama. That tradition has always linked the great poet Kālidāsa with King Vikramāditya as one of the Nine Gems of his court. Kālidāsa himself hints at this connection in the title he has given to his drama *Vikramorvaśīya*, ignoring its hero who is called Purūravas. The word Vikrama is purposely

used by the poet as a veiled compliment to his patron Vikramāditya. The pun is very happy because the word Vikrama also signifies valour. This pun is used by the poet twice in the drama: (1) *Anutsekaḥ khalu Vikramālaṅkāraḥ* (Act I), "Modesty is the ornament of valour"; (2) *Dishṭyā Mahendropakāraparyāptena Vikramamahimnā vardhate bhavān*, "Congratulations to you on the greatness of valour (Vikrama) which redounds to the credit of even the great Indra."

It is difficult to miss the meaning of these suggestions which Kālidāsa throws out as a mark of his gratitude to his royal patron. Thus the date of Vikramāditya is bound up with that of Kālidāsa. But the difficulty is that one date is as uncertain as the other. But it is not impossible to assess, appraise and reduce the uncertainty of both the dates and of the persons concerned. One should not make too much of the theory that Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya should be taken as the Vikramāditya of tradition and as the person who lent the weight and dignity of his name by reviving the Vikrama era of olden times. But unfortunately the successors of Chandra Gupta II have no concern for the Vikrama era, but adhere firmly to the era founded by their own illustrious family. The Girnar Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta ignores the Vikrama era altogether and proudly refers to the Gupta era (*Guptaprakāle gaṇanām vidhāya*). This shows that no change was then known in the established manner of computing time and dating important political events. In fact, as has been ·hown above, the earliest epigraphic reference to the ikrama era is of the 9th century A.D. The fact that Chandra Gupta II did not associate himself with the Vikrama era but continued the era of his own family

shows that he cannot be easily taken as the much older Vikramāditya of tradition. On the contrary, the very fact that Chandra Gupta II thought it worth his while with all his political eminence to appropriate the title Vikramāditya should be taken to indicate that in the 4th century A. D. the title was coming back to its own. It must have been the title of a real hero whose achievements appealed to a later one following in his footsteps.

There are again several points in the Sanskrit tradition regarding Vikramāditya which cannot be easily ignored. Its best version is found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* of which the source is the *Bṛihatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya who is assigned to the 1st century A. D. and therefore had lived close to the time of Vikramāditya. Merely the fact that there is no other evidence except literary tradition regarding a king should not by itself rule out his historicity. In that case, a prominent king like Vatsarāja Udayana who exists only in tradition would become only a myth. Besides, there is nothing improbable or unreasonable in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* tradition based upon contemporary old traditions that gathered round Vikramāditya and were handed down from generation to generation. That tradition describes him as the son of Mahendrāditya of the Paramāra dynasty, emperor of Ujjain. It represents him as a devotee of Śiva, bearing the name Mālyavat, whom the gods sent down to earth to serve as the instrument for the extermination of the Mlechchhas and of the prosecution of the sacred mission for the revival of Vedic religion and social system against the prevalence of contrary creeds, anti-Vedic doctrines and practices. During his long and glorious reign he was able to achieve his mission and was able to make Malwa the stronghold of Brāh-

manical learning, religion and culture against the heretical doctrines of Buddhism and Jainism.

There was a link between such a king and Kālidāsa in the devotion of both to Śaivism. Kālidāsa could not have flourished in the atmosphere of Vaishṇavism associated with the Gupta kings.

There are also several proofs in the works of Kālidāsa to show that his time might have been earlier than the 4th or 5th century A. D. as generally assumed.

The date of Kālidāsa is a most difficult problem of history and literature because Kālidāsa himself scrupulously maintains a complete silence about his personal life and his times. His silence has given great scope to imagination and speculation on the subject. On the present occasion, we may fix beyond doubt the foundations of such speculation. The Aihole Inscription of Ravikīrti who glorifies his patron Pulakeśin II mentions Kālidāsa and Bhāravi before its date 634 A. D. Then again the Mandasor Inscription of Vatsabhaṭṭi which is dated 472 A. D. contains verses which are admittedly based upon those of Kālidāsa's *Ṛitusaṁhāra* and *Meghadūta* : *e. g.* Vatsabhaṭṭi 10=Meghadūta 66; Vatsabhaṭṭi 33=Ṛitusaṁhāra 5.9. There can be no doubt that Vatsabhaṭṭi is a poet much inferior to Kālidāsa who served as his model in composition. Therefore Kālidāsa should have lived before 472 A. D. Much is made of the mention of Diṅnāga by Kālidāsa in *Meghadūta* 14. This Diṅnāga is generally taken to be the Gupta logician assigned to the 6th century A. D. But the date of Diṅnāga itself is not settled. Keith places him not later than 400 A. D. There are also other Diṅnāgas who are not Buddhists. One such is the author of the *Kundamālā* in which he appears as a

devotee of Heramba (Gaṇeśa) and Śiva. Therefore, it may be that the Diṅnāga whom Kālidāsa had in view was other than the disciple of Vasubandhu. Another argument is based upon the description of the Digvijaya of Raghu in *Raghuvaṁśa* IV where Kālidāsa refers to the defeat of the Hūṇas on the banks of Vaṅkshu = Oxus.. It is assumed that the Hūṇas were settled in the region of the Oxus about 450 A. D. after which they made a descent on India, as stated in the Girnar Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta. Against this it is to be noted that there is a reading *Sindhu* in place of *Vaṅkshu*, and it is not reasonable to assume that, instead of describing the beauties of the river Sindhu of his own country, a patriot like Kālidāsa should enthuse over those of a distant river like the Oxus in a far-off foreign country. Besides the philological equation Vaṅkshu=Oxus is not free from doubt, while the growth of saffron which Kālidāsa mentions in this connection points to Kashmir rather than to the region of the Oxus where it is not grown.

The last point to be discussed on the subject is the chronological relationship between Aśvaghosha and Kālidāsa. Aśvaghosha was a Buddhist philosopher of the 1st century A. D. and is known as the author of two poetical works called *Saundarananda* and *Buddhacharita*. These works are full of passages which bear close resemblance to some of the passages of Kālidāsa. The best examples of these resemblances are: Verses 13-23 in the 3rd canto of the *Buddhacharita*, paralleled by Verses 56-62 in the 7th canto of the *Kumārasaṁbhava* repeated in the 6th canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*. The question of chronological priority cannot be decided on the simple basis that the cruder work must be earlier than the more

finished one. Great poets are always followed by a race of poetasters. A literary masterpiece is followed by imitations paying homage to its inimitable superiority. The true criterion for determining chronological sequence is to be found in the literary form and style of the compositions concerned. It may be noted that the first two cantos of the *Saundarananda* and the second canto of the *Buddhacharita* give vent to the poet's inordinate love of aorist forms and his anxiety to parade his mastery of grammatical rules in the manner of Bhaṭṭi and other classical writers. For instance, in *Saundarananda* I. 15 the poet seizes upon the form *mīyate* to show off his knowledge of the four different meanings which it may bear according as it is derived from *mi* to perceive, *mī* to injure, *mā* with *ni* to reap and *mi* with *pra* to die. This peculiar literary tendency towards the artificial reaches its climax in *Buddhacharita* XI. 17 where the root *av* is used in nine different senses. Kālidāsa is entirely free from this artificial mannerism and literary conceit aiming at effect, which mark later writers.

Lastly may be considered the partiality shown by Kālidāsa in his works for Avanti and its capital Ujjayinī. They also show his acquaintance with the royal court, its life and etiquette, the scope it gave for studying different classes of men flocking to the court, kings and sages, refined and cultured classes, fashionable city-folks, together with downright ascetics, sophisticated urban women and simple lasses of the countryside, servants, soldiers, fishermen, and the like. His affluent worldly circumstances due to royal patronage have shaped his psychology to which appropriate expression is found in his works of which the predominant tone and note is one of optimism induced by enjoyment of the good things of the world.

So far we have discussed the Sanskritic tradition which connects Kālidāsa with Vikramāditya. We shall now refer briefly to other points and aspects of that tradition. It has been dealt with fully by Prof. K. A. Subramania Iyer of the Lucknow University (Article No. 8). The earliest work containing a reference to Vikramāditya is the *Bṛihatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya written in Paiśāchī, but this original is lost and is traced in three Sanskrit summaries. The original, according to Winternitz, is as old as the first century A. D. and thus nearest to the time of Vikrama. It contained a cycle of stories about Vikrama, one of which is supposed to be cited by Subandhu in his *Vāsavadattā*, though its meaning is not clear. The next work referring to Vikrama is the *Saitasaī* (*Saptaśatī*) of Hāla, the Āndhra king of the Sātavāhana or Śālivāhana dynasty from whose date Winternitz takes the date of his work to be the first or second century A. D. The reference is to Vikramāditya giving a lac to his servant who helped him to destroy his enemy (*saṁvāhaṇasuharasa-tosieṇa*). Thus it mentions the tradition of Vikramāditya's generosity to which there are also references in other works.

Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* contains another tradition about the personality of Vikrama : "With the passing away of Vikramāditya, all taste has passed out of the earth now left to poetasters, just as from a dried up lake all swans disappear (*sarasīva kīrtiśesham*)."

Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* contains the interesting reference that what Āḍhyarāja (*i. e.*, Śālivāhana) was to Prakrit, Sāhasāṅka (*i. e.*, Vikramāṅka) was to Sanskrit as its patron (*Ke'bhūvan. na Āḍhyarājasya rājye Prākṛitabhāshiṇaḥ/ Kāle Śrī-Sāha-*

sāṅkasya ke na Saṁskṛitavādinaḥ//). Thus there was an established tradition in the country that Sanskrit owed most to Vikramāditya's patronage.

The *Subhāshitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* extols the *tyāga* or self-sacrifice of *Vīra-Śrīvara* Vikramāṅka for the sake of others' (*poshaṇa*).

All these stray stories spread through the country the fame of Vikramāditya for his philanthropy and patronage of learning, so that his name became a coveted title for which later kings were longing. The Vikramāditya tradition was growing and expanding till we find its complete presentation in the two Kashmiri works, the *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī* of Kshemendra (*c.* 1037 A. D.) and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva (*c.* 1081 A. D.). Following these works may be counted the *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśikā* available in five recensions containing stories related to King Bhoja of Dhārā who ruled in the first half of the 11th century A. D. These stories are different from those of the Kashmiri works and therefore help to complete the Vikramāditya tradition by their supplementary information. The work is also known by the name of *Vikramacharita* and is available in Jain recensions, showing the strength and popularity of the Vikramāditya tradition.

Two interesting works, the *Vīracharita* of Ananta and the *Śālivāhanakathā* of Śivadāsa, tell of the rivalry of the two kings as Patrons respectively of Sanskrit and Prakrit.

We may now draw a complete picture of the character of Vikramāditya on the basis of the stories contained in different literary works.

The first feature of his character is his unparalleled generosity on which so many works harp

as their common theme. A typical reference may be cited from the *Vikramacharita*: "The King's mere *look* meant a gift of a thousand to the beggar; mere *word* 10,000; a *smile*, 100,000 (*hasane laksham āpnoti*); his *satisfaction*, 1 crore (*saṁtushṭaḥ koṭido nṛipaḥ*)." "In his mind there was no distinction between *meum* and *tuum*, self and others (*tasya chetasy ayam paro'yam madīya iti vikalpo nāsti*)".

Vikrama was as well-known for his reckless generosity as for his indomitable courage which did not care for life. "In the olden time lived a king named Vikramatuṅga who never shrank from charity nor from battle with his enemy." "None was equal to him (*tatsamo nāsti*) in courage (*sāhasa*), energy (*udyama*), and patience (*dhairya*)".

The *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī* has a remarkable passage describing how Vikramāditya was the hero who saved India and her civilisation from the onslaught of foreign invaders "with their impure manners and customs (*tyaktāchārān*) and undisciplined ways (*viśṛiṅkhalān*), peoples named by the generic term Mlechchhas such as 'Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Nīchas, Hūṇas, barbarians (*barbarān*), Tushāras, Pārasīkas,' and thus relieved the country of this burden of *adharma* by a mere frown.

The tradition testifying to the Nine Gems adorning his Court is only based on the fact of his patronage drawing to it the learned men of the times. They would, in the words of Jain *Vikramacharita*, thus sing the praises of the King: "O Superman (Deva)! All the oceans which were sucked dry (*śoshitāḥ*) by the jets of flames from the consuming fire of the prowess of thy feet (*tvachcharaṇa-pratāpa-dahana-jvālāvalī*) have been refilled by the showers of tears flowing

from the eyes of thy enemies' wives (*ripuvadhū-netrāmbubhiḥ pūritāḥ*)."

Tradition also counts Vikrama as a poet whose verses are cited in works like the *Subhāshitāvali* of Vallabhadeva (1467 A. D.), the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (1363 A. D.) and a few others. A typical Vikrama verse may be cited from the *Vidyākarasahasraka* : "There is nectar in the mouth of women but poison undiluted in their hearts. That is why their lips are sucked but their breasts squeezed hard with hands."

Besides poetry, Vikrama is also credited with the authorship of a lexicographical work in *Saṁsārā-varta* and also of a *Dhanurveda* according to Bühler's *Report.*

The Jain recension of *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśikā* represents Vikrama being converted to Jainism by Siddhasena Divākara.

Lastly, it may be noted that there is a strong Sanskrit tradition regarding the Nine Gems or literary celebrities adorning the court of King Vikramāditya. A comprehensive paper on all the Nine Gems together has been contributed by Dr. B. Bhattacharyya of Baroda (Article No. 5) in his usual scholarly manner, while several learned articles have been contributed on some of the individual *Gems* by other scholars, such as Mr. S. L. Katre (Article No. 9) on the Ghaṭakarpara Problem, Mr. P. K. Gode (Article No. 7) on Dhanvantari, etc. Lists of these literary celebrities are given in the work named *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* written by the author named Gaṇaka Kālidāsa assigned to Śaka year 1164, as pointed out by Dr. Bhattacharyya. This work gives three lists of literary men associated with the court of Vikramāditya. Firstly, there is a list of what are

called *Sabhāsads*, 'those belonging to the king's court'. These were Śaṅku, Vararuchi, Maṇi, Aṅgudatta, Jishṇu, Trilochana, Hari, Ghaṭakarpara and Amarasiṁha. Then there are mentioned seven *kavis* or poets who are called *Kālatantra* for their proficiency in the science of reckoning time. These are Satya, Varāhamihira, Śrutasena, Bādarāyaṇa, Maṇittha and Kumārasiṁha. Thirdly, the Nine Literary Gems proper selected out of the previous lists are thus enumerated: Dhanvantari, Kshapaṇaka, Amarasiṁha, Śaṅku, Vetālabhaṭṭa, Ghaṭakarpara, Kālidāsa, Varāhamihira and Vararuchi. It is difficult to prove whether all these men of letters were living in the same time aud were flourishing together at the court of King Vikramāditya. But Mr. R. V. Patwardhan of Poona (Article No. 18) argues that some of these Nine Gems can be assigned to the 1st century B. C. and the traditional time and court of Vikramāditya.

In conclusion, it is my pleasant duty to make some acknowledgements. I am grateful to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior for the honour done to me by appointing me as the General Editor of this Vikramāditya Volume. I have also to record my appreciation of the valuable help rendered to me in the performance of my editorial task by Mr. S. L. Katre, Curator of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, by his sound historical scholarship and knowledge of Sanskrit and Epigraphy which have enabled him to correct the proofs of the work so thoroughly and add to the Volume an elaborate Index. I also need hardly say that, though I have singled out the names of some scholars in the course of my arguments, the value of the Volume as a record of

research in a most controversial field of Ancient Indian History is the collective outcome and product of all the articles of which it is made up. Lastly, the success of the Volume is also due to a large extent to the keen interest taken in it by Sardar K. D. Mahadik, President of the Gwalior Vikrama Celebrations Committee, and Mr. B. K. Chaturvedi, the General Secretary of the Committee, whose cultural enthusiasm and idealism were a source of great encouragement to me personally in the very agreeable literary venture I had undertaken.

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RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI
General Editor.

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THE RIDDLE OF THE VIKRAMA ERA

By

A. S. ALTEKAR, Benares

It is indeed strange that even in the year 2000 of the Vikrama Era there should be prevailing almost an impenetrable mystery about its traditional founder, and this, in spite of the research work of more than a century both by Indians and Europeans. There was indeed a time when scholars like Fergusson argued that the era was founded only in 544 A. D., to commemorate the defeat of the Hūṇas by king Yaśovardhana of Malwa and antedated by six centuries in order to give it a respectable antiquity. This view is now no longer possible, for we have discovered several inscriptions that can be clearly referred to this era and that belong to its 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries. It is therefore clear that the era does not owe its origin to a fraud sought to be practised on posterity by an ingenious conqueror of the 6th century.

There are various theories in the field about the founder and the foundation of the Vikrama era. As the era was founded by the middle of the 1st century B. C., *prima facie* it should have been started by some

king who flourished at that time. It was, therefore, argued by Sir J. Marshall that it may have been started by the Parthian king Azes, who had founded a fairly prosperous kingdom in the Punjab and Sindh by *c.* 60 B. C. It is true that Azes had founded an era, but it was known after him as the era of Azes[1], and was designated in Prakrit sometimes as the era of Aya[1] and sometimes as the era of Aja[2]. Azes did not have the title of Vikrama, and there is no evidence to show that his era had ever become current outside his dominion, say in Madhyadeśa or Rajputana or Central India.

Fleet's view that the Vikrama era was started by king Kanishka is now no longer tenable in view of the archaeological discoveries at Taxila, which clearly indicate that Kanishka flourished not sometime in the 1st century B. C. but sometime in the 1st century A. D., if not later.

Kielhorn had given his weight to the curious theory that the Vikrama era was named not after a king but after the name of the season in which its first month begins. In many parts of the country, Kārttika is the opening month of the year of the Vikrama era. This month forms part of the *Śarad* season which, according to Indian traditions, is preeminently the season for valour (*vikrama*). Kielhorn suggests that it was but natural that an era, the opening month of which fell in *Śarad* season, preeminently propitious for *vikrama*, should naturally have been known as Vikrama era[3]. We have, however, no other instance of any era being thus named after a season, and so the theory appears extremely unconvincing.

1. Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription, *E. I.*, XIV, P. 295,
2. Kalwan Inscription, *J. R. A. S.*, 1932, P. 949,
3. *I. A.*, 1891, Pp. 403 ff.

THE RIDDLE OF THE VIKRAMA ERA

One of the most obvious ways to solve the riddle of this era would be to find out how it was named in the *earliest* times. In this connection we have the evidence of inscriptions and traditions to consider and we shall first see what the first of them have to say upon the point.

Available inscriptions show that the era was no doubt known as Vikrama era and described as *Kālasya Vikramākhyasya* (in V. S. 898), *Vikramāditya-bhūbhṛitaḥ Kāle* (in V. S. 1028), *Śrīmad-Vikramādityotpāditasaṁvatsara* (in V. S. 1176)[1], showing that from the 9th century A. D. there is evidence to show that the era was believed to have been founded by a king named Vikrama, who was taken to have flourished in *c.* 57 B.C. It may, however, be noted that only about 10 to 15% of the available inscriptions of the period name it after king Vikrama; the rest simply describe it as *Saṁvat,* without associating the name of any king with it.

If, however, we examine the inscriptions of earlier centuries we find that the association of Vikrama with the foundation of this era becomes still more rare. Out of the 34 inscriptions of this era that can be referred to its 10th century, 32 describe it simply as Saṁvat; one only calls it *Vikramakāla* (Baijpur Inscription of king Vidagdharāja, V. S. 973), while another specifies it as *Mālavakāla* (Gyaraspur Inscription, dated V. S. 936). Out of the ten inscriptions of the 9th century of this era, only one refers to it as the era of Vikrama (*Kālasya Vikramākhyasya*—Dholpur Inscription, V. S. 898), while the remaining nine describe it simply as

1. In Dr. Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Indian Inscriptions,* published as an Appendix to *Epigraphia Indica,* Vols. XIX—XXIII, the reader will get all references to the inscriptions referred to in this paper.

Saṁvat. Among the seven inscriptions of the 8th century of this era, not a single genuine one gives it the name of Vikrama. The Dhinkini copper plates of Jāikadeva no doubt use the expression *Vikramasaṁvatsara-śateshu saptasu*, but the present writer has now conclusively proved that these plates are spurious[1]. The occurrence of the name Vikrama in that record therefore can no longer be used to prove that it was current in the 7th century.

As we examine still earlier inscriptions, we find that the era was known as Mālava era. We have shown above that the era was so named in the Gyaraspur inscription of 936 V. E.; this name is seen to be its popular name during the sixth century. Thus a Mandasore inscription, dated in V. E. 589, describes its date as referring to an era founded for the calculation of time in the Mālava tribe or republic (*Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt Kālajñānāya likhiteshu*).

During the 5th century, however, the era was sometimes described as Mālava era, sometimes as Kṛita era, and sometimes both as Mālava and Kṛita era. The passages in this connection may be quoted here for reference:—

1. मालवानां गणस्थित्या याते शतचतुष्टये। त्रिनवत्यधिकेऽब्दानां ऋतौ सेव्यघनस्तने ॥

—Mandasore (Malwa) Inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, V. E. 493.

2. कृतेषु चतुर्षु वर्षशतेषु एकाशीत्युत्तरेषु अस्यां मालवपूर्वायाम्।

—Nāgarī (Rajputana) Inscription, dated V. E. 481.

3. यातेषु चतुर्षु कृतेषु शतेषु।

—Gaṅgadhar (Rajputana) Inscription, V. E. 480.

1. *E. I.*, XXVI.

4. श्रीमालवगणाम्नाते प्रशस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते। एकषष्ट्यधिके प्राप्ते समाशतचतुष्टये ॥

—Mandasore (Malwa) Inscription of 461 V. E.

5. कृतेषु चतुर्षु वर्षशतेष्वष्टाविंशेषु।

—Vijayagad (Bharatpur) Inscription of 428 V. E.

But if we examine the inscriptions of the 4th and 3rd centuries of the Vikrama era we find that the name Mālava is altogether unknown and the era is described only as Kṛita era.

6-7. कृतेहि (=कृतैः) ३३५ ज्येष्ठ शु. १५; कृतेहि (=कृतैः) २८४ चैत्र शु. १५।

—Barnala (Jaipur) Yūpa Inscription of 335 and 284 V. E. (*E. I.*, XXVI., P. 118).

8-10. कृतेहि (=कृतैः) २९५ फाल्गुन शु. ५।

—Three Badava (Kotah State) Inscriptions of 295 V. E. (*E. I.*, XXIII, P. 42).

11. कृतयोर्द्वयोर्वर्षशतयोर्द्व्यशीतयोः चैत्रपूर्णमास्याम्।

—Nandsa (Udaipur) Yūpa Inscription of 282 V. E.

It is not possible to argue that the Vikrama, Mālava and Kṛita eras are different, for it is well-known that the dates of these eras are confirmed only if they are referred to the era founded in 57 B. C.

The main stumbling block in ascribing the foundation of the era to king Vikrama of the 1st century B. C. is its description as Kṛita era or Mālava era in its early records. If the era was founded by King Vikrama, is it not natural to expect that it should be known after him in its early history ? As it is, down to the fag end of the 9th century of the era, we have no epigraphical evidence to show that it was ever associated with king Vikrama. Even when his name was introduced in connection with the era, it took nearly five centuries for the

name to become popular. The Gahadvala kings of U. P. use this era alone in their dozens of grants, but never call it as Vikrama era; they simply describe it as Saṁvat.

As regards this circumstance it is often argued that the inscription writers were not accustomed to give the proper names of the eras they were using. Thus the name Śaka came to be associated with the Śaka era only after five centuries; in the earlier period it had no proper name at all. The Gupta era was also known merely as Saṁvat for a long time; later on it began to be called Gupta-kāla or the Gupta era.

The above argument does not bear close examination. It is true that in a few inscriptions of the 1st century of the Gupta era it bears no proper name, but it begins to have it from its year 61; in the Mathurā inscription of that year it is described as *Guptakālānuvartamānasaṁvatsare ekashashṭe.* Why should 798 years be required for the name Vikrama being associated with the Vikrama era, if that king had really started it ? Then we have further to note that it is not correct to state that the early inscriptions describe the era simply as *Saṁvat* and refrain from giving it any proper name. This is true only of the vast majority of the inscriptions of the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th centuries. The inscriptions of the five preceding centuries do not merely not call it by the common name Saṁvat, but the passages quoted above will show that they give it two different proper names, neither of them being Vikrama. They call it sometimes as Mālava era, sometimes as Kṛita era, but never as Vikrama era. Of course, if inscriptions of the early period are later discovered which would be describing it as Vikrama era, then this argument will fall to the ground. But as matters stand today, the

earliest inscriptions do not refer to the era by a general or common word like Saṁvat, but give it two different names, and neither of them is even remotely connected with king Vikrama. History shows that eras sometimes change their names; thus the Valabhi era was the name given to the Gupta era later in Kathiawar. But there is no doubt that not the later name *Valabhi-Saṁvat*, but the earlier name *Gupta-kāla* reveals to us the secret of its origin. Why should we assume that the latest name of the era, Vikrama-Saṁvat, and not the earlier names, Mālava-kāla or Kṛita-kāla, should be regarded as giving the proper clue to its origin? We should not also forget that the name Vikrama-Saṁvat is not only a late name associated with the era, but took several centuries for becoming popular or common. If Vikrama was well-known to be the real founder of the era throughout its first eight centuries, and if owing to some convention of the epigraphical records his name was not mentioned in them, we expect that the name should have become common when once the convention was broken in 898 V. E. For instance, there was the convention not to represent the Buddha in his human form down to about the beginning of the Christian era; but when once the convention was broken it took only a few decades for the Buddha image to become popular in the different schools of art. Why should five centuries be required for the name Vikrama era to become popular when it was once introduced, if it was vividly remembered that a hero of that name had founded it? Epigraphical evidence is thus inconsistent with the tradition that king Vikrama had started it. If the inscriptions had simply not named the era but called it merely *Saṁvat*, then we could have said that the tradition, if not confirmed by epigraphy, is not at least contradicted by it. When,

however, early inscriptions give the era a proper name and it is different from that of Vikrama, we have to admit that the tradition is contradicted by inscriptions, many of which are government and not private records.

Let us now find out what light the literary evidence throws upon the historicity of Vikrama. It is argued that King Vikramāditya, mentioned in the 18th Chapter (*lambaka*) of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, is the founder of the Vikrama era. This king flourished at Ujjayinī and he is described as an incarnation of a *Gaṇa* of *Śaṅkara*, expressly sent for the extermination of the Mlechchhas. Had this tradition been recorded in a work of the 3rd or the 4th century A. D., its value would have been great. As it is, it is to be found in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, a work written admittedly in the 11th century. It may have some historic foundation, but in its present form it is mixed up with a lot of unhistorical material. For instance, it represents Vikrama as conquering Konkan, Deccan peninsula, U. P., Kathiawar, Bengal, Bihar and Kashmere. We are further told that king Śaktikumāra of Gauḍa, Jayadhvaja of Karṇāṭaka, Vijayavarman of Lāṭa, Sunandana of Kashmir, Gopāla of Sindh and Nirmūka of Pārasīka had come to his court to pay him homage. These kings, however, are not named in connection with the conquest of Vikramāditya as described in the *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī* which gives a slightly earlier version of the story. Sober history also knows of no such kings ruling over the different provinces of India at that time, nor is there any evidence to show that any king of Ujjayinī of *c.* 50 B. C. had ever conquered practically the whole of India. It is therefore clear that the account about king Vikramāditya given in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* is mixed up with a lot of imaginary material, and as it proceeds from the pen of an 11th century writer its

value in proving the historicity of Vikrama is not very great. It is further worth noting that the work does not state that the hero of the story founded any era. It no doubt states that he destroyed the Śakas, but the statement is made quite in a casual manner. The same is the case with the version in the *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī*. By the time Kshemendra and Somadeva wrote their versions, several Vikramādityas had flourished in India and the country had been on several occasions freed from foreign invasions launched by the Śakas, the Parthians, the Hūṇas, and the Muslims. It is therefore difficult to guarantee that they are not confusing later heroes and their achievements with the general who drove the Śakas in *c.* 50 B. C.

The *Saptaśatī* of Hāla makes a casual reference to Vikramāditya in V. 64 as a king who used to give the reward of a lakh of coins to his successful generals. It is, however, by no means certain that the whole of this collection can go back to the 1st century A. D. Only 430 stanzas are to be found in all recensions, and it is clear that the collection was being enlarged in the course of time. The verse under discussion may be a later addition. On linguistic ground the work is usually assigned to a period between *c.* 200 and 450 A.D. and the verse under discussion can only show that a king named Vikramāditya was known at that time. The verse in question does not refer to Vikramāditya as a king of Ujjayinī nor to his wars with the Śakas nor to *his starling any era*. It has therefore hardly any value in the present controversy.

The *Vetālapañchaviṁśatī* and *Siṁhāsanabattiśī* give a number of stories about Vikramāditya; but they belong more to the region of the fairy land than to the realm of history. These works are also fairly modern

and throw no light on any historical events of the 1st century B. C.

A number of Purāṇas give us an account of the dynasties of the Kali age. While doing so, they refer to the rulers of Vidiśā and Malwa who flourished after the downfall of the Śuṅgas, but nowhere mention king Vikramāditya among them. It is true that they do not give the names of all the kings who ruled in Malwa, but it would appear as *prima facie* strange that they should have omitted the name of the most famous among them, while giving those of unimportant rulers like Śesha, Bhogi, Sadāchandra, Dhanadharman, etc. This is, of course, a negative evidence, but cannot be said to be altogether without some value.

It is, however, argued that the Jain tradition supports the theory that the era was started by king Vikrama, and let us now examine it. The authority of the *Śatruñjayamāhātmya* is sometimes cited to prove that the era was known after Vikrama in Saṁvat 477 or 420 A. D. It is no doubt true that the colophon of this work claims that it was written as early as that year. But we cannot attach much importance to it, for it says that it was completed in V. S. 477, a year in which king Śīlāditya of Kathiawar had ousted the Buddhists from Valabhi. The latter statement is historically untrue for the first king of the name Śīlāditya flourished at Valabhi not earlier than 606 A. D. or 663 V. E. That Buddhists were not expelled from Valabhi even by this king in *c*. 610 A.D. is made clear from the accounts of Yuan Chwang and Itsing which make it clear that Valabhi was as famous a centre of Buddhist learning as Nālandā even by *c*. 675 A. D. The colophon of the *Śatruñjayamāhātmya* being thus altogether unreliable, its alleged date cannot prove that the Vikrama

era bore that name in Gujrat and Kathiawar as early as the 5th century. It was obviously added by a later copyist when Buddhism had become extinct in Kathiawar and the name of Vikrama had come to be associated with the era.

More important is the story of Kālakāchārya on the evidence of which some western scholars also like Konow have assumed that the Vikrama era was founded by a king of that name in *c.* 57 B. C[1]. Let us, therefore, analyse and evaluate this evidence very carefully and dispassionately.

The story tells us that in ancient times there was a king named Vairisiṁha at Dhārā. He had a son named Kālaka and a daughter named Sarasvatī, both of whom renounced the world before marriage. In the course of time Kālaka became the head of his *Gaṇa*. Once he visited Ujjayinī in the course of his wanderings along with his sister, Sarasvatī, who was abducted there by King Gardabhila ruling over that city. As no entreaties of Kālaka could induce Gardabhila to release his fair captive, he left the city burning with rage and vowing to bring down destruction upon the head of the vicious and lascivious king.

The story then goes on to narrate how Kālaka repaired to Sindh, then known as Śakakula and ruled by a Śaka emperor, known by the title Shāhānushāhi under whom there were 96 Śaka feudatories called Shāhis. Kālaka soon managed to become a confidant and advisor of one of them. In the course of time his patron fell in the bad book of his suzerain, to escape whose wrath he fled away overnight under the advice of Kālaka and eventually reached Kathiawar,

1. *E. I.*, XIV, Pp 293-5.

where he soon managed to carve out a small principality. Other Śaka feudatories followed him and did the same.

Later on the Śaka friend of Kālaka attacked Ujjayinī and succeeded in defeating king Gardabhila following the clue supplied by Kālaka. As a consequence Sarasvatī, the imprisoned sister of Kālaka, was immediately restored to freedom. Thus Kālaka fulfilled his vow to bring about the release of his sister and the downfall of her captor.

The story then goes on to describe how Kālaka then went to Paiṭhan and Broach and converted their rulers to Jainism, but before describing his subsequent career, it introduces the following verses by way of *obiter dicta*:—

शकानां वंशमुच्छेद्य कालेन कियतापि हि।
राजा श्रीविक्रमादित्यः सार्वभौमोपमोऽभवत् ॥९०॥
स चोन्नतमहासिद्धिः सौवर्णपुरुषोदयात्।
मेदिनीमनृणां कृत्वाचीकरद्वत्सरं निजम् ॥९१॥
ततो वर्षशते पञ्चत्रिंशता साधिके पुनः।
तस्य राज्ञोऽन्वयं हत्वा वत्सरः स्थापितः शकैः ॥९२॥

These verses tell us that the Śaka rule at Ujjayinī did not last long, for their power was overthrown by the emperor Vikramāditya, who founded an era of his own. 135 years after the founding of this era, the descendants of Vikramāditya were overthrown by the Śakas, who then founded an era of their own known as Śaka era.

Let us see whether we can accept the historicity of Vikrama as the founder of the era on the strength of this Jain story. It must be admitted that its main account seems to be substantially true. Purāṇas also refer to a Gardabhila dynasty ruling at Ujjayinī. Sindh was under the rule of the Śakas in the first century B. C. Their kings were known as Shāhis and emperor

as Shāhānushāhi, as the story states. The country was also known as Śakakula. The subsequent extension of the Śaka power to Kathiawar is also historically probable. It seems that Ujjayinī very probably did pass under the Śaka rule in *c.* 60 B. C., and that the foreigners were soon expelled by an indigenous ruler. There is nothing improbable in Vikramāditya being that Indian king and in his having founded an era to commemorate that event.

The story of Kālaka has been handed down to us in several Sanskrit and Prakrit recensions. Had any of them been as old as the 3rd or 4th century A. D., the historicity of the King Vikrama of Ujjayinī as the founder of the era would have been conclusively established. As it is, since the earliest version makes Kālaka a son of king Vairisiṁha of Dhārā, it is clear that it is not much earlier than the 11th century A. D. The same conclusion is indicated by the mention in the story of king Śālivāhana of Pratishṭhāna, to whose court Kālaka repaired after the overthrow of Gardabhila. No inscriptions or works of the first ten centuries of the Christian era mention any king of Pratishṭhāna known as Śālivāhana. It is thus clear that the earliest version of the story goes back only to the 11th century when the name of Vikrama had been already associated with the era. There was a mass of floating legends gathered round the names of Kālaka at that time, and when it was put into writing in the 11th or the 12th century, the anonymous writer or writers took an opportunity to mention the current theories about the origin of the Vikrama and the Śaka eras, just after the description of the overthrow of Gardabhila. The earliest anonymous text of the story expressly states that the verses about the Vikrama

and Śaka eras are *obiter dicta,—evam pāsaṅgiyam samakhāyam.* There is no evidence whatsoever to show that they go back to the 2nd or the 3rd century A. D., and so we can regard them merely as embodying the current belief of the 11th century, when it was well known that the Śaka era was started 135 years after the Vikrama era, and the latter was believed to have been founded by a king named Vikrama.

It is interesting to note in this connection that there is another group of Prakrit verses that are often quoted in a number of Jain Paṭṭāvalis, which give the reign periods of a number of rulers from king Pālaka to Gardabhila. They are following :—

जं रयणिं कालगओ अरिहा तित्थंकरो महावीरो।
तं रयणिं अवणिपई अहिसित्तो पालओ राया ॥ १ ॥

सट्ठी पालयरण्णो पणवण्णसयं तु होइ नंदाणं।
अट्ठसयं मुरियाणं तीस च्चिअ पूसमित्तस्स ॥ २ ॥

बलमित्तभाणुमित्ता सट्ठी वरिसाणि चत्त नहवाणो।
तह गद्दभिल्लरज्जं तेरस वरिसं सगस्स चऊ ॥ ३ ॥

These verses[1] confirm the tradition of the Kālaka story of king Gardabhila of Ujjayinī being defeated by the Śakas in *c.* 60 B. C., but they are silent about the founding of any era after the overthrow of the short Śaka rule. These verses also do not occur in any part of the Jain canonical literature and so cannot be earlier than the council of Valabhi (*c.* 450 A. D.). They, however, appear to be earlier than the earliest version of the Kālaka story, and it is interesting to note that they do not state anything about a successor or son of Gardabhila having founded an era known in contemporary times as the Vikrama era.

1. *Paṭṭāvalīsamuchchaya*, Part I, P. 46.

My own view is that the Jain tradition undoubtedly contains considerable elements of historical truth. We can assume on its strength that Ujjayinī was invaded by a Śaka King from Sindh in *c.* 70 B.C., who managed to hold the city for a few years, and that he was soon expelled by a Hindu leader or ruler, who founded an era to commemorate the event. But there is so far no evidence to show that he was known in contemporary times by the *biruda* of Vikramāditya. Had he assumed this title, would not his era have been also known in early times as the Vikrama era ? Why should it have been known as Kṛita era as early as the 3rd century A. D. ?

I think it is but reasonable to assume that the known earlier names of the era would give us a clue to its origin. Expressions like *Mālavagaṇasthitivaśāt, Mālavānām gaṇasthityā,* etc., make it clear that the era was connected with the Mālava constitution, tribe or republic. It could not, therefore, have been founded by non-Mālavas and we may well accept the Jain tradition that it was connected with Ujjayinī, which had become a stronghold of the Mālavas in the first century B. C. The expression in the Mandasore inscription, dated 461 V.E., *Śrī Mālavagaṇāmnāte praśaste Kṛitasaṁjñite* further shows that though the era was current in Mālava republic and therefore known also as Mālava era, its proper name (*saṁjñā*) was Kṛita. Passages nos. 6-11 quoted above (P. 5) also make this quite clear; they are the earliest references to the era known so far, and they call it invariably as Kṛita era, and never as Vikrama era.

What conclusion can we draw from this earliest name of the era about its founder ? Unfortunately the name is rather mysterious and various explanations are

offered about it. But the theory of M. M. Hara Prasad Sastri[1] that it denotes the first year of a cycle of four years can no longer stand in view of the dates of the Barnala, Badva and Nandsa records, *viz.* Kṛita era 335, 295 and 282 respectively. It is sometimes argued that the era was called *Kṛita* because it was an artificial creation of astronomers; there is, however, no evidence whatever to support this conjecture. The view that the era was called Kṛita because people really believed that the real *Kṛita Yuga* had then been ushered in has also hardly any authority in its support[2]. If as late as 415 A. D. people believed that the 461st year of the *Kṛita Yuga* was current, is it possible that the Purāṇas which were being composed at that time would have expatiated on the evils of the Kali age, which they regarded as current at that time ?

I think that it is but reasonable to conclude that the era was called Kṛita era because it was founded by a king, general or president named Kṛita. The eras founded by Chhatrapati Śivāji and king Harsha were known as Chhatrapati and Harsha eras; the eras founded by the Guptas and the Śakas were known as Gupta and Śaka eras; is it then unreasonable to suppose that the Kṛita era was so named because it was founded by Kṛita ? Nor can it be argued that Kṛita as a proper personal name is unknown. It is true that it is not commonly met with during the last 1500 years or so; but a glance at the early literature shows that once it was quite common. The name of one of the four sons of Viśvedeva was Kṛita; Hiraṇyanābha of the Upanishadic period had a pupil of that name; the father of Uparichara and a son of Devakī both bore this name. So, though

1. *E. I.*, XII, P. 320.

2. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in *I. A.*, LXI, Pp. 101-3.

Kṛita is no doubt a rather unusual name in the later period, such was not at all the case in earlier times. There is, therefore, nothing improbable in the theory that the era of 57 B. C. was originally called Kṛita, simply because Kṛita was its founder.

Though there is yet no direct evidence to support the conjecture, it is but reasonable to assume that Kṛita was the name of the general or the president of the Mālava republic, responsible for the expulsion of the Śakas from Ujjayinī. At this time the main stronghold of the Mālava republic was Central Rajputana (Udaipur-Ajmer-Tonk territory) rather than Malwa; it appears that the Mālavas extended their sway southwards to the modern province of Malwa when they expelled the Śakas from Ujjayinī. The conquest of this famous city and the expulsion of the Śakas from it was celebrated by the starting of an era known after their successful general or president Kṛita. It is quite possible that this Mālava hero may have had the *biruda* of Vikramāditya, but there is yet no evidence forthcoming to show that such was the case. At any rate, the era started to commemorate his victory was known as Kṛita for its first three or four centuries. Later the memory of the achievements of Kṛita became dim, and because the era was current chiefly among the Mālavas, it began to be popularly described as Mālava era. Down to the 8th and 9th centuries, it was current only in Malwa and Central Rajputana, which were the stronghold of the Mālava power. Later on when it began to spread to Bundelkhand, U. P., Gujrat and Kathiawar, the name Mālava era fell into desuetude and the name Vikrama era began to become gradually popular.

It is not yet possible to account for this change in the name of the era. The Mālavas, as a great power,

had disappeared from the face of the country at this time and the era had spread much beyond the confines of the province of Malwa. It is therefore quite possible that people outside Malwa, who were using this era, may have begun to feel the necessity of giving it a new name, less narrow and more general in its association and appeal. It was felt by a section of people that this purpose would be served if the era was renamed after Vikramāditya, which was the *biruda* of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II, whose fame as donor and patron of letters was still ringing in the country. He had also defeated the Śakas of Ujjayinī as was done by the original founder of the era. The Gupta era was also going out of vogue at this time. Some people therefore felt that if the Mālava era was rechristened as Vikrama era, it would have a wider appeal and also result in memorising another exterminator of the Śakas. The name, however, did not become common all at once; out of the 52 references to this era during the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries only three give it the name of Vikrama. During the next two centuries it began to become more popular, but only in western India; for it is only in the records of the Chālukyas of Gujrat that the name became common in the 12th and 13th centuries. It is conspicuous by its absence in the numerous grants of the Gahadvalas of U. P., where the year continues to be described simply as Saṁvat. At the advent of the Muslim rule the name Vikrama era had become popular only in Gujrat and a part of Rajputana. It became current later on in other provinces mainly because it was accepted by the astronomers in their almanacs.

It will be seen from the above discussion that the origin of the Vikrama era is still an unsolved mystery.

Those who hold that it was founded by king Vikramāditya in 57 B. C. cannot explain why it should not have been named after him but called Kṛita era during its earliest centuries. My theory suggested in this paper that it was started by a Mālava king, general or president named Kṛita can become generally acceptable only if we get evidence to show that there was a leader among the Mālavas who bore this name. If inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd centuries of this era are discovered, giving it the name of Kṛita, then also my theory will become more convincing. If, on the other hand, we get new inscriptions or literary references of the 1st and 2nd centuries A. D. giving Vikrama as the name of the era, then the traditional view will be proved to be the correct one. The present writer, however, thinks this to be extremely improbable. It is almost certain that further discoveries will show that Kṛita was the name of the era even during its 2nd and 1st centuries and that it was founded to commemorate the achievement of a Mālava hero of that name in ousting the Śakas from Ujjayinī and Rajputana.

There is nothing inappropriate in the Vikrama celebrations that we are having. The controversy is only about the personal name of the hero who founded the era. It is clearly proved that the era was started in *c.* 57 B. C. and marks a great national achievement consisting of the expulsion of foreigners from Ujjayinī, which was a cultural centre of the country. There is nothing improbable in this tradition which depicts this deliverer as an ideal ruler. Let him serve as the beacon light to guide us to the successful accomplishment of our national regeneration.

AESTHETICS OF KĀLIDĀSA

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What were the standards by which Kālidāsa, the greatest classical Sanskrit poet, judged and appreciated beauty? What did he understand to be beautiful? We read his great works and we find them beautiful. What do we mean when we say that they are beautiful? We must have our own conception of beauty and then alone we may try to find out what are other people's ideas on the subject. When we judge beauty, when we appreciate the beautiful, we must mean that we do so objectively; otherwise, we do not judge, but we simply pronounce an opinion for what it is worth. An object must have some beauty before we can appreciate it. If beauty is a feeling, the whole subject of aesthetics is reduced to an impossible position. Writers have been known who have pronounced the Taj Mahal at Agra to be devoid of beauty since it was built by forced labour. Men are often found who will say that a particular woman is not at all beautiful because she does not respond to their advances. Thus will it be seen that mere personal feeling is no criterion whether a thing is beautiful or not. In fact, personal feeling may often affect our judgement and may blind us to even obvious facts. We start,

therefore, in discussing this subject, with the proposition that beauty is objective. We may further say, if we like, that a certain kind of mental equipment is essential in order to understand beauty, and that the possession of such equipment should not be confused with personal feeling which often amounts to a prepossession or to a prejudice. We need not enter further into the field of theoretical aesthetics, and may proceed straight to the works of the great poet whose ideas about the appreciation of beauty we propose here to investigate and study.

Perhaps it may be convenient to have a look at the first two lines in the Mahākāvya *Raghuvaṁśa*:—

वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥

"For the purpose of understanding the word and its meaning, I salute Pārvatī and Parameśvara, the parents of the Universe, who are blended into each other like the word and its meaning".

The poet here gives us his conception of poetry. The word and its meaning cannot be separated from each other—there should be in a poem words that are significant, that have a meaning that attracts the reader, that delights him, that has special charm. Ordinary words with ordinary meaning, or sometimes with no meaning, or with no clear meaning, such as happens in the case of millions of ordinary people when they talk, do not make poetry. If they could, all talk in the world would be poetical. In the same way, meaning conveyed by unsuitable words does not make poetry. Specific meanings are better conveyed by a skilful use of words and this skill is a special possession of a great poet. The words must be full of meaning, the specific

meaning which the poet is anxious to convey to his reader, and thus it is laid down that the word and the meaning must be blended with each other as that ideal couple, Pārvatī and Parameśvara. In the fourteenth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, the poet, by the use of a specific word, one word only, has conveyed a meaning that would have taken some sentences to be adequately conveyed. Sītā, in giving a message to Rāma, after she was abandoned by him, says to her brother-in-law, Lakshmaṇa, who performed the unpleasant duty of taking her away from her home,—Sītā says—"On my behalf, say this to the King". She does not say, "Say this to Rāma". Her beloved Rāma was no longer there. There was a king sitting in judgement on herself and a king had abandoned her, in performing his duty as a king towards his people. And Sītā sends a message to that king. The word Rāma would have suited the metre just as well. But a specific meaning had to be conveyed with the most rigid economy of words—great poets observe great economy in the use of their words—and the whole meaning, poignant as it was, was conveyed by that one word "King". The perfect union of Pārvatī and Parameśvara is well known and to refer to it is ordinarily using a good comparison. But here in this little verse, again, much more is meant than the ordinary meaning which is apparent. Those who have studied the *Kumārasaṁbhava*, another great Mahākāvya of the poet, know that. Parameśvara was knowledge, power, penance, complete self-control, light, strength; and Pārvatī was beauty, delight, wonder, excitement, intoxication. The beauty of Pārvatī was something wonderful, extraordinary. Says the poet :—"The Creator wished, as it were, to see infinite beauty concentrated in one place, and so he created Pārvatī by taking together all the

materials intended to be similes, and utilising them with appropriateness."

This again makes it clear that the Creator wished to see beauty in an object and therefore he created that object. If beauty could be subjective, there was no need of a new creation. An object would be beautiful simply because you thought it to be so. But, no; the Creator knew the materials which, if properly combined, would create an object of beauty. So, in the stanza quoted earlier above, Pārvatī represents the beauty principle, the physical beauty, that is to say. Śiva, or as he is called here, Parameśvara, represents the power element which is not only physical, but much more than that, and much different from that, too. Thus, in this description, the beauty of mind and the beauty of body are both indicated, and their perfect union means the perfection of beauty. It was this beauty that appealed to Kālidāsa and it was the delineation of this beauty that has made his poetry beautiful and great. Pārvatī became a suitable consort for Śiva only when through penance and through renunciation she approached his level. It was only then that she became truly beautiful, it was only then that her beauty was complete and it was only then that she could conquer Śiva. The beautiful canto that describes the burning of the god of love indicates this great and wonderful principle that mere physical beauty —the word "mere" is stressed here—does not appeal to a person like Śiva, and to a great poet like Kālidāsa. The physical beauty was there and must be there, but beauty is not complete, not exquisite, unless the physical beauty derives its light and life from the inner soul. That is the great idea that Kālidāsa presents to us in his great Mahākāvya *Kumārasaṁbhava.* Pārvatī tried in

the first place to appeal to Śiva on the strength of her physical beauty which was indeed very great but she found that Śiva would not be tempted by that. Then, like a very wise girl that she was, she tried to find out what would appeal to a great man like Śiva and what it was that she lacked. And she knew that she had physical beauty that nature gave her but that she had not accumulated penance to make that beauty a real beauty, a beauty that great men admire and great poets sing about.

We might look at several persons and objects which Kālidāsa has described as beautiful, and from that we may be able to deduce his ideas about beauty and the beautiful. In the first canto of the *Kumārasaṁbhava* Pārvatī has been described as the very essence of beauty. We have already referred to one verse there. We may look at a few more verses in that canto. The poet says that when Pārvatī was born, "all the directions had cleared up, the wind was free of dust; there was first the sounding of the conch-shells and afterwards the falling of flowers (both from the heavens). And in this way her birth was the cause of happiness to all objects, animate or inanimate (movable or immovable)." In the *Raghuvaṁśa* a similar idea is expressed in describing the birth of Raghu. Says the poet :—"The directions cleared up and pleasant breezes wafted; the fire turned its flames to the right and accepted the offering; the moment Raghu was born, everything became a source of happiness." The first line, it will be seen, is almost identical in both the verses. The last line in the second verse is as follows :—"The birth of the like of him (Raghu) is for the prosperity of the people". Thus Kālidāsa appears to look upon the capacity of doing good to others as a part of what he considers to be beauti-

ful. Beauty is invariably lofty and could never be mean or oppressive. Beauty must bring happiness and happiness never comes in the wake of the ugly or the wrong. Beauty and vice cannot go together. We are aware that there are critics who insist that in trying to get at the concept of beauty there should be no confusion by bringing in the moral idea. But the moment we agree to look upon beauty as something not merely physical we have to see what are the other ingredients thereof. And in examining the concept of Kālidāsa, we have to accept what he says about the subject. One may, if one likes, differ from Kālidāsa, but one cannot say that Kālidāsa does not express a concept which he actually accepts. He does insist that goodness is a very important ingredient of beauty and when he says this, he does not neglect the physical part of it. But in judging beauty he is not, what may be described as, in place of a better word, a mere materialist. When Pārvatī was born, the poet adds, her father was both purified and adorned (तया स पूतश्च विभूषितश्च). Thus beauty is always "vibhūshita", it brings adornment, but it must be also "pūta", *i. e.*, it should bring purity, according to Kālidāsa.

Thus we notice that the description of the word and the meaning as closely united as Pārvatī and Parameśvara and that also the description about the father of Pārvatī being both adorned and purified by her birth connote an identical idea, *viz.*, that beauty is not merely a physical concept, but that it is also a spiritual concept, that in it both the elements must be equally present and must be so completely blended that they could not be separated from each other. Beauty, to be the beauty that Kālidāsa worships, must be something not merely earthly, of the earth, but must ha ve ele-

ments in it that are above the earth. It must be above the ordinary, above the mere physical. Here the question arises, is the human level merely physical? That question need not frighten us. The ordinary human level is physical with a latent power to rise above it by proper effort and sufficient penance, self-sacrifice, whatever you call it; and beauty emerges, according to Kālidāsa, where this effort is being made and beauty is realised in its completeness where such effort has become successful. Poets do describe human beings and things that are about them. But they describe them in such a manner that something is seen by the reader, something exquisite, something extraordinary, that he had not seen, that he had not realised before he read the poet. By his idealism the poet brings to you a better world, a greater world, and by his realism he produces sympathy or antipathy in your mind about the objects and the situations which he wishes either to uphold, or to criticise as undesirable. The School which believes that all art is merely for fun will not find an adherent in Kālidāsa. He states in the early stanzas of the *Raghuvaṁśa* that he was moved to sing about the Raghus because their great qualities had come to his ears. It was not only art for art's sake, as the exponents of that School are apt to put it, it flowed from an appreciation of life and from a desire to better life, decidedly a higher and a greater aim than the desire to satisfy a momentary whim of the poet. When we talk of the physical plane, we neither exclude it nor condemn it, we only point out that there is a higher plane. We may draw upon more instances from the various writings of Kālidāsa to sustain the proposition that, according to Kālidāsa, beauty is not perfect, worthy to be sung by great poets, unless the physical charm is exquisitely blended with the spiritual

quality. We shall now proceed to cite some such instances.

In the superb drama of Śakuntalā, king Dushyanta comes across the most beautiful girl he has ever seen, and this is what he says :—"How could such beauty be possible among human beings (literally, among the females of human beings) ? Lustres like the moon which are glittering with splendour do not arise out of the earth (but they arise in the heaven)." That is why we have said above that the beauty which Kālidāsa considers to be perfect must not be only of the earth. Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, the learned commentator of the drama, states, in commenting upon the words "human beings", that by "human" is meant excess of the earth-principle. All is earth, and ordinary beauty or what we ordinarily consider to be beauty is of the earth. The great poets, however, deal with real beauty or extraordīnary beauty; according to them that alone is beauty. There must be the quality of being uncommon if there is to be beauty; something different, something exquisite, something much higher than the average. Such are the attributes of beauty that Kālidāsa considers to be essential. The king says, again, about Śakuntalā :—"Considering the power of the Creator and her body, she appears to me to be altogether a jewel-like woman". All this is a description of physical beauty. Even that, according to our poet, must be higher than the earth, above the earth. In describing Urvaśī, Purūravas also gives vent to similar sentiments. "Her body is", says Purūravas, "the ornament of ornaments, a special article of toilet among toilet things, and a standard of comparison even for standards of comparison". Thus beauty must be extraordinarily attractive, it must be good, it must be uncommon or extraordinary. We may

look at two verses of the *Meghadūta* to stress the point further. The first describes the beauty of the wife of the Yaksha and the last line in it points out the extra-ordinary quality of that beauty.

तन्वी श्यामा शिखरिदशना पक्वबिम्बाधरोष्ठी
मध्ये क्षामा चकितहरिणीप्रेक्षणा निम्ननाभिः ।
श्रोणीभारादलसगमना स्तोकनम्रा स्तनाभ्याँ
या तत्र स्याद्युवतिविषये सृष्टिराद्येव धातुः ॥

Roughly rendered into English, it would read :—"she is a young woman whose body is thin. She has pointed teeth (the pointedness of teeth indicates prosperity for the husband and long life for him, also). Her lower lip is red like the fully ripened *Bimba* fruit. Her middle is slender, her eyes are like those of the frightened deer, her navel is deep. She walks slowly owing to the weight of her hips; and owing to her breasts (which are very big) she is slightly bent. She is, as it were, the first feminine creation of the Creator (the commentator says that the first creation costs greatest effort and therefore it is the most beautiful creation)." Now all this is a description of the physical beauty in the approved fashion of eminent Sanskrit poets, and yet the last line makes the suggestion of Kālidāsa clear. Kālidāsa never denies physical beauty to those whom he describes as beautiful. He well understands human psychology and he, therefore, knows that even to draw your attention to the inner spiritual qualities there must be an attractive exterior. But even that exterior is so superbly charming that it suggests extra-ordinary spiritual qualities. The other verse which follows the above, after a short space, stresses the spiritual qualities of the woman whose physical attractiveness is so picturesquely described in the one we have noticed just now. The two taken together explain the

aesthetic viewpoint of Kālidāsa. The verse is as follows :—

उत्सङ्गे वा मलिनवसने सौम्य! निक्षिप्य वीणां
मद्गोत्राङ्कं विरचितपदं गेयमुद्गातुकामा ।
तन्त्रीमार्द्रां नयनसलिलैः सारयित्वा कथञ्चिद्
भूयो भूयः स्वयमपि कृतां मूर्च्छनां विस्मरन्ती ॥

Once more an attempt at a rough translation into English :—"Oh, gentle cloud," says the Yaksha, "She has put on her lap, covered by a soiled garment, a guitar and she wishes to sing a song composed in such a way that the sign of my name is in it. But tears flow from her eyes and the guitar has become wet. With her hand, she wipes out the water with great difficulty (and starts to sing), but again and again she forgets the musical notes she herself has composed (on account of her great grief at separation from me)". This description delineates the faithful wife in such a beautiful manner that we feel deep sympathy with her; and her physical beauty, which in the beginning excites admiration, being perfected by the inclusion of the great spiritual quality of the faithful lover and wife, commands our respect. Nothing could be a better description of a fine wife who is exceedingly beautiful as well. She has, apart from her wondrous beauty, a heart of gold. She is again a perfect blend of the attractive, the good and the uncommon. Such touches as "malina-vasane" and the whole of the last line are bound to move the heart of the reader who can appreciate poetry and who has an understanding of the principal elements built round family life in the Hindu civilisation, excellently described by Kālidāsa in his various poems. We may conclude, therefore, that the real and the ideal about an object, severally or jointly, constitute an appeal to the aesthetic sense of the poet. In the

manner adopted so far we could look at a number of passages in the poetic world of Kālidāsa. In the fourth act of the *Śākuntala*, famous for its delineation of the character of Kaṇva, the foster-father of Śakuntalā, the old Ṛishi is described as full of human sentiment, in spite of his long penance and his complete self-control and he is shown human, or weak, but not in the wrong sense. That is to say that he could not overcome his love for his adopted and beloved daughter, though there was no attempt at satisfying any personal or bodily desire, as was the case with Viśvāmitra, the great sage, who carried on penance for sixty thousand years, but ultimately fell a victim to the charms of Menakā, a courtesan from the heaven sent by god Indra. This distinction between Viśvāmitra, who also fell a victim to a human weakness (to use the jargon of certain so-called psychologists of the modern times), and Kaṇva, who was affected by a great impulse of his heart, is no doubt a very subtle one; but it must be clearly understood, if we are to sift the pure from the morbid in human nature. Self-control is a virtue and self-control means the regulation of the Ego. Viśvāmitra did not regulate the ego, and so he fell a victim to its morbid demands, while there was no display of ego in the feelings of Kaṇva towards his adopted daughter, but it was all consideration for her. In the ultimate analysis, purely selfish behaviour is sin and doing good to others, in its widest sense, is merit. Morbidity is of the same species as sin while lofty sentiment is akin to merit. In describing Kaṇva, Kālidāsa holds up the mirror to a great soul who has no selfish purpose but whose heart is full of kindness and sympathy and love. Kaṇva was human in the sense that he had not become hard-hearted as some who profess to know

philosophy and act upon it, are likely to become. That is why the fourth act of the *Śākuntala* is so delicious and full of pathos.

In the second canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, there is the beautiful story of how King Dilīpa, the founder of the Raghu dynasty, served the heavenly cow in order to obtain a son. He had agreed to look after the cow whose blessing would bring him a son, and he followed her wherever she went. One day, while following her in a dense forest, he just lost sight of her and was engrossed for a few moments in admiring the beauty of the nature around him. While he was so engrossed, he heard the wails of the cow who was attacked by a lion. The king immediately went there and wanted to kill the lion with his arrow. But the moment he took his bow and was going to draw it, his hand was paralysed, and he was unable to do anything to save the cow except to request the lion to take him instead of the cow. And then follows a conversation in which the lion (who could speak the human language) argues with him and tells him not to lose his precious life for the sake of a mere cow. The king replies that it was not a question of a mere cow, that she was an extraordinary cow, and that the main point was that he had undertaken as a matter of duty to look after the cow, and as he was a soldier he must put duty before everything else, and he offers himself to be devoured by the lion. There is a picturesque scene, the king bows before the lion and it appears that the latter would pounce upon him, but the scene is shifted at once, and the cow is there, not the lion; and the cow asks him to choose a gift from her and he prefers a son. And the gods in heaven who were watching the scene and who were deeply impressed with the king's noble behaviour threw flowers

at him for his complete disregard of the self. Duty above everything else, even at the cost of one's life, is the principle and when the poet comes across a scene like that he feels that he has met a beautiful scene and he dedicates songs to it. These are concepts that can be cherished and practised by men and women who are at a level much higher than that of the ordinary human beings and everything seen on or above that level strikes one as beautiful, worthy of the songs of great poets, worthy of admiration and emulation. Kālidāsa invariably saw beauty in such scenes which he describes with deep appreciation and admiration. In fact, Kālidāsa has developed an ideology of the Hindu civilisation on the strength of such scenes, and his works are, on that account, a great mine of sociological idealism, and they form a fine study of Hindu culture.

Another incident of a somewhat similar type is in the fifth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa.* A pupil of the sage *Varatantu* goes to Raghu to ask for a gift of fourteen crores of rupees to be given to his *Guru* or teacher as the latter's *dakshiṇā* or fee for teaching the pupil fourteen varieties of knowledge. The king who had become penniless on account of his charitable disposition asked the youth to stay for the night and he promised to make him the payment in the morning. His people could not be taxed further, so he decided to invade Kubera, the lord of wealth, and to get the required amount from him. Kubera, probably a great Bania but no warrior, avoided the invasion by verily throwing down a small hill full of gold in front of Raghu's palace early in the morning, sufficiently before Raghu's departure. And then comes the wonderful scene. The king asks the Brahmin boy to take away the entire

hill and the youth replies :—"My need is only of fourteen crores. I do not want anything for myself. What am I to do with this mountain of gold ?" The king said, :—"The hill has come for you. I do not need anything for myself (and this from a penniless king), so better take away the whole thing." This fight between two amazing men, a true king and a genuine Brahmin, would delight the heart of every true socialist, if such a being really existed. But, it may be observed, socialism would be wholly unnecessary if such kings and Brahmins dominated society. Here, again, the idea is that beauty, the quality of giving high poetic pleasure, consists in the negation of self, the absence of that egotism that has made the world unhappy. That is why the citizens of the king's capital, who were witnessing this spiritual battle between two selfless souls, were immensely impressed and both of them became objects of congratulation and admiration. These two, a beggar who did not ask for a penny more than what he had to pay and a king who wanted to give much more than what he was asked to give, were indeed a wonderful pair. But we must not forget that the writing of the *Raghuvaṁśa* was not merely intellectual gymnastics for Kālidāsa. He was inspired to write it by the lofty idealism of the Raghu kings. Their great qualities came to his ears and he was moved to write :

तद्गुणैः कर्णमागत्य चापलाय प्रचोदितः ।

The poet gives a description in a few magnificent stanzas of the great qualities of the Raghu kings and his aesthetic sense is aroused by those great qualities. We cannot resist the temptation of quotation. Says the poet :—"The Raghu kings have given offerings to god Fire according to the rules laid down in the Śāstras;

they have satisfied the mendicants by giving them what they desired; they have punished the offenders adequately; knowledge has come to them at the proper time; they stored wealth for the purpose of giving it to others; they spoke little but they spoke the truth; they made conquests (of countries, not for oppressing others but) for obtaining glory; they married for children (not for lust); in boyhood they obtained knowledge by study, during youth they went in for enjoyment, during old age they lived like hermits, and they gave up their bodies by means of *Yoga* (and did not die of disease)". Again, elsewhere, the poet says :—"The power of the king was for the purpose of warding off the fear of the oppressed, he became well-read in order to honour the learned; not only the wealth but all the qualities of the king were for the good of others". Such were the kings to whom Kālidāsa gives unstinted praise and sings songs. Kālidāsa gives praise to those who give up self and do good to others. This spiritual excellence, so well described in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, forms the very basis, as it were, of the aesthetics of Kālidāsa. In fact, the entire superstructure of idealism is based upon this grand conception of active selflessness, which means doing good to others, and beauty is not a whole entity, in the eyes of Kālidāsa, unless it includes this spiritual excellence.

This certainly does not mean that beauty has no physical element in it. All that is maintained is this that a thing to be perfectly beautiful must have spiritual excellence in it. Love is experienced by the physical beauty of a person but love becomes the divine sentiment of which great poets sing, only when it is not a momentary impulse but when it is a permanent fact, and this permanency is the spiritual side of it because

it is the spiritual qualities of the person that build it up. The whole story of princess Indumatī who was married to king Aja is illustrative of the point. It is introduced at the end of the fifth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* and continues to the eighth canto in which her death and subsequent grief of her loving husband are described with a pathos which has excited universal admiration. Both Aja and Indumatī were uncommonly beautiful and they certainly appealed to each other, and the poet has described the beauty of both in an excellent manner. At the same time their great qualities were also prominent. On account of good family, beauty, youth and excellent qualities chief among which was modesty, Indumatī and Aja were very worthy of each other and their union was like the union of a jewel with gold. The virtue modesty is mentioned because it denotes that there is no undue egotism. And control over or absence of egotism is the very basis on which the structure of excellence is securely built. Also in the seventh canto, a battle between Aja and his rival princes is described and there we see that Aja is a fine soldier. A man who appeals to a fine girl could not be only physically attractive, he must have courage, valour, strength. Aja had all that. In the eighth canto, Aja is further described as a very able administrator, a dutiful son and a faithful husband. He is described as having inherited all the virtues of his great father Raghu. All the Raghu kings possessed spiritual excellence. Self-control was the principal indication thereof. Aja loved his wife intensely and the *Karuṇa Rasa* in the eighth canto flows from the spiritual excellence of that fine husband and superb lover. Aja wanted to die after the decease of his beloved wife, but he was a dutiful king and father. He

lived just in order to look after his son till he came of age and took up the responsibility of government. In all this description of love and beauty, there is no forgetting of duty and there is the whole charm of the theme that Kālidāsa has taken for his poem. He would not sing to men and women who are less than dutiful, however beautiful they may be. While Kālidāsa is a master in describing personal feeling, *Bhāva*, he always upholds the gospel of duty above feeling. A similar description of Rāma and Sītā, similar in following the dictates of duty, will be found in the fourteenth canto which has a beauty all its own. Kālidāsa has evidently deep sympathy with Sītā in her abandonment by Rāma. He puts the following into the mouth of Vālmīki, the great sage and the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* who gives shelter to Sītā. Says the great sage :— "Rāma has destroyed Rāvaṇa, the enemy of the three worlds, he keeps to his word, he is truthful, but he has suddenly (listening to mere gossip) become cross towards you (Sītā). I am very angry with the elder brother of Bharata". But the poet is not unjust to Rāma. He condemns the king's action but appreciates why he was forced to take it. It was the conception of duty that forced Rāma to do it, though the poet does not seem to agree that the conception was right. But rightly or wrongly, Rāma believed that it was his duty and he did his duty.

The charm of Sītā also was not the charm only of a devoted wife (apart from her physical beauty) but she had the charm also of a self-respecting individual who would not tolerate injustice, even at the hands of her husband. Kālidāsa evidently does not uphold the slave-theory of the wife. This individualism of Sītā adds lustre to her fine picture and that lustre is

the exclusive creation of Kālidāsa. Here is the picture of a faithful wife and also a self-respecting woman that may be accepted as a model by coming generations in which woman is expected to be free. Her estimate of values (as described by Kālidāsa) is so sane and correct; yet several poets in Sanskrit as well as in the vernaculars have, under the influence of the customs of the day, failed to appreciate it. Kālidāsa, almost alone among the poets of India, has the unique merit of bringing out a great Sītā who, though described about two thousand years ago, still looks like the woman of tomorrow. Her message to Rāma after her abandonment is pregnant with such sound wisdom and such delicious pathos that we see here the unique sight of a great poet handling a great situation. Kālidāsa is very particular about the dignity of his heroines and this dignity undoubtedly adds to their charm. His wonderful device of Śakuntalā being taken away by her heavenly mother, after her (Śakuntalā's) repudiation by the king, is an instance to the point. The *Apsaras* mother takes away her daughter and saves her from deep humiliation. Kālidāsa will never humiliate beauty (and in his case beauty always includes spiritual excellence) because according to him, it would appear, it would be an offence aesthetically. Such is his sound aesthetic sense. The same object is served in the case of Sītā whom Vālmīki welcomes to his hermitage like a father and Sītā is at once put at her ease and is saved from melodrama which would have developed in an alternative situation.

The point that to Kālidāsa beauty is not merely a physical concept has been, we feel, amply sustained. We might add a few instances and further strengthen it. Pārvatī in the *Kumārasaṁbhava*, Śakuntalā in the great

drama famous by her name, Sītā in the *Raghuvaṁśa* are among the beautiful women described by Kālidāsa. Pārvatī stands supreme among them because her penance reaches a surprising level, the level of that King of *Yogins*, Śaṅkara himself. The opening verse of the fifth canto is significant in this connection and in it a definition of beauty (चारुता) is given which is as original as it is sound. The verse also brings out the uselessness of mere physical charms and proves the necessity of having along with them true beauty by the accompaniment of spiritual excellence. When Pārvatī saw that her charms had no effect on Śiva, that, on the other hand, the great God burnt down the god of love, she deprecated charming looks, because they did not obtain for her the desired object. Beauty must give satisfaction to those whom we love. In the case of Pārvatī, that did not happen. Pārvatī was conscious that she was beautiful, but her beauty had no appeal to Śiva who, all-knowing that he was, certainly could judge beauty. Therefore the sensible girl concluded that her beauty lacked something, and it was, undoubtedly, the spiritual quality that she lacked. So she proceeded forthwith to acquire that by hard penance. That is the essence of the Kālidāsian theory of aesthetics. Pārvatī practised very hard penance. She was the daughter of the Himālayas and was very fair. On account of her penance, her exposure to the sun and the four fires in the four directions inflamed around her, she became very dark. She did not care and she carried on the penance to such an extent that the great sages in the forest looked upon her, though she was young in years, as their *Guru*. It was then and only then that Śaṅkara was moved, and decided to test her love for him, and she most satis-

factorily passed in that test. The conversation between Śiva and Pārvatī has a delicate coating of humour. Śiva had come to her as a young Brahmin boy and he ridiculed Śiva most magnificently for the latter's bad looks (Śiva had a third eye on the forehead), for his poverty, for his queer followers, and so on. Pārvatī said, in a spirited reply, that the great alone appreciated the great and that the ignorant could not realise the greatness of Śiva. Śiva realised that Pārvatī was not only physically beautiful but that she had attained a spiritual level that was his own, and then he manifested his real self and told her that he had become her slave. Such is the wonderful love story of a very great man and an equally great woman who had the strength and the determination to acquire the spiritual beauty that made her a worthy consort to Śiva. It is this beauty that appeals to Kālidāsa, beauty that brings heaven to the earth and makes us forget the meannesses that live around us and teaches us that there is a higher level of existence to which we may all aspire. Kālidāsa has also described natural beauty. And there, too, the criterion is not different. When he sees anything majestic and noble and vast and great, he describes it as beautiful, as something that is extraordinary, that is on a higher level.

We may refer to a few instances of Kālidāsa's nature descriptions and bring this article to a close. In describing animate nature other than man, and inanimate nature, realism often brings a consciousness of beauty. Kālidāsa's description, in the last act of the *Śākuntala*, of the coming down from heaven of the king Dushyanta with the charioteer of Indra, is indeed marvellous; so is his description of trees and animals in the fourth act, so much admired from ge-

neration to generation. The description of Śakuntalā in relation to her forest surroundings carries us to another world altogether. We have to remember, however, that that world did exist at one time, that it is largely realism, and not purely idealism. Kaṇva's invitation to all animate and inanimate nature, in and around his hermitage, to bid good-bye to Śakuntalā makes us forget our own surroundings and leads us in tune with that wonderful world of a Hindu culture that is past but that did once exist. The following description of Śakuntalā brings out her charm, the divine charm of a divinely beautiful girl: —

> पातुं न प्रथमं व्यवस्यति जलं युष्मास्वपीतेषु या
> नादत्ते प्रियमण्डनापि भवतां स्नेहेन या पल्लवम् ।
> आद्य वः कुसुमप्रसूतिसमये यस्या भवत्युत्सवः
> सेयं याति शकुन्तला पतिगृहं सर्वैरनुज्ञायताम् ॥

For want of space, no translation is attempted. Here we witness the play of the aesthetic sense of the poet in its full glory. Not only beautiful Śakuntalā, but we, humdrum men and women of this humdrum world, feel very unhappy to leave the hermitage of Kaṇva, described for us by the fancy of Kālidāsa, the hermitage where calm and quiet rule, and where delight is not the absence or the reverse of pain, but is an actual, positive feeling, and we feel that to leave this place is to go out to meet our doom. When the little deer clung to her garment and would not allow her to proceed, Śakuntalā asked who it was and her father, in tears himself at the parting from his adopted but beloved daughter, says :—

> यस्य त्वया व्रणविरोपणमिङ्गुदीनां
> तैलं न्यषिच्यत मुखे कुशसूचिविद्धे ।
> श्यामाकमुष्टिपरिवर्धितको जहाति
> सोऽयं न पुत्रकृतकः पदवीं मृगस्ते ॥

And our eyes, too, become wet, and, not unlike that deer, we too feel like asking Śakuntalā to stay where she was and not to venture out.

There are many passages of natural description in the various works of Kālidāsa where the poet makes us aesthetically aware, and the basis of his appreciation of beauty, in this province of nature, is majesty and what may be called an inner excellence actually inherent in an object or fancifully transferred to it. The bringing together all those passages and their appropriate arrangement will shed further light on the theory that Kālidāsa, in appreciating the beauty in an object, does not take into account only the physical aspects but also what may be called the spiritual aspects, too. And if we carefully look into the great works of other great poets, of all climes and of all times, we are likely to find support to that theory. Above all, Kālidāsa sees an object and finds beauty in it; he does not impose beauty merely for subjective purposes. The beauty that he describes is not his own whim, he seeks beautiful objects in order to sing to them. The mighty Himālayas, the great river Bhāgīrathī, heroes like Aja and Rāma, powerful men like Śiva, great women like Sītā and Pārvatī, stories that tell of high valour and lofty behaviour, situations where man overpowers his circumstances and his own weak nature and rises above himself,—these strike him as beautiful and with his wonderful powers as one of the greatest among the world's poets, he sings about them in words that are as sweet as the ripe grapes and in a style that itself is a manifestation of beauty. He shows a world of beauty; and when we get sick of the world in which we live, when the miseries and uglinesses of our own life gradually drive us down towards pessimism,

through good luck and perhaps through good habits of reading, we turn to this great master and from his unique works get courage and strength. After all, great poetry is that that makes you great when meanness appears to be enveloping you. It takes us above the ordinary level, though it may describe any level that the poet chooses for it. There is beauty in this world, but we, ordinary mortals, cannot often see it. The magic touch of a poet's hand reveals it. That is why some people are misled into thinking that beauty is subjective. The truth is that the poet discovers it and reveals it. That means that it exists in the objects which the poet describes as beautiful. And here we part from this great jewel of a poet whose wonderful works are among the richest possessions of India and of the Hindu culture.

KALIDASA'S ABHIJÑANAŚAKUNTALA
ITS DRAMATIC SETTING

By

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When a dramatist of the calibre of Kālidāsa decides to give a dramatic setting to a story like that of Dushyanta and Śakuntalā as given in the *Ādiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (B. O. R. I. edition, Chapters 62-69), he first of all tries to find out what additions and alterations in the original story will be needed to bring out the basic idea or the innermost meaning of the story as he himself conceives it. The Heroine is, according to the original story, the daughter of a flighty Apsaras; but she is also the daughter of sage Viśvāmitra well-known for his fierce austerity and unbending spirit, and is above all going to be the mother of the great Bharata whom the ancient Brāhmaṇa texts have so lavishly praised (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii. 23) and after whom our Bhāratavarsha gets its name. So Kālidāsa disapproves of the over-hasty manner in which Śakuntalā —even without waiting for the return of father Kaṇva from the forest where he had gone to fetch fruits (*Mbh.* i. 65. 9)—settles her Gāndharva marriage, as well as the undignified manner in which Dushyanta, after

uttering those harsh words about Menakā and Viśvāmitra (*Mbh.* i. 68. 73-74), accepts Śakuntalā on the testimony of the "voice from Heaven" and adds that he had all along recognised her, but behaved as he did to avoid public scandal (*Mbh.* i. 69. 41). So, to bring Śakuntalā's maidenly modesty in greater relief, Kālidāsa has created the two female companions of Śakuntalā, who, rather than the Heroine herself as in the Epic, relate to Dushyanta how Śakuntalā's mother Menakā captivated, with the Spring just setting in (Vasantodārasamae), the heart of the Royal sage Viśvāmitra and frustrated his long and fierce austerities. It is worth noting that to give room for Śakuntalā's own conquest of the heart of another Royal sage, Kālidāsa makes the Play proper begin at a time when the Summer had just set in, affording fullest scope to Love's dalliance.

Kālidāsa felt that what was deficient in the Heroine's inheritance on the maternal side needed to be effectively remedied. The vicarious penance (daivam asyāḥ pratikūlam śamayitum) for the performance of which father Kaṇva, we are told, had left the Āśrama at the commencement of the Play, while it affords a longer period for the passion between the lovers to grow and evolve, is also designed to emphasise this underlying ethico-psychological motivation. But the correct method for it lay through the ordeal of suffering, penance and penitence by the parties themselves. So we find Śakuntalā described in the concluding Act as *niyamakshāmamukhī* and Dushyanta as *paśchāttāpavivarṇa*. To bring this about and to save the characters of the Hero and the Heroine Kālidāsa has introduced the story of the curse of Durvāsas.

Durvāsas, the Epic tells us, is a friend of sage Kaṇva and a frequent visitor of the Āśrama. That he would, upon a flimsy pretext, fly into rage and ruthlessly curse his friend's foster-child is unthinkable. In fact, under a rough exterior, he is known to be a disguised benefactor of humanity. His visit to the Āśrama is a sign that Kaṇva's vicarious penance has proved fruitful. For, in place of a perpetual separation from her wedded Lord, it is a separation terminating with the sight of the token-ring (aṅgulidarśanāvasāna) that Śakuntalā has to undergo. That the suffering has truly chastened both Śakuntalā and Dushyanta we can clearly see from the following elements of contrast that the Poet has deliberately introduced to mark the conduct of the Hero and the Heroine before and after the calamity.

Dushyanta, for one thing, has now lost the proud self-assurance in his own rectitude and infallibility as evidenced in his words in Act i like :

> Asaṁśayam Kshatraparigrahakshamā
> Yad āryam asyām abhilāshi me manaḥ /
> Satām hi saṁdehapadeshu vastushu
> Pramāṇam antaḥkaraṇapravṛittayaḥ //

or, in Act ii like :

> Na parihārye vastuni Pauravāṇām manaḥ pravartate;

or, in Act v like :

> Bhadre, prathitam Dushyantasya charitam; tathāpi idam na lakshyate;

when we compare them with sentiments in Act vi like :

> Ahanyahany ātmana eva tāvaj
> Jñātum pramādaskhalitam na śakyam.

We see also that his early hopeful outlook on life has all disappeared. His right arm throbbed as he entered

the hermitage in Act i. He could not divine the cause, but observes nevertheless in the mood of confident hopefulness :

> Atha vā bhavitavyānām dvārāṇi bhavanti sarvatra.

His right arm throbs once more as he enters Mārīcha's hermitage in Act vii. Not a ray of hope remains with him as he ejaculates :

> Manorathāya nāśaṁse kim bāho spandase vṛithā.

In Act i he wanted to ascertain the parentage of Śakuntalā, and without any real valid ground he jumps to the conclusion that she must be "Kshatraparigrahakshamā" because he wants her to be so. In Act vii he wants to ascertain the parentage of the boy Sarvadamana. Proofs sufficient to establish his identity come pouring in, but he still hesitates to draw the inevitable conclusion and asks :

> Bhavatībhyām kadāchid asyāḥ pratyakshīkṛitā vikṛitiḥ.

We often see the whole man in his most involuntary expressions and movements. We need not therefore any longer doubt that suffering has chastened Dushyanta.

The same is the case with Śakuntalā. In the earlier parts of the Play things had prospered with her quite well. Her friends encourage her in her passion. King Dushyanta requites her love and promises to install her as the mother of the would-be heir-apparent. Even father Kaṇva whose anger they so much dreaded pronounces his blessing. The day she is leaving the hermitage there are the auspicious presents of the Āśrama trees and her father's most welcome "vara"—

> Sutam tvam api samrājam seva Pūrum avāpnuhi.

As she is about to enter the precincts of Dushyanta's capital she makes it a point to render her homage to the neighbouring Śachītīrtha. Śachī is the Deity of marriage ; and did not Śakuntalā hope, ere long, to be, like Śachī, blessed with a great son ? In weaving up all these day-dreams, she, poor creature, loses the ring ; and yet when her right eye throbs as she is conducted into Dushyanta's presence, she hopefully says :

> Hiaa, kiṁ evvaṁ vepasi ? Ajjauttassa bhāvam ohāria dhīraṁ dāva hohi.

The blow that dashes all her hopes was as unexpected as it was cruel. The mainstay of her hope was Dushyanta; and he, as Śakuntalā—interpreting the purely accidental and unintended *double entente* of his words (*italics* ours) :

> Strīṇām aśikshitapaṭutvam *amānushīshu*
> Saṁdṛiśyate kim uta yāḥ pratibodhavatyaḥ /
> Prāg *antarikshagamanāt* svam apatyajātam
> Anyair *dvijaiḥ* parabhṛitaḥ khalu poshayanti //—

too late discovers, not only inwardly recognises her, but delights in insulting her mother and repudiating the imputed marriage under the assumed cloak of righteousness. No wonder that for the moment Śakuntalā loses her self-control and sends back a stinging reply to the King worthy of sage Viśvāmitra's daughter :*

> Tumhe yyevva pamāṇaṁ jāṇatha dhammatthitiṁ cha loassa /
> Lajjāviṇijjidāo jāṇanti hu kiṁ ṇa mahilāo //

* The reply is unaccountably omitted in all printed editions. Unto men like Dushyanta who want to arrogate all righteousness to themselves and presume to pass judgements upon womankind, Śakuntalā in effect asks whether men alone have the monopoly of right thinking and whether women—modest women with downcast looks—have not the right to judge for themselves. No modern champion of the rights of women could have desired anything better.

But her struggle is in vain. In his classic fight with Brahmarshi Vasishṭha, Viśvāmitra had learnt the lesson of the superiority of patient and forgiving virtue. The same was the lesson that it fell now to Viśvāmitra's daughter to learn. Upabhoga, enjoyment, that was for her, earlier in life, the keynote to happiness as evidenced by her words in Act i—

> Halā, ramaṇīe kkhu kāle imassa pādavamihuṇassa vaiaro saṁvutto : Navakusumajovvaṇā Vaṇajosiṇī, baddhaphaladāe uabhoakkhamo Sahaāro—

ceases to be her ideal any longer; for she was now passing her days in a different kind of hermitage where, Kālidāsa wants us particularly to note,

> Yat kāṅkshanti tapobhir anyamunayas tasmiṁs tapasyanty amī.

It is in keeping with this new spirit that she accepts the proffered apology of Dushyanta and does not demand explanations. It is thus evident that both the Hero and the Heroine have been chastened by suffering and so rendered more truly worthy of each other.

With this exalted conception of the central thought and the inner meaning of the Play, Kālidāsa is next throwing his "Kathāvastu" into appropriate Acts. The background of the earlier Acts is marked by a deeply sensuous colouring. The central note is struck by the Sūtradhāra with his words :

> Nanv imam eva tāvan nātichirapravṛittam upabhogakshamam Grīshmasamayam adhikṛitya gīyatām.

This is emphasised by Śakuntalā's conception of an ideally happy marriage, which has been already quoted above. Equally sensuous is, at this stage, Dushyanta's

outlook on life, as evidenced by the way he envies the lot of the bee :

> Chalāpāṅgām dṛishṭim spṛiśasi bahuśo vepathumatīm
>
> ....
>
> Vayam tattvānveshān madhukara hatās tvam khalu kṛitī.

In Act ii, and still more in Act v and the following Interlude, the atmosphere gets worse and worse. It is not only sensuousness but sordid self-seeking that we encounter through characters like the epicure Vidūshaka, the time-server Senāpati, the soulless Śyāla, the lascivious Pratīhārī and the jealous Vasumatī. For the concluding Act where the Hero and the Heroine are reconciled, as already remarked, Kālidāsa has most artistically changed the background altogether.

Now in the First Act Kālidāsa presents us with an idyllic picture of the simple and guileless life of Kaṇva's hermitage which quite captivates the heart of Dushyanta, who, as the representative of another ideal, may be said to have invaded the Āśrama very much like the infuriated elephant that the Poet has designedly introduced towards the end of it, crushing many a creeper under his feet and menacing the prevailing peaceful atmosphere :

> Mūrto vighnas tapasa iva naḥ..............

What is the result of this conflict of ideals ? Only this. The Āśrama which was at first a home of peace and happiness, of mirth and merriment, of simplicity and service, is converted into a scene of grief and lament :

> Uggalidadabbhakavalā miā parichchattaṇachchaṇā morā /
>
> Osariapaṇḍupattā muanti assū via ladāo //

The picture of Dushyanta's life at Court the poet has described in sufficient details. It is, briefly characterised, a life of low, self-contented worldliness of which the only relieving feature is Dushyanta's attempt to keep above the mire and maintain the ideal of kingly duty and decorum. And he too needs to be buoyed up by the Vaitālika now and then reminding him of his ideal. Anyhow those whose lot was cast into this atmosphere were all in their own estimation happy beyond measure. They had their music and dance and low scandal and cared not to change for any other mode of life. Into such an atmosphere the Poet introduces Śārṅgarava, Śāradvata and other members of Śakuntalā's party. The utter contempt of these latter for the prevailing worldliness of the atmosphere is well brought out by the words of the young ascetics :

Janākīrṇam manye hutavahaparītam gṛiham iva.

There again ensues a conflict of ideals. And now whereas, in Act i, Dushyanta, the representative of the lower ideal, was bid sincerely welcome, here Śakuntalā, the representative of the higher ideal, is treated with disrespect and as good as turned out of doors. And what is the ultimate result ? Grief and bitter lament such as we notice in Act vi. The two ideals were in themselves incompatible and could not live happily together until there is in them a radical change and readjustment.

It is possible to understand and interpret these facts also from a slightly different point of view. As already remarked, Act i is placed in early spring-time with its ideal of unrestrained enjoyment, and it culminates in sheer grief and sorrow. The same spring-time is also the time chosen for the action of Act vi. But "Upabhoga" is here by design tabooed, and Saṁnyāsa

or abnegation of enjoyments is by force imposed upon all and sundry. But the way to peace and happiness lies neither through unhindered enjoyment :

> Na jātu kāmaḥ kāmānām upabhogena śāmyati ;

nor through enforced abnegation :

> Karmendriyāṇi saṁyamya ya āste manasā smaran /
> Indriyārthān vimūḍhātmā mithyāchāras sa uchyate //

For true blessedness what is needed is the Karmayoga of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* with its emphasis on the renunciation of fruit-hankering. This, as already observed, is the philosophy preached and followed in the hermitage of Mārīcha.

It will be evident from the above discussion how great skill is required, even after the settling of the general outline of the plot of a drama, to distribute the story proper over the different Acts and to assign appropriate time, place, and atmosphere for the events that are to fall within each successive Act. In the present essay I shall just find room for one other detail which remarkably illustrates the minute care with which Kālidāsa settled the order of events comprised within an Act and their respective topography. Lengthy and detailed stage-directions are generally regarded as the characteristics of the Modern Play. Without actually giving any such elaborate stage-directions, Kālidāsa seems to have realised the importance of fixing up and visualising his stage in accurate details with a view to producing the dramatic effects that he wished to produce.

I wish in this connection to draw the attention of students to the topographical details of Kaṇva's Āśrama in Act i and again in Act iv. In Act i we make

acquaintance of the Āśrama from the point of view of a person coming from Dushyanta's capital towards the Āśrama. In Act iv the reverse is the case; for, it is Śakuntalā going from the Āśrama to Hastināpura. Consequently, what Dushyanta sees and describes first as he approaches the Āśrama would be seen and commented upon by Śakuntalā and her escorting party last in Act iv. This is exactly the case. The details can be more easily grasped in the following tabular form, where what is interesting to note is the use to which Kālidāsa has put each succeeding topographical detail in Act i and again in Act iv.

Topography of Act One

(From Hastināpura — To the Āśrama →)

—Forest proper, the Vanarāji where ascetics go to fetch Samidhs.

—Outskirts of Tapovana (Āśramābhyarṇabhūmi) marked by:

(i) Ground undulations (udghātinī bhūmi) hindering chariot-speed; (ii) Big and shady trees; (iii) Water-places (toyādhāra).

—Water canals (kulyā); trees dusky owing to sacrificial smoke; grazing ground for fawns and carrying does.

—Compound-gate of the Penance-grove (Āśramadvāra).

—Grotto of flowering trees: vṛikshavāṭikā or kusumapādapavīthi, includi g the Kesara or Bakula tree.

—The Vanajyotsnā with adjoining Sahakāra (mango) tree.

—Other flowering creepers (gimhakālakusumadāiṇo ladāo)

—"Uṭajadvāram".

....

....

Topography of Act Four

(From the Āśrama — To Hastināpura →)

—"Haddhi, haddhi; Antalihidā Sauntalā vaṇarāie."

(i) "Asminn alakshitanatonnatabhūmibhāge" etc.;

(ii) "Imām khīravṛikshachchhāyām āśrayāmaḥ;"

(iii) "Bhagavan, odakāntam snigdhajano'nugantavyaḥ."

—"Esā uṭajapajjantachāriṇī gabbhamantharā miavahū;" also Dīrghāpāṅga tucking at Śakuntalā's garment.

—"Itaḥ panthānam pratipadyasva".

—(N. B.—The "vanavāsabandhu" trees are all addressed together, earlier).

—"Tāta, ladābabiṇiaṁ Vaṇajosiṇiṁ dāva āmantaissam".

—"Osariapaṇḍupattā muanti assū via ladāo".

—"Bhaginyās te mārgam ādeśaya."

—Inside the Uṭaja: the Fire-altars.

—Verandah around an inner court-yard, where Śakuntalā is having her "maṅgalasamālambhanam".

Incidently this sequence justifies the order of the speeches in the First Act which I have elsewhere argued as being the original order, which the printed editions have wantonly changed.

VIKRAMA SAṀVAT, ITS ORIGIN AND NOMENCLATURE IN DIFFERENT PERIODS

By

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The Vikrama Saṁvat or era of Vikramāditya is used all over Northern India, except in Bengal. "It is used" says Cunningham "also in Telingana and Gujarat..........This era is said to have been established by Vikramāditya, a king of Ujjain, to commemorate his victory over the Śakas." Let us however see what the inscriptions tell us about the nomenclature of the era.

The earliest date where the name of Vikrama is associated with the era is 898 from a Chāhumāna inscription at Dholpur. How the era was named in the centuries preceding it we shall see before long. But here what we have to note is how the era was known generally after the date 898. It was *Śrīmad-Vikrama-nṛipa-kāla*, *Śrī-nṛipa-Vikrama-saṁvat*, *Vikrama-saṁvat* and so forth. But what is exactly meant by these expressions? The copper-plates of the Chaulukya king Bhīmadeva II give a more detailed form of the expression. It is this: *Śrīmad-Vikramādity-otpādita-saṁvatsara*, "the year (of the era) originated by the illustrious Vikramāditya".

This agrees with the tradition mentioned by Cunningham that the era was established by Vikramāditya, a king of Ujjain, to commemorate his victory over the Śakas. But that was not the only tradition prevalent about the association of Vikrama with this era, because we meet with such expressions as *śrī-Vikramato gateshu, gateshv=abdeshu Vikramāt, Vikramārka-gate kāle.* The compounds of the Sanskrit language are however so elastic that these expressions may be interpreted in a different manner. Amitagati, the author of the *Subhāshita-ratna-saṁdoha,* however, places this matter beyond all doubt when he sets forth the date of this work as follows: *samārūḍhe pūta-tridaśa-vasatiṁ Vikrama-nṛipe,* "after king Vikrama has ascended to the pure dwelling of the immortals". There can thus be no doubt as to this era having been established to commemorate the passing away of the eponymous founder of the era. This is the second tradition that was current about the association of the name of Vikrama with this era. It was originated not by king Vikrama to signalise his victory over his enemies but rather to memorise the demise of that great hero. There is yet a third tradition about the origin of this era. The Dholpur inscription referred to above has: *Vasu-nav-āshṭau-varshā-gatasya kālasya Vikram-ākhyasya,* "when the time called Vikrama had gone by, namely, the years 898". This Kielhorn explains as follows. Autumn or *śarad* in India was pre-eminently the Vikrama-kāla or war-time. And it is only one step further that *Vikrama-kāla* should be connected with the year (śarad) itself, as that term has also the sense of the 'year'. Afterwards, when the origin and the true meaning of the terms *Vikrama-kāla* and *Vikrama*-year had been forgotten, people interpreted these terms after the manner of

their own age, and, Vikrama being a well-known name of famous kings, they naturally connected the era with a king of that name who would be supposed, either, like their own kings, to have counted the years from his accession or to have otherwise given occasion for the establishment of the era. Had it been founded by a king Vikramāditya in 58 B. C., it is strange that no allusion should ever have been made to this for more than a thousand years afterwards. Again, had it been invented in memory of some great king, the name of that king would surely have been prominently mentioned many a time before V. E. 1050, the date of Amitagati's *Subhāshita-ratna-saṁdoha.* Besides, nothing has yet been brought to prove the existence of a king Vikramāditya, in the century preceding the birth of Christ. It is true that the late Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya and, following him, the late M. M. Haraprasad Shastri have brought to our attention a verse from Hāla's *Gāthā-saptaśatī* (v. 64), which no doubt makes mention of Vikramāditya and refers to his munificent nature. But as pointed out by me elsewhere, on internal evidence Hāla's *Saptaśatī* has been correctly assigned by Weber to the commencement of the 6th century A. D. The theory that the Vikrama era was in any way connected with a king called Vikramāditya must, therefore, be given up, because it is only in V. E. 1050 that we for the first time find his name associated with the era, in commemoration, again, not of his victory over the Mlechchhas but rather his exit from the world.

The theory that Vikramāditya was in any way connected with the Vikrama Saṁvat must, therefore, be given up. Let us now see by what name this era was known in the earlier inscriptions. In 1885 an inscription was discovered by J. F. Fleet at Mandasor in the

Gwalior State. It contains two dates, the first of which is expressed as follows :

> Mālavānāṁ gaṇa-sthityā yāte śata-chatushṭaye /
> tri-navaty-adhike=bdānām.

His rendering of the verse is : "when by (*the reckoning from*) the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, four centuries of years, increased by ninety-three, had elapsed."

Soon thereafter, another inscription from Mandasor was brought to light and published by Fleet, giving the date in the words :

> Pañchasu śateshu śaradāṁ yāteshv=ekān-na-navati-sahiteshu /
> Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt.........

The last phrase Fleet has translated by "from (the establishment of) the supremacy of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas", adding in a note that "it is very difficult to find a really satisfactory meaning" for the word *vaśāt* in the passage. F. Kielhorn obviates this difficulty by taking the phrase to mean "by, or according to, the reckoning of the Mālavas". He thus makes *gaṇa* equivalent to *gaṇanā*, which is not at all objectionable, as was much later pointed out by Prof. K. M. Shembavanekar on the authority of the *Śabdārṇavakośa*.

In 1913 a third inscription was found at Mandasor. It was discovered by me during my touring season 1912-13 when I was in the Archaeological Department. The date of this record is set forth in the verse :

> Śrī (r)-Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāte praśaste Kṛita-saṁjñite /
> Eka-shashṭy-adhike prāpte samā-śata-chatushṭaye //

In this verse there are two expressions which are worthy of consideration. The first is *Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāte* which doubtless corresponds to *Mālavānāṁ gaṇa-sthityā* and *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt* of the other two Mandasor inscriptions. The natural sense of *āmnāya* is *sampradāya* (=traditional usage), which corresponds to *sthiti* (=a settled rule or usage) of the other two Mandasor epigraphs. The second expression in this verse is *Kṛitasaṁjñite* which qualifies the phrase expressing the date. As the word *saṁjñita* shows, the year 461, which is the date, is itself intended to be called *Kṛita*. But, as indicated by *Śrī-Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāta*, the date is clearly a year of the Vikrama era. Obviously, therefore, Kṛita appears to be the name of the years of the Vikrama era in the 5th century A. D. and earlier. I say 'earlier', because there were at least two instances of the use of the name Kṛita in inscriptions prior to (V. E.) 461, the date of the new Mandasor epigraph, but its real sense was not apprehended. They are the Bijaygaḍh stone pillar inscription of Vishṇuvardhana, and the Gaṅgdhār stone inscription of Viśvavarman. The date of the first runs thus: *Kṛiteshu chaturshu varsha-śateshv=ashṭāviṁśeshu* 400 20 8 etc. The second sets forth the date as follows: *Yāteshu chaturshu Kṛiteshu śateshu śau-(m)yeshv=āśīta-sottara-padeshv=iha vatsareshu.* Fleet who has edited both these records translates the word *Kṛiteshu* by "fully completed", but admits that it involves a straining. Besides, with this meaning the word is made redundant by *yāteshu*, which is used along with it in the second inscription. But now that we know that Kṛita was the name of Vikrama saṁvat, the occurrence of this term in the Bijaygaḍh and Gaṅgdhār records becomes perfectly clear and intelligible.

Many other early records of this era have been found since the publication of Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*. One was published by me and was found at Nagarī in the Udaipur State. It is dated Kṛita 481. We will refer to it later on as it is an important record. Two were found at Barṇālā in the Jaipur State, Rajputana, and were published by Prof. A. S. Altekar. One is dated Kṛita 284 and the other Kṛita 335. Three were discovered at Baḍvā in the Koṭāh State and edited also by Prof. Altekar. These three are dated Kṛita 295. But the last and earliest was found at Nāndsā in the Udaipur State and is dated Kṛita 282. All these inscriptions except the first do not make any the slightest mention of the Mālavas. They record dates which are called simply Kṛita, showing clearly that this old name of Vikrama saṁvat was current as early as Kṛita 282=225 A. D. Two questions now arise. The first is why this era was known as Kṛita; and the second, why in some inscriptions it is associated with the Mālavas. We will take the second question first for consideration. The expressions in this connection are *Mālavānāṁ gaṇa-sthityā, Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt* and *Mālava-gaṇ-āmnāte*. "*Vaśāt* at the end of a compound" says Kielhorn "ordinarily means 'in consequence of, according to, by means of, by'; in fact, it frequently takes simply the place of the termination of an instrumental case,........" He accordingly translates the first two of the above three phrases simply with "by, or according to, the reckoning of the Mālavas". It had better be rendered by the settled mode of the reckoning of the people of the Mālava country". I have already pointed out that *gaṇa* has the sense of *gaṇanā*, 'computation, reckoning'. This interpretation, which is of a most reasonable character, clearly shows, in the

first place, that *gaṇa* cannot here denote "the tribal oligarchy of the Mālavas" as taken by Fleet at the outset and even now by Prof. Altekar, and secondly that it points to a system of reckoning dates peculiar to the Mālavas, that is, the people of the Mālava country. This accords excellently with the date of the Nagarī inscription which I discovered in December 1915. It runs thus : *Kṛiteshu chaturshu varsha-śateshu ekāśīty-uttareshv =asyāṁ Mālava-pūrvvāyāṁ* 400 80 1 *Kārttika-śukla-pañchamyām*. The first portion of the date speaks of four hundred and eighty-one Kṛita years having elapsed. There can thus be no doubt that this 481 is a year of the Vikrama era. The second portion of the date gives the details in full as follows: 481 *Kārttika-śukla-pañchamyām*. These details, however, are preceded with the most interesting expression, *Mālava-pūrvvāyām*. I have elsewhere pointed out that the word *pūrvvā* has a specific sense of 'detailed order' or 'descriptive sequence' and is used in connection with the specification of dates. The phrase *asyāṁ Mālava-pūrvvāyām* has therefore to be translated as "when the detailed order (of the date) according to the people of the Mālava country was this, namely, 481, on the 5th day of the bright half of Kārttika". This shows without any shadow of a doubt that the Mālava people had their own peculiar system of reckoning the lunar day of the Kṛita year. Now we know that the years of the Vikrama era found in the old inscriptions present different methods of computation. Thus while some are *Kārttikādi*, others are *Chaitrādi*. Some *tithis* again conform to the *pūrṇimānta* and some to the *amānta* arrangement of the lunar month. The Mālava system may have combined one or two of the these peculiarities. Whatever the method of their computation was, this much is certain that not only the

tithis but even the years are affected thereby. But the *Mālavas* had nothing to do with the foundation of the Vikrama era. The old name of the Vikrama years was Kṛita, whatever that may mean. The connection of the Mālavas with this era was only in regard to the system of reckoning the *tithis* and thereby the years also. I suspected this when I wrote my paper on the Mandasor inscription of Naravarman. But this is now unmistakably demonstrated by the expression *Mālava-pūrvvāyām* of the Nagarī record.

Let us now turn to the second question, namely, the determination of the meaning of the term *Kṛita.* We have to note that *Kṛita* has been used always in apposition to the years, such for instance as *Kṛitayor=ddvayor=varsha-śatayor=ddvyaśītayoḥ* (*tau*) 200 80 2 *Chaitre,* in the Nāndsā inscription. What can the word Kṛita mean in such phrases ? I suggested long ago that it possibly meant "made" and referred to the years of an era invented by astronomers. There was, however, no evidence in support of it, and there was nothing in this suggestion which could inherently command acceptance. Not very long ago I put forward another suggestion for what it was worth. I suggested that *Kṛita* meant Kṛita years, that is, the years of the Kṛita *Yuga.* So far as I can see, no scholar of any repute has criticised this suggestion except Prof. A. S. Altekar. He suggests that Kṛita must have been the name of some general or king of the Mālavas. He points out that Kṛita was the individual name not only of one divinity among the *Viśvedevas* but also of the son of Vasudeva and Rohiṇī. Kṛita again was the name not only of a pupil of Hiraṇyanābha but also of the father of Uparichara. Kṛita can thus very well be the name of an individual. But what we cannot quite understand is that

if Kṛita was the name of a ruler or general, not even once the honorific prefix *Śrī* or *Śrīmat* is attached to his name nor the title *nṛipa* or *senāpati* affixed to it. Such is not, however, the case with the name of Vikrama or Vikramāditya where in eighty out of a hundred cases the aforesaid prefix or suffix is added to his name. Besides how can *Kṛita* be taken as the name of an individual ruler in such a compound as *Kṛitayor=ddvayoḥ śatayor* as we no doubt find for instance in the Nāndsā inscription ? Does it mean "of two hundred rulers named Kṛita" ? What we have to note is that *Kṛita* always stands in apposition to *vatsara* or *saṁvatsara.* Taken all in all I still cannot help thinking that my suggestion has not yet been well controverted and therefore not at all upset.

Enough attention has not been drawn to the importance of 'the Brahmin Empire' established by the Śuṅgas sometime before the Christian era. The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal was the first to bring this subject to our notice in two papers on 'the Brahmin Empire.' In the second of these he has quoted a passage from the *Harivaṁśa* attached to the *Mahābhārata* where Pushyamitra and his revival of Brāhmaṇism have been clearly hinted at. Soon after reading this paper I happened to light upon Chapters 190-1 of the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* which describe the Kaliyuga and its atrocities. We are told that during the Kali Age the Śūdras will be the preachers and the Brāhmaṇas the hearers, that the earth will be adorned, not by shrines of gods, but by Buddhist *stūpas* (=*eḍuka*) and that India itself would be overrun by the Mlechchha hordes. This has been described as the character of the Kaliyuga, but Kaliyuga will gradually, we are told, develop into a *saṁdhi* period before the Kṛitayuga is

ushered in. In regard to the Kṛitayuga, we are informed that a Brāhmaṇa named Vishṇuyaśas will be born as Kalkī in the town of Sambhala in a Brāhmaṇa family and that he will be not only a supreme ruler (*chakravartin*) but also a righteous conqueror (*dharmavijayī*). He will exterminate the Dasyus, perform a great Horse-Sacrifice, give back the earth to the Brāhmaṇas, establish the worship of *triśūlas, śaktis* and deerskins, and will usher in the Kṛita Age (Chap. 191, Verses 1-9). I am afraid this description suits Pushyamitra excellently, as he was a Brāhmaṇa, a supreme ruler, a righteous conqueror, and celebrated a horse-sacrifice and re-established the Brāhmaṇic religion. Nay, the account of the Kaliyuga preceding the advent of Kalkī lays stress on the predominance of Buddhism and the Śūdras becoming the preachers exactly as is done by the *Harivaṁśa,* according to which this state of things was ended by Senānī *dvija*, who, as shown by Jayaswal, cannot but be Pushyamitra. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in the case of the *Mahābhārata* also Pushyamitra is intended by the description of Kalkī. The only difficulty that may be raised is that Kalkī is spoken of as a personage to come. But Mr. Jayaswal has already told us that the Purāṇas "clearly say that he did flourish". Thus the *Matsyapurāṇa* says that the Buddha was born as the ninth (*avatāra*) and that Kalkī, Vishṇuyaśas, the leader of the Parāśaras, will be the tenth incarnation at the close of Kaliyuga. Then follows a description of his conquests, but at the end we are told that "Time having passed, that king (or god = *deva*) *disappeared*." This clearly shows that according to some authorities the Kalkī Incarnation of Vishṇu has come and gone. This means that the Kali Age also has passed away, giving rise to the Kṛita which is therefore now going

on. If this line of reasoning has any weight, Pushyamitra becomes the inaugurator of the Kṛita Epoch which began with 57 B. C.

It is true that Pushyamitra has been assigned to *circa* 180 B. C. on the strength of the dynastic lists and regnal periods specified by the Purāṇas. The testimony of the Purāṇas may perhaps be utilised when there is nothing of an irrefragable character to contradict it. Unfortunately the recent discovery of a Śuṅga inscription in Ayodhyā runs counter to the above date of Pushyamitra. It refers to the reign of Dhanadeva, son of Phalgudeva and Kauśikī, who was Lord of Kosala. But the most important point about it is that Dhanadeva says that he was sixth in descent from "Senāpati Pushyamitra, who twice performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice." Now, the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar rightly says in regard to this epigraph that the alphabet is "almost the same as in the records of the Northern Kshatrapas (first century A. D.)". Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, who edited this inscription last, also remarks that it "on palaeographic grounds must be assigned to about the first century A. D." In fact, if any scholar frees his mind from any bias created by the date already assigned to Pushyamitra on the strength of the Purāṇas and considers impartially the palaeography of the Ayodhyā inscription, he cannot but come to the same conclusion, *viz.*, that the record belongs to the first century A. D. We have seen that Dhanadeva was sixth in descent from Pushyamitra and if we assign 25 years to a generation, an interval of 150 years must have separated the two. Further, supposing Dhanadeva lived about 75 A. D., Pushyamitra has to be placed *circa* 75 B. C. It is possible that he first seized power about that time, but he must have been engaged in inter-

necine warfare for a pretty long period before he could put down the Mlechchha rulers and establish himself as an indisputable paramount sovereign. That he was engaged in warfare for a long period is shown by the fact that he celebrated the horse-sacrifice, not once, but twice. The first horse-sacrifice must have been celebrated after he first established his power. But it seems that it was soon after called in question by a number of enemies who had arisen. These were, however, put down, and he re-established his supremacy, which was signalised by the second performance of the horse-sacrifice. Although he thus first came to power in 75 B. C., it was not till 57 B. C. that he became an undisputed supreme ruler and a righteous conqueror (*dharma-vijayī*). So the Kṛitayuga must have been ushered in by him when his power was established for the second time and placed on a firm footing.

Now only one difficulty remains in regard to our theory that the so-called Vikrama Saṁvat are years of the Kṛita era. It may reasonably be asked how Kṛita in such a case stands in apposition to *varsha*. We would rather have *Kṛita-vatsarāḥ* or *Kārttāḥ vatsarāḥ*, but not *Kṛitaḥ vatsaraḥ*. Fortunately for us we have a parallel for such terminology in the Śaka era. It is well-known that the years of this era have once been called *Śaka-nṛipati-rājy-ābhisheka-saṁvatsara*, but that they are generally called Śaka-saṁvat. It is however worthy of note that there are some inscriptions, where *Śaka* stands exactly in apposition to Saṁvatsara as Kṛita does. Thus a grant of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty has the following : *Śrī-Śake trayodaś-ādhika-triśat-ottara-sahasra-gate*. If any inscription from Northern India is required in support of this proposition, it is supplied by the Somavaṁśi king, Karṇarāja of Kakaira,

bearing the date *Chaturddaś-ottare s=eyam=ekadase (śa—)—śate Śake.* In both these cases *Śaka* has been used in the sense of "the years of the Śaka era". It thus seems that the years of the Kṛitayuga in course of time similarly came to be known as merely Kṛita. In fact, Kṛita was considered to be the actual designation of these years. This is clearly shown by the phrase *Kṛita-saṁjñite* which occurs in a Mandasor record. From this it is evident that Kṛita denoted not only an epoch, but also the years of that epoch. There is therefore no reasonable ground against the supposition that the Vikrama years were originally the years of the Kṛitayuga and that this epoch was ushered in most probably by Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty. And it was the good fortune of the Gwalior territory and the country round about to have preserved the name Kṛita, that is, the years of the Kṛitayuga inaugurated in North India.

THE NINE GEMS
IN
THE COURT OF VIKRAMADITYA

By

B. BHATTACHARYYA, Baroda

For every Indian the magic words *Vikramāditya*, *Ujjayinī* and *Kālidāsa* have infinite charm. These names signify the highest glory, the fullest realisation of life, the pinnacle of prosperity and the zenith of happiness for the Indian people. They conjure up before us a weird vision of ease, of beauty, of excellence, of unfettered freedom. That is the reason why there is enthusiasm and joy and a nation-wide eagerness to celebrate the bi-millennium of the era connected with the hallowed name of Vikramāditya, the completion of which has, for a long time, been regarded in orthodox circles as a great turning point of events.

The great king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī is associated with the ancient tradition that there were Nine Gems in his court. Amongst them were the greatest scholars, greatest poets, great mathematicians and eminent men of science. This tradition is current amongst the Pandits of the orthodox school all over India from the heights of the Himālayas down to the Cape Comorin, and from the commercial Gujarat in the west to the sentimental Bengal and Assam in the east.

With the advent of western research the importance of the Pandits diminished along with their opinions, theories and traditions. The orthodox view regarding the existence of Nine Gems was mercilessly discarded on the ground that the different scholars forming the group cannot be contemporaries, since they belonged to widely different periods[1]. For a time it seemed that the discrediting of the Nine Gems theory was a triumph of critical research. But the western method was then only a new arrival, and as such, was still in its infancy, and therefore, childish, ignorant and hasty. The Pandits fortunately do not still believe in the new western method, but continue to hold on tenaciously to their old conception of Nine Gems.

Modern research after refuting the orthodox tradition marched forwards with its wealth of critical material gathered for more than a hundred years, in order to come to the conclusion that, after all, the tradition is not such as can be unceremoniously discarded. It is indeed very refreshing to see our young scholars following the right path in connection with the Vikrama tradition and by an array of powerful arguments making an attempt to corroborate it[2]. Old history

1. See, for instance, the views of A. Weber: *The History of Sanskrit Literature*, popular edition, Pp. 200 f. and foot-notes with numerous references. M. Krishnamachariar in his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras 1937, Pp. 100 f. collects a number of authoritative views on Vikrama, Nine Gems, Kālidāsa, etc. both in the text and in numerous foot-notes. It is not possible here to refer to these views or to criticise them. They are so numerous !

2. I here allude to the article, entitled *Chandragupta II Sāhasāṅka alias Vikramāditya and the Nine Jewels*, in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. VI, Pp. 191f. and 377f. by Mr. S. K. Dikshit. This is one of the most brilliant articles on the subject, and it refers to practically all the problems connected with it with fairly full references. This article has been helpful to me in preparing this paper, although unfortunately I have not been able to accept his conclusions in most cases.

turns into traditions, and traditions turn into mythology. This is the natural process, particularly in a country like India where history through millenniums passes first into pre-history, then into mythology before passing into the oblivion. In the present paper an attempt will be made to show that with our present knowledge it would be advisable to conform to the tradition current amongst the Pandits in so far as Vikrama and his Nine Gems are concerned. Endeavour will also be made to find out exactly what part of the tradition can be accepted and what part should be rejected with the help of our advanced knowledge.

Hardly an account of the great king Vikramāditya can be complete without a reference to the origin of the so-called Vikrama era which started its triumphant career in 58 B. C. If this problem is properly investigated and its implications are sufficiently realised, many historical illusions and many unwarranted investigations and assumptions will disappear and many favourite theories will meet with their doom. With regard to the Vikrama era the first thing to be remembered is that all materials at our disposal point to the fact that in 58 B. C. there was no Vikramāditya and no Vikrama era. In 58 B. C. some era was started, indeed, but that was the Kṛita era of the Mālavas and not the Vikrama era. The Kṛita era of the Mālavas started with a definite historical event as will be shown in the sequel, and that event was not connected with the life story of any Vikramāditya but with the settlement of the Mālavas, that is to say, when the several tribes composing the Mālava Gaṇa combined together under one leadership and formed one government. It is true that 58 B. C. marked the commencement of the tribal era of the Mālavas, and they were so proud of it that they

named the era as the Kṛita era or the golden age or an era of great prosperity, and of spiritual, moral and intellectual advancement.

The name of the Vikrama era was not known in India till the Vikrama year 898[1]. Until then, the problem of Vikrama era never existed. There is indeed an inscription which mentions Vikrama Saṁvatsara 794[2], but as the editor considers the date irregular, it is doubtful whether it can be taken as a genuine instance of the use of the Vikrama year. Thus upto 898 Vikrama year, the name of Vikrama had never been associated with this era which used to be called either the Kṛita era or the Mālava era. Therefore, those who hold that the era was known as the Vikrama era from its very inception and that the era was started by King Vikramāditya are undoubtedly in the grip of an historical hallucination. It is high time that such absurd notions are given up.

Once we realise the true origin of the Vikrama era, once we appreciate the fact that there was no Vikramāditya in 58 B. C., we shall at once discover the futility of the attempts of scholars to find out a secret Vikrama in that year. Some scholars rely on a Jain tradition that there was a Gardabhilla King who insulted Kālaka, a Jaina saint, who in his anger brought Śakas to India. The Śakas were later on driven away by Vikramāditya, the son of Gardabhilla[3]. The Jain tradition as well as the investigation of scholars on that tradition represent as unprofitable inquiry, and therefore, altogether valueless for historical purposes. How can

1. Bhandarkar's *List* No. 27 V. E. where "Kālasya Vikramākhyasya" occurs.

2. Bhandarkar's *List* No. 17 V. E. mentions "Vikramasaṁvatsara".

3. *Indian Culture*, Vol. VI, P. 196f.

there be a headache without a head and how can there be an inquiry if there was no Vikrama and no Vikrama era in 58 B. C.? To the same class must be assigned the attempts of professors who think that either Śūdraka or Agnimitra should be identified with Vikrama the originator of the era[1]. Here it is interesting to refer to an ingenious attempt to manufacture evidence to show that the Vikrama era was started by Śūdraka[2]. The Rasashala of Gondal has just published a remarkable (!) book, although in fragments, *Kṛishṇacharitra* by name, of the remarkable authorship of the great Gupta emperor Samudragupta ! In this book the author seeks the aid of the powerful monarch to explain a historical riddle which never existed. The instance of the recent publication of *Kṛishṇacharitra* is here cited simply to show the latest tendency in the art of producing faked books and manuscripts. But it is fortunate that it does not take much time for a true historian to detect such spurious products.

Once it is established that there was no Vikrama era in 58 B. C. all attempts at discovering a phantom Vikramāditya at 58 B. C. should be lightly passed over. The era commencing with 58 B. C. was started by the Mālavas, and hence an account of the tribe here would be interesting.

The Mālavas appear in history in the *Mahābhārata*[3] as one among the northern peoples. "Northern peoples"

1. Identifications are dangerous in antiquarian and historical inquiries, especially in India, and should not be resorted to unless thoroughly obvious or supported by texts. Many illusions have crept in because of lack of discrimination in this matter.

2. *Kṛishṇacharitra*, P. 5—
   Vatsaram svam Śakān jitvā prāvartayata Vaikramam.

3. *Sabhāparvan*, Ch. XXXII. See also Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity*, Part I, Pp. 155f.

is a vague term, and it may mean nomadic peoples, tribes or castes inhabiting the northern parts of India, such as Rajputana, the Punjab, the Himālayas or even the Trans-Himālayan regions like Central Asia, Khotan and the like. Pāṇini's information[1] is slightly more definite since he associates the Mālavas with the Kshudrakas and calls them Āyudhajīvins or 'living on weapons', that is to say, a warlike people bent on conquests. The Mālavas and the Kshudrakas appear more as nomadic tribes conquering countries and migrating from place to place. Alexander the Great met these tribes of warriors in the Central and Southern Punjab[2].

K. P. Jayaswal has given a very vivid account of the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas in his *Hindu Polity*[3]. During his retreat Alexander came across a number of republics. In fact, all the states he met on his way back, down to the Indus and up to the Indian frontier in Baluchistan, were republican. The most powerful among them were the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas. They are spelt by the Greeks as Oxydrakai and Malloi respectively. They were on the Hydaspes, by which the Greeks apparently mean the passage of the Jhelum after its unity with the Chenab. The two states formed one league. Arrian (VI.4) says that they were the most numerous and warlike of the Indian 'nations' in those parts. Alexander first reached the nation called the Malloi. Near the Malloi there were their republican friends the Siboi, whom the Jātakas and Patañjali know as the Śibis and Śaibyas. The Malloi are called a race of independent Indians (Arrian, VI. 6); their cities were along the Chenab and their capital was near the Rāvi.

1. Pāṇini V. 3. 114-117 with *Kāśikā*, and Jayaswal: *HinduPolity*, Part I, P. 34.
2. Raychaudhuri: *Political History of Ancient India*, Pp. 171, 175, 176.
3. *Hindu Polity*, Part I, Pp. 68ff.

It was in the siege of the capital or one of the cities of Malloi that Alexander nearly lost his life.

The strength of the army as given by Curtius was 1,00,000. The Macedonians lost their heart at the prospect of meeting this army. When the Macedonians found that they had still on hand a fresh war in which the most warlike nations in all India would be their antagonists, they were struck with an unexpected terror, and began again to upbraid the king in the language of sedition.

According to Patañjali the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas survived the Macedonian fight in which the latter became victorious. The Macedonian writers speak of the two nations having sent one hundred ambassadors who all rode in chariots and were men of uncommon stature and of a very dignified bearing. Their robes were of linen embroidered with inwrought gold and purple. The gods, they said, were the authors of their submission and not fear. It is also said that Alexander treated the ambassadors with uncommon hospitality. He gave orders for the preparation of a splendid banquet, and placed a hundred couches of gold at a small distance of each other.

The above account will give a vivid picture of the power and glory of the Mālavas in the time of Alexander the Great (*c.* 327 B. C.). The Mālavas and the Kshudrakas reappear in the Śuṅga times[1]. Patañjali knows them and mentions some victory which they by themselves had won. But in the subsequent centuries they are no longer traceable. They were probably fully amalgamated with the Mālavas during their migration from the Punjab to the eastern Rajputana. The Māla-

1. Patañjali on Pāṇini V. 3. 52. Also Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity,* Part I, P. 152.

vas were in their new homes about 150-100 B. C. as evi denced by the earliest type of their coins found at Karkoṭa Nagar in the Jaipur State. The Mālavas seem to have migrated *via* Bhaṭiṇḍā (Patiala State) where they have left traces of their name in Malwai dialect extending from Ferozepore to Bhaṭiṇḍā. Before 58 B. C. the Mālavas are found beseiging the Uttamabhadras to the west of Ajmer which was relieved by the forces of Nahapāna. The Mālavas subsequently covered the whole of the vast area to the south of Nagar, which permanently bears their name.

The origin, strength, splendour and migration of the Mālavas are indicated in the above account. Their migration and subsequent settlement in the Avanti country ultimately gave it the significant name of Malwa. The Mālavas were undoubtedly semi-nomad and pastoral in their habits and they used to move and migrate in hordes. When migration stops and a settled agricultural life begins under a well ordered social and political scheme, then alone true civilization begins. In the case of the Mālavas the migration stopped when they found a paradise in the table-lands of the Vindhyas with a bracing cold climate, with plenty of fertile land and water, with a scenery and flora charming to the extreme. Plenty of Śikār available in this region was an additional attraction for the nomads who have to live mostly on their catches. The Mālavas were a discriminating people; they were not in favour of Rajputana with its waste lands, inhospitable climate of extreme heat and extreme cold with sandy desert all around. They preferred Malwa to Rajputana and there they settled in a fixed habitation in order that they may never afterwards move and migrate. It was thus an historical event of the first magnitude, and when they strike upon a settled

form of government in which the individuality of the different hordes and tribes are altogether merged for the common good, it is a fit event for commemoration. Thus begins the great era called the KṚITA era of the Mālavas, an era which was equal to the Satya Yuga of the Hindus ushering in what may be called the Golden Age. Kālidāsa's account of the typical Mālava princess Mālavikā[1] makes it clear that the Mālavas were pro-Brāhmaṇic, and the Brāhmaṇa king Agnimitra marrying the Mālava girl shows the process by which the Mālavas were in later centuries totally absorbed into the Hindu society leaving very little or no trace of their existence for the historians to investigate.

Before initiating a discussion on the Mālava era it will be interesting to refer to the view of the western scholars to explain the origin of the so-called Vikrama era. Sir John Marshall came across a few inscriptions at Taxila, Takht-i-bahi and Kalāvan which showed certain connected years in a new era. From the word *Ayasa* preceding these years, Sir John at once concluded that the so-called Vikrama era or the Mālava era was started by one Azes I[2], an insignificant Śaka king without even the title of a Rājā. Sir John's great discovery was hailed with the greatest jubilation by western scholars, and many chronological schemes were made on this slender hypothesis. Frankly speaking, I cannot conceive how it can be true and why there should be a desire to attribute the origin of this national era of India to foreign origin. It must be remembered that India can count insignificant kings like Azes by thousands. An

1. In his drama *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

2. Compare : *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, P. 581f. "It determines the origin of the so-called Vikrama era and fixes the beginning of the reign of Azes I in 58 B. C." Here we see the wonderful spectacle of one wrong hypothesis trying to correct an historical illusion.

era started by a foreign king without kingdom and without following has very little chance of survival in a country like India. The earliest stone inscriptions using the Mālava era are found mostly in Malwa and Rajputana and not in Taxila the home of the Ayasa era. And again, who knows whether the three letters A-ya-sa are not mis-read and mis-interpreted? The great chronological structure built on the questionable authority of the three letters aforesaid does not appear to me to stand on very secure foundation.

Turning to the Mālava era it may be noticed that the Kṛita year first makes its appearance in the two Nāndsā pillar inscriptions (D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* according to Vikrama Era, No. 1, in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX) as Kṛita 282. Therefore, between the inception of the era and the year 282 no inscription bears a date in the same era. Inscriptions belonging to the intermediate period either could not be recognised or are undated or lost. The next year to be mentioned is Kṛita 428 which appears in the Bijayagaḍh pillar inscription[1]. It may be noticed that here also it is a year of the KṚITA era. The next available year is 461 appearing in the Mandasor inscription of Naravarman[2]. Here the Kṛita year is qualified by the word 'Śrīr-Mālavagaṇāmnāte' 'firmly established by the Gaṇa or the Republic of the prosperous Mālavas'. With the help of this material we can say that the Kṛita era was associated with the Mālavas when the year 461 was current. This is the first evidence that the Kṛita era was also known as the Mālava era. The inscription of the Mālava year 493[3] mentions 'Mālavānām

1. Bhandarkar's *List*, op. cit. No. 2 V. E.
2. Bhandarkar's *List*, op. cit. No. 3 V. E.
3. Bhandarkar's *List*, op. cit. No. 6 V. E.

gaṇa-sthityāḥ', or 'from the Gaṇa-sthiti of the Mālavas', or in other words, from the time of the settlement of the Mālava hordes. The inscription of 524[1] mentions 'vikhyāpake Mālava-vaṁśa-kīrtteḥ' or 'proclaiming the glory of the dynasty of the Mālavas'. An inscription of the year 589[2] uses the word 'Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt' or 'dependent on the settlement of the Mālava hordes'. This era is also described as the Saṁvatsara of the Kings of Malwa (Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 18), also of the King of Malwa (*Ibid*, No. 16). The Mālava era is for the last time mentioned in the Gyāraspur fragmentary inscription of the year 936[3] where it is called 'Mālava-kāla'. From this time onwards Mālava era disappeared from Indian inscriptions, giving place to the Vikrama era, although the basis of the computation remained the same from a starting point in 58 B. C[4]. These are some of the hard facts concerning the Vikrama era, and cannot be explained away by the evidence of any other kind.

The above discussion leads us to the conclusion that the era started in 58 B. C. with the 'Mālava Gaṇa' which may either mean the Mālava horde or the Mālava republic, or with the 'Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti' or the settlement of the Mālava Gaṇa or the establishment of the Mālava republic. The term 'Mālaveśānām' in plural suggests that the original leaders were many and not one, and perhaps refers to the oligarchic form of government of the Mālavas. It was called KṚITA in imita-

1. Bhandarkar's *List*, op. cit. No. 7 V. E.
2. Bhandarkar's *List*, op. cit. No. 9 V. E.
3. Bhandarkar's *List*, op. cit. No. 37 V. E.
4. This must have happened when historical sense disappeared from the minds of the authors of inscriptions, when the distance between 58 B. C. and Vikramāditya's time faded and coalesced into one. As the tradition of Vikrama was too strong the Mālava era had naturally to yield to the more powerful Vikrama era.

tion of the Kṛita Yuga the best of time periods. I do not agree with the great scholars who think that the era was called Kṛita because it was 'made or prepared'[1] for marking dates. But can any historian show me an era which has not been 'made or prepared' for marking dates? Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's identification of the Kṛita with the Vikrama era[2] is hardly convincing in the absence of more definite epigraphic material. It is thus needless for me to state that for the purposes of definite historical conclusions Kṛita and Mālava eras should be allowed to remain as the Kṛita and the Mālava eras; it will also be perfectly scientific if the Kṛita is identified with the Mālava era on the strength of the passage 'Śrīr-Mālavagaṇāmnāte praśaste Kṛita-saṁjñite' appearing in one of the inscriptions[3]. But for identifying the Kṛita or the Mālava era with the Vikrama era, at least in the earlier period, there is absolutely no justification.

If, as has been shown already, there had been no Vikramāditya in 58 B.C., the question naturally arises as to who this Vikramāditya must be in whose court the Nine Gems flourished. Such a Vikramāditya must at the same time be a great and famous king and not an ordinary man requiring a microscope to find him out. There are two important clues to help us to discover his identity. First, he is the Śakāri or the enemy of the Śakas and second, he belonged to Ujjayinī.

Let us see first whether the history of Ujjayinī can lead us anywhere. The great city of Ujjayinī is the

1. *IA*, 1913, P. 200 ; *JBORS*, Vol. II, P. 31.

2. See D. R. Bhandarkar's article entitled "*The Vikrama Era*" in the *Commemorative Essays* presented to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, 1917, Pp. 187ff.

3. In the Inscription of Naravarman : Bhandarkar's *List*, op. cit. No. 3 V. E.

famous Ozene[1] of the Greeks and the picturesque Viśālā of the poets. It was famous for its celebrated temple of Mahākāla. It was the capital of Pradyota, the father of Vāsavadattā, and of his family, and then of the viceroys of the Mauryas. Aśoka as a prince was posted at Ujjayinī as the Maurya viceroy. The *Periplus* states that it was formerly a royal capital. Ptolemy informs us that it was the capital of Tiastenes (Chashṭana). His descendants are known as the Śaka Satraps. They were conquered by Chandra Gupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. In Yuan Chwang's time it was the capital of the Kaṭachchhuris. Then we find the Paramāras who governed it down to the time of the Muslim conquest. Rājaśekhara[2] records a tradition that Viśālā was an examination centre where poets used to be examined. It is said that here Kālidāsa, Meṇṭha, Amara, Rūpa, Śūra, Bhāravi, Harichandra and Chandragupta were examined.

This brief history of Ujjayinī shows that the Śakas were ruling the Malwa with their capital at Ujjayinī from the time of Chashṭana (*c.* 130 A. D.) upto the time when the Śakas were driven out by Chandra Gupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. The last known member of the Śaka or Kshatrapa line was Rudra Siṁha III who ruled upto at least 388 A. D. This Rudra Siṁha III apparently was conquered, routed and driven out for good by Chandra Gupta II sometime after A. D. 388. The Śakas were the enemies of Brāhmaṇic culture, as has been shown ably by Jayaswal[3], and certainly we cannot expect literary examinations to be held in their time. A Brahma-Sabhā is possible only when

1. For a brief history of the town of Ozene, see S. N. Majumdar : *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (*Mc Rindle*), P. 373 (*Notes*).
2. *Kāvyamimāṁsā*, G. O. S., P. 55, and Introduction P. xxxvii (third edition).
3. *History of India*, 150 *A. D.*—350 *A. D.*, Pp. 150ff.

they are extirpated. It now remains to be proved that this Śakāri Chandra Gupta II is the same as the Śakāri Vikramāditya in whose court the Nine Gems flourished.

In the *Bhavishyottara Purāṇa* there is an account of the seven Imperial Gupta kings with a great deal of original information hitherto unknown to the text-books on Indian history. As the testimony of this Purāṇa throws some light on the Vikramāditya question, I am tempted to refer to it here. According to this Purāṇa there was only one Vikramāditya amongst the Imperial Guptas, and that was Chandra Gupta II. The other six Guptas had a different appellation for each, ending in Āditya. Thus Chandra Gupta I was known as Vijayāditya, Samudra Gupta as Aśokāditya, Kumāra Gupta I as Mahendrāditya, Skanda Gupta as Parākramāditya, Nṛisiṁha Gupta as Bālāditya and Kumāra Gupta II as Kramāditya[1].

According to the *Bhavishyottara Purāṇa* it is easy to spot the only Vikramāditya of the Gupta line as Chandra Gupta II who ruled for a period of 36 years from A. D. 378 to 414. Thus the Śakāri Vikramāditya of the traditional fame belonged to the Gupta line who were originally in Śrīparvata in Nepal and were hill-men. Marriage alliances were the trump cards with the Guptas. By marriage they came to Pāṭaliputra, by marriage they got the throne of the Āndhras, by marriage they established friendship with the Nāgas and by marriage they brought the Vākāṭakas under control[2]. Their

1. Reference may be made to M. Krishnamachariar : *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Introduction, P. cii where he has quoted from this Purāṇa. But as he identified Samudra Gupta with the Sandrakottas of the Greeks, he appears to have completely missed the significance and the true value of the passages.

2. Raichaudhury : *Political History of Ancient India*, P. 376f, as also the account of the Guptas as given in the *Bhavishyottara Purāṇa*. See *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, P. ciif.

methods were also not very refined. Samudra Gupta was a parricide, and Chandra Gupta II was a fratricide and married the widowed wife of his brother. Chandra Gupta II naturally wanted fame to cover the stain, and the best way to do that was to patronise learned men on a grand scale, and this he did with a vengeance. For the present this should be our conclusion[1].

Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya is described in the *Bhavishyottara Purāṇa*[2] as one who will come in the future. There it is said that Chandra Gupta II will be born as the son of Samudra Gupta. He will be like a lion among heroes; by his prowess he will drive away from the country the Yavanas and the Hūṇas. He will be surrounded by learned men like the powerful Sun-God. He will be proficient in the sciences, the Vedas, the laws, the Purāṇa, the Itihāsa and Kāvya, and will become famous throughout the world as *Vikramāditya*. By crossing the seven rivers, by conquering the Vāhlīkas and other tribes, and by having raised pillars of fame upto the Saurāshṭra country, he will enjoy the earth for thirty-six years without a rival.

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1. The conclusions obtained from the Purāṇa have been briefly summarised in my article entitled *'New Light on the History of the Imperial Guptas'* published in Vol. I of the *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute.*

2. The passage runs as follows :—

तस्य पुत्रोऽपरश्चन्द्रगुप्ताख्यो वीरकेसरी।
यवनांश्च तथा हूणान् देशाद् विद्रावयन् बलात् ॥
विक्रमादित्यवन्नित्यं पण्डितैः परिसेवितः।
श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणेतिहासकाव्यविचक्षणः ॥
विक्रमादित्य इत्येव भुवनेषु प्रथां गतः।
सप्तसिन्धून् समुत्तीर्य वाल्हीकादीन् विजित्य च ॥
सुराष्ट्रदेशपर्यन्तं कीर्तिस्तम्भं समुच्छ्रयन्।
षट्त्रिंशद् भोक्ष्यति समास्त्वेकच्छत्रां वसुन्धराम् ॥

—*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Introduction, Pp. ciii-civ.

Chandra Gupta Vikramāditya was undoubtedly a great monarch with great achievements. With his capital at Pāṭaliputra he certainly had an extensive dominion, but the foreign rulers of Śaka origin in western India were a thorn in the flesh of this great Hindu monarch. The Śaka rulers of Ujjayinī and Girnar from the time of Chashṭana (130 A.D.) till the end of the fourth century A. D. had consolidated their strength and spread their foreign influence on the society and culture of the whole of western India[1]. Chandra Gupta II wanted all this to go, and made a bold attempt to drive them out of Indian soil. The campaign proved eminently successful, and he was able to uproot the Śakas and rid the country of foreign influence. He was, therefore, hailed with jubilation as the great Śakāri Vikramāditya by the learned men and the orthodoxy of India. His dominions spread right upto Saurāshṭra (Kathiawad) in the west. Thus from Bengal to Kathiawad, king Vikramāditya had unrivalled sway. To look after his newly acquired territories in the west, he made Ujjayinī his second capital and in order to keep them in an undisturbed condition he gave his daughter Prabhāvatī in marriage to the Vākāṭaka king and won his esteem[2].

The change in the political atmosphere in northern India had a marvellous effect on the cultural and social life of India. Scholars, poets, scientific men, dramatists and the like sprang up from all quarters. Whoever among them could show any brilliance, particularly in special literary examinations, was at once rewarded in some form or other by the accomplished and apprecia-

1. For an account of the Śakas of Ujjayinī see Raichaudhury: *Political History of Ancient India*, Pp. 343ff.

2. For an historical account of Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya see Raichaudhury: *Political History of Ancient India*, Pp. 376ff.

tive king Vikramāditya. All were enthused with a new life as it were. Orthodox sacrifices were held, new temples were built and all signs of foreign culture and foreign influence disappeared. People breathed an air which was at once fresh, free and light, became happy, buoyant and prosperous, and the literature of the period reflected this mood in all its multifarious branches. Kālidāsa was a product of this age, and all authors of the excellent inscribed pieces were the products of this age. The style of writing with its free, easy, flowing, smooth, natural, light and sweet language was a special characteristic of this period. This charming style continued till the time of Yaśodharman (M. E. 589) before it finally disappeared giving rise to a stiff, tough, laboured and unnatural style akin to that found among the Jainas of Gujarat in a later period. In order to give a fillip Vikramāditya made Sanskrit popular and made it a language of the harem[1] and of the people for daily use.[2]

Thus it is quite possible that there would be numerous scholars, poets, playwrights and authors round about Vikramāditya. Out of the whole lot only nine were considered to be of special eminence. Many must be their works, and high must be the quality of their productions. Unfortunately for us, all that literature is not preserved, and to-day some of them can with difficulty be traced through casual references. Works written by these great authors have not, again,

1. Cf. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, P. 50—
   Śrūyate Ujjayinyām Sāhasāṅko nāma rājā; tena cha Saṁskṛita—bhāshātmakam antaḥpura eva.

2. *IC*, VI, P. 381 where Mr. Dikshit quotes the following significant verse from the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*: 'Kāle Śrī-Sāhasāṅkasya ke na Saṁskṛitavādinaḥ'. To this I would prefer to give the above interpretation.

come down to us in their pristine purity. Frequent omissions and additions have been made in them as they passed through centuries of copying by both learned and ignorant sets of copyists. Thus inaccuracies, unauthorized additions, corrections and omissions characterise these works. They require, therefore, the most careful handling when used for historical and chronological purposes. But one thing must be remembered, particularly in view of what the European scholars allege, that these scholars and authors were all honest men. They were the worshippers of the sacred deity Sarasvatī and were incapable of deliberate lies in order to mislead somebody either in their own time or any time afterwards. In India at least, the ancient authors cannot be charged with dishonesty and forgery. These are modern inventions! If they have given inaccurate information, it is because they in their own time honestly believed in it. We should exercise what little intelligence we possess, not with a conviction what we think to-day is absolutely correct, but with a view to making an earnest and honest endeavour to find out what was true.

That there were many scholars at the court of Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya is recorded in that much maligned work *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* of Gaṇaka Kālidāsa who, in the opinion of the great mathematician MM. Pandit Sudhakar Dvivedi, belonged to 1164 Śaka[1]. That this is not the work of the great poet Kālidāsa there is not the slightest doubt, and the Śloka connecting

1. Here it may be remarked that this work, where mundane astrology is treated, is not quoted in the *Adbhutasāgara* of Vallāla Sena (*c*.1185) dealing principally with mundane astrology and quoting extensively from previous authorities. Moreover in his time the equinoctial point was 12 degrees distant from the first point of Aries, and on that basis 444 plus $12 \times 60 = 720 = 1164$ Śaka seems to be the correct date of this Gaṇaka Kālidāsa.

the author with the works of Kālidāsa must have been the foolish addition of the copyist who, in his supreme ignorance, could not distinguish between the two Kālidāsas. Kern's opinion[1] that the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* was a forgery is too naive to require any refutation.

According to the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* there were nine Sabhāsads or Court Pandits in the court of Vikramāditya. They were Śaṅku, Vararuchi, Maṇi, Aṅgudatta, Jishṇu, Trilochana, Hari, Ghaṭakarpara and Amarasiṁha. Besides these, there were seven Kālatantra Kavis or poets conversant with the science of time. Under this head are given the names of Satya, Varāhamihira, Śrutasena, Bādarāyaṇa, Maṇittha and Kumārasiṁha. In addition to these two lists Gaṇaka Kālidāsa gives a further list of Nine Gems in which the prominent names of the two previous lists are incorporated. The names of Nine Gems are—Dhanvantari, Kshapaṇaka, Amarasiṁha, Śaṅku, Vetālabhaṭṭa, Ghaṭakarpara, Kālidāsa, Varāhamihira and Vararuchi[2].

The statement of Gaṇaka Kālidāsa gives quite a natural, straightforward and matter of fact information. Here the author records a tradition which was current in his time (1164 Śaka), and I do not see any reason why his statement should be disbelieved. All the authors mentioned are capable of flocking round Vikramāditya for encouragement and patronage, thus making their patron and themselves famous. As a matter of fact, the Vikramāditya age was the Golden Age in the whole range of Sanskrit literature and furnished a landmark in the steady march of national scholarship towards progress. If the little information we gather

1. Prof. H. Kern—*Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IV, P. 84.
2. Chapter XXII, Verses 8, 9 and 10.

to-day from various heterogeneous sources of varying degrees of authenticity and authority runs counter to this great tradition, we should either consider our present knowledge altogether valueless or make an attempt to justify it by eliminating data on which no reliance can be placed.

The Nine Gems theory cannot be lightly passed over, since Subandhu, the author of the *Vāsavadattā*, hints at it in the passage *Navakā vilasanti* (the insignificant nine enjoy, as against the extraordinary nine) while mourning the death of Vikramāditya[1]. Subandhu was the *Bhāgineya* (sister's son) of Vararuchi who was a court poet of Vikramāditya. The commentator of Subandhu also calls the author a member of Vikramāditya's court. On the face of this positive and absolutely contemporary evidence how can it be said that the tradition of Nine Gems as recorded in the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* is a pure myth ? Kern himself has relied on an inscriptional evidence to show that the Nine Gems were in the court of Vikramāditya. I quote here the relevant passage from Kern in full. "In an inscription of Buddha Gayā a translation of which is given by Wilkins (*As. Res.*, Vol. I, 286) we find the following. 'Vikramāditya was certainly a king renowned in the world. So in his court were nine learned men, celebrated under the epithet of the *Nava ratnāni* or nine jewels ; one of whom was Amaradeva, who was the king's councillor, a man of great learning, and the greatest favourite of

1. For a fuller account of the two authors Vararuchi and Subandhu, see S. K. Dikshit in *IC*, Vol. VI, Pp. 377ff. In this verse the author tries to impress that after the death of Vikramāditya instead of the old set of Nine Jewels nine commonplace poets and scholars have taken their place. According to M. Krishnamachariar, "In this allusion to Vikramāditya there is express indication that Vikramāditya so lamented was the patron of the Nine Gems" (op. cit. P. 467).

the prince.' This inscription is dated Saṁvat 1015 or A. D. 948[1]".

Since a myth cannot reasonably expect to have confirmation from two widely different historical sources, we have no alternative but to accept it as a tradition of great importance and an historical fact. The names of the Nine Gems have been preserved by Gaṇaka Kālidāsa. Otherwise these would have been lost. Should we abuse him or thank him ? It is for the scholars to decide.

Let us see now who these Nine Gems were, what their achievements and functions were, and how they were connected with Vikramāditya and Ujjayinī. But before this inquiry is proceeded with, it should be pointed out that although some of the Gems were very greatly distinguished in the time of Vikramāditya they are not so now. Time has erased much of that glory, and to-day some of them exist only in some stray and unimportant references in Sanskrit literature, and all vestiges of their life and activities are altogether forgotten. Only those among the Nine Gems who wrote standard works have survived, but others who did not write or were distinguished in other spheres of human activity have left only traces of their memory at the present time. With these preliminary remarks the Nine Gems are taken below one after another in the order in which they are mentioned by Gaṇaka Kālidāsa in his *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*.

THE FIRST GEM DHANVANTARI

With regard to the first Gem we have naturally to distinguish between two Dhanvantaris, one mythological

1. Prof. H. kern : *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IV, Introduction to the English translation of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, Pp. 87-88.

and celestial and another historical and terrestrial[1]. When gods used to suffer from diseases, the celestial Dhanvantari used to treat them and thus keep them always in fit condition. That in heaven there are no diseases to-day is solely due to this ever-present and ever watchful Dhanvantari. When Vāsuki, the great snake-god, had an eye trouble, Dhanvantari is said to have used considerable skill in curing him, and this he could only do by making the thousand-hooded snake-god lie on the back, when the poisonous fumes emitted by his thousand mouths could not reach the eyes. There are also stories to explain how Dhanvantari came in conflict with snakes whom he could almost invariably conquer by his medicines and charms, but we are not here concerned with him, since he was not, and could not conceivably be, connected with the Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī.

The Dhanvantari of terrestrial origin is known in the Āyurveda literature in Sanskrit. Here again two Dhanvantaris are distinguished, one was the Kshattriya king of Benares and the second is the progenitor of the Vaidya caste. But both of them propagated the science of medicine to the public. Bhāva Miśra[2] held the view that the teacher of Suśruta was Dhanvantari, the Kshattriya prince born in the family of Bāhu. The first Gem Dhanvantari may quite conceivably be identified with the preceptor of Suśruta who was well conversant with surgery. Charaka is usually considered to be a contemporary of Kāṇishka; Suśruta who comes later may be relegated to the Gupta dynasty. He was

1. For a historical, quasi-historical, mythological and other accounts of Dhanvantari, please refer to *History of Indian Medicine* by Girindranath Mukhopadhyaya, Vol. II (1926), Chapter XI, Pp. 308ff.

2. From the relevant extracts from the *Bhāvaprakāśā*; see *History of Indian Medicine*, op. cit. Vol. II, P. 316.

initiated in the art of surgery by his guru Dhanvantari, who must have had a considerable hand in re-organising the army medical crops in order to help Vikramāditya in his many campaigns against the Śaka foreigners. Dhanvantari may very well be conceived as the Surgeon-General to the Chief of the State and as having attained fame and distinction in that capacity.

The medical work *Dhanvantari-Nighaṇṭu* along with several other works are ascribed to Dhanvantari. Various medical preparations and specifics are also attributed to Dhanvantari. The Dhānvantara Ghṛita, Pāśupata Rasa, Mṛityuñjaya Lauha, Rasa Rājendra, Rasābhra Guggula, among others, may be mentioned in this connection[1].

THE SECOND GEM KSHAPAṆAKA

Kshapaṇaka comes second in the order. Kshapaṇaka is a Hindu term for signifying Jainas of all description. The Digambaras were designated by the special term Nagna Kshapaṇaka. Gaṇaka Kālidāsa in his list of Kālatantra Kavis mentions Śrutasena whom his learned commentator identified with Siddhasena Divākara who was a Śvetāmbara Jaina. As he seems to be the only Jaina famous in the court of Vikramāditya, Kshapaṇaka the second Gem may be quite rightly identified with Siddhasena Divākara[2]. That Siddhasena knew Jyotisha is testified by Varāhamihira who quotes his opinion in the *Bṛihajjātaka*[3].

Jain traditions associate Siddhasena with the great king Vikramāditya. Of the various accounts of

1. *History of Indian Medicine*, op. cit. Vol. II, Pp. 318 and 328.
2. As has been done by Mohanchand Dalichand Desai in his *Jaina Sāhityano Itihāsa*, P. 106f. and MM. S. C. Vidyabhushana in his *History of Indian Logic*, Pp. 173ff. and 222.
3. Chapter VII, Verse 7 "Devasvāmī Siddhaseno' pi chaiva".

Siddhasena the earliest is represented by the ***Prākṛita Kahāvalī*** of Bhadreśvara Sūri (*c.* 1064-94 A. D.)[1]. According to Jain accounts Siddhasena was the son of Devarshi and Devaśrī of the Kātyāyana gotra. He accepted Vṛiddhavādi Sūri as his preceptor after being outwitted by him in a disputation before a gathering of shepherds.

Siddhasena once proposed to the Jaina Saṅgha that the Āgamas may be re-cast in Sanskrit. This was considered by the Saṅgha as a sacrilege, and as a result, Siddhasena was banished from the Saṅgha. Jain accounts further state that after his expulsion Siddhasena travelled widely. In the course of his travels he came to the court of Vikramāditya at Ujjayinī and presented to him four verses of his composition. This pleased the king so much that he at once gave Siddhasena an honoured place in the assembly.

Once again, it is said that Siddhasena visited the temple of Lord Śiva along with king Vikramāditya but did not pay homage to the god. Thereupon, the king asked for an explanation from Siddhasena for his strange behaviour. Siddhasena coolly replied that the Śiva Liṅga was not strong enough to withstand the power of his prayers. At the request of Vikramāditya Siddhasena muttered some prayers, and lo! the Liṅga spontaneously burst open and an image of Pārśvanātha miraculously emerged out of the aperture[2].

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1. Other accounts also can be found from several other sources, *e. g.*, *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga Sūri (1304 A. D.) and the *Chaturviṁśatiprabandha* of Rājaśekhara Sūri (1349 A.D.) and in the *Prabhāvakacharitra* of Prabhāchandra Sūri.
2. Cf. for instance, *Prabhāvakacharitra* in the Singhi Jaina Granthamālā, P. 59 :—

ततश्च कौस्तुभस्येव पुरुषोत्तमहृत्स्थिते ।
प्रभोः श्रीपार्श्वनाथस्य प्रतिमा प्रकटाभवत् ॥

Siddhasena is also said to have discovered some ancient Tantra works on alchemy and on miraculous raising of armies. With this Vidyā he helped king Devapāla (not of the Pāla dynasty, of course !) of Karmāra Nagara in the east when he was attacked by the army of Vijayavarman of Kāmarūpa. Siddhasena's last days were spent at Pratishṭhānapura, and the news of his death was received at Viśālā with the greatest regret. Siddhasena also is said to be a contemporary of Dhanañjaya, king of Broach and the son of Balamitra. Vṛiddhavādi, his teacher, had also his headquarters at Broach (Bhṛigupura).

Siddhasena is reputed to have composed thirty-two Dvātriṁśikās out of which twenty-two are available, although all of them do not contain the full thirty-two stanzas. Siddhasena's *Nyāyāvatāra* inaugurated a new era in Jain logic[1] which he extricated from confusion by reason of its being mixed up with metaphysical matter. Another work of his, the *Sanmatitarka*[2], composed in the Prakrit language deals with various matters pertaining to Jain logic including the doctrine of Naya.

Siddhasena's fondness for the Sanskrit language in which he wanted the Āgamas to be re-written must be due to the influence of Vikramāditya who was not only a lover of Sanskrit but also made it the language of the harem and of the people at large for daily use[3].

1. For a detailed account of his services to the cause of Jaina Logic, please refer to *A History of Indian Logic* by S.C. Vidyabhushana, Pp. 173ff.

2. This valuable work was published in part by Pandit Sukhalalji and Bechardas from the Gujarat Puratattva Mandir, Ahmedabad.

3. Compare *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, P. 50—"Saṁskṛitabhāshātmakam antaḥpura eveti", also "Kāle Śrī-Śāhasāṅkasya ke na Saṁskṛitavādinaḥ"—*IC*, VI, P. 381n.

The bursting of the Liṅga as an historical fact is rather very hard for non-Jainas to swallow.

Siddhasena is described as a poet of very high order, an excellent panegyrist, a great controversialist, an acute logician, a sympathetic reformer, as also an authority on astrology and horoscopy worthy of the respect of Varāhamihira[1]. No wonder he was respected as a Gem in Vikramāditya's court.

THE THIRD GEM AMARASIṀHA

That the third Gem Amarasiṁha was connected with Vikramāditya is established on the authority of the Buddha Gayā inscription referred to by Kern in his introduction to the English translation of Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[2]. In this inscription it is said that Vikramāditya was a renowned king in the world. In his court there were nine learned men celebrated under the epithet of *Nava ratnāni* or nine jewels. One of them is Amaradeva who was the king's councillor, a man of great learning, and the greatest favourite of the prince. The inscription is from Saṁvat 1015 or 948 A. D.

The Buddha Gayā temple, according to General Cunningham, is the one seen by Yuan Chwang between 629 and 642 A. D. but not by Fi-Hien who visited India between 399 and 414 A. D. As this Buddhist temple was erected by Amaradeva, one of the Nine Gems in the court of Vikramāditya, Cunningham concluded that Amaradeva is the same as Amarasiṁha the author of the *Amarakośa*[3].

This Amarasiṁha must be considered to be a Buddhist, since he erected a Buddhist temple in the

1. *Bṛihajjātaka*, VII. 7.
2. Prof. H. Kern : *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IV, P. 87f.
3. Prof. H Kern : op. cit. Vol. IV, P. 88.

Buddhist strong-hold of Buddha Gayā. He cannot be considered a Jaina as some scholars assert. There is a tradition that Amara wrote many works, but they were destroyed by the great reformer Śaṅkarāchārya (*c.* 778 A. D.)[1].

There is an interesting reference to Amara in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā.* There it is said that Amara was examined at a poets' examination held at Viśālā or Ujjayinī[2]. Thus Amara's association with Ujjayinī is also established by an independent tradition. Amara no longer is an unknown or obscure figure. He is an associate of Vikramāditya at Ujjayinī and that as a Gem. A floating verse makes Amara the son of Śabarasvāmin by a Śūdra wife[3].

THE FOURTH GEM ŚAṄKU

Śaṅku may have been a great man in Vikramāditya's time, but to-day we have absolutely no trace of him beyond the solitary mention of Gaṇaka Kālidāsa in his *Jyotirvidābharaṇa.* Further, there is a reference in a wretched floating verse which makes Śaṅku the son of Śabarasvāmin born of a Vaiśya wife[4]. This floating verse records the wonderful tradition that Śabarasvāmin had taken a wife each from all the four castes and through each begot distinguished sons who became famous in different spheres of life. The names of the six sons of Śabarasvāmin make us naturally sus-

1. See also S. C. De : *Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya,* P. 27.
2. See *Supra.*
3. More about this verse will come in the sequel. See the Fourth Gem.
4. *IC,* Vol. VI, P. 209 quotes the verse as—

ब्राह्मण्यामभवद् वराहमिहिरो ज्योतिर्विदामग्रणी
राजा भर्तृहरिश्च विक्रमनृपः क्षत्रात्मजायामभूत् ।
वैश्यायां हरिचन्द्रवैद्यतिलको जातश्च शङ्कुः कृती
शूद्रायाममरः षडेव शबरस्वामिद्विजस्यात्मजाः ॥

picious about the genuineness of the tradition, although, if we exercise our imagination a little, we may, to a certain measure, take all of them to be contemporaries. In this floating verse Varāhamihira is said to be Śabarasvāmin's son by the Brāhmaṇa wife, kings Bhartṛihari and Vikrama by the Kshattriya wife, Harichandra and Śaṅku by the Vaiśya wife and Amara by the Śūdra wife.

This floating verse at best can be used to establish the contemporaneity of these celebrities, but cannot be made a ground for taking them all as sons of Śabarasvāmin. Vikramāditya's father is known to be Samudra Gupta and he cannot, under any circumstances, be identified with Śabarasvāmin, the author of the celebrated *Śābara-Bhāshya.*

Śaṅku may, however, be tentatively identified with Śaṅkuka referred to by Keith whose earlier work on poetics was the basis of the *Vyaktiviveka* of Mahiman Bhaṭṭa who flourished about 1050 A. D. and who stated that "inference was sufficient explanation of the enjoyment of poetry".

On the other hand, Śaṅkuka is known to have criticized the views of Lollaṭa on Rasa and was perhaps a younger contemporary of Lollaṭa, for his poem *Bhuvanābhyudaya* was composed during the reign of king Ajitāpīḍa of Kashmir (814-851 A. D.). The fourth Gem Śaṅku should not be confounded with this later Śāṅkuka[1].

On the whole, amongst the Nine Gems, Śaṅku's lustre at the present moment seems to be the most clouded.

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1. For confirmation and further information see *Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya* by S.C. De, P. 27 and M. Krishnamachariar : *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature,* P. 739 and Note 1.

THE FIFTH GEM VETĀLABHAṬṬA

Vetālabhaṭṭa or the 'goblin Pandit' is really a funny name for a learned man to possess, and it is no wonder that the historical aspect of the person is soon mixed up with fantastic stories connected with ghosts, goblins and a host of other supernatural beings. And since Vikramāditya was connected with Vetālabhaṭṭa, all varieties of ghost stories gathered round the name of Vikramāditya and his reign. According to the *Devīchandragupta* quoted in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* Chandra Gupta retired with his friend Ātreya at dead of night to a solitary place with the object of propitiating Vetāla. Vetālabhaṭṭa thus may be the person who by his secret undertakings like Bhūta Sādhana, Piśācha Sādhana, and the like, tried to help the powerful but abjectly superstitious prince of the hillman tribe in gaining the throne which must have then been occupied by his incompetent brother Rāma Gupta for a very short time[1].

Vetālabhaṭṭa may be the author of some works which were used as a kernel in the composition of such fantastic works like the *Vetālapañchaviṁśatikā*. Vetālabhaṭṭa is also associated with the Mahākāla-Smaśāna of Ujjayinī. He is reported to have declared that Vikramāditya annihilated the Asuras and demons who had assumed the form of Mlechchhas[2].

Vetāla is represented as an elder contemporary of Pravarasena and the poet Meṇṭha who was examined at a poets' examination at Ujjayinī[3].

From a few references to Vetālabhaṭṭa left to us, we may conclude that he was respected by king

1. See *IC*, Vol. VI, Pp. 381-2 where Mr. Dikshit quotes from the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and gives an account of this Gem.
2. *IC*, Vol. VI, P. 282.
3. *Ibid.*

Vikramāditya because of his special powers apparently acquired through some kind of Sādhana connected with goblins and Piśāchas. He appears to have been a Vetāla-Siddha having obtained super-normal powers, and may have been a Tāntric expert to the government of Vikramāditya. Since Vetālabhaṭṭa had spirits under his control, he was not only feared but was also able to help Vikramāditya considerably through supernatural agencies. He may have composed some works with goblins and their activities as their subject matter, and thus in course of time passed out from the world of reality to the position of semi-divine being.

If an astrologer like Varāhamihira could be considered as a Gem, I do not see any reason why a person having a command over supernatural beings cannot be considered likewise. In the absence of more definite information, Vetālabhaṭṭa for the present may be taken as a Gem in the court of Vikramāditya in charge of what may be called supramundane activities and as an expert of the Tantras.

THE SIXTH GEM GHAṬAKARPARA

Fortunately we possess a slightly better information on this Gem who, again, goes by the strange name of Ghaṭakarpara or 'potsherd' which is actually mentioned in a short work ascribed to him. It is a lyric poem of a very artificial character of twenty-two stanzas and is marked by the use of Yamakas[1].

In this small poem Ghaṭakarpara describes the sad plight of a bereaved lady and her appeal to the morning clouds to convey to her departed and distant, very distant lover.

1. S. C. De: *Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya*, P. 27.

In the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa the poet used inanimate objects as the messenger of love and dealt with the subject with consummate skill in the most advanced and attractive manner. But it is quite possible that Ghaṭakarpara conceived the idea earlier than Kālidāsa, since Ghaṭakarpara's work is neither very elaborate nor so well conceived as Kālidāsa's.

Ghaṭakarpara's name is obtained from a verse in which he vows that to him who would excel him in Yamaka he would bear the pots of water. His poem is free and exquisite, and the style, sweetness, selection of words and effect produced on the mind bear a stamp of the age of the Vikrama renaissance.

The high esteem in which Ghaṭakarpara was held is seen by a large number of commentaries that have been written on his short work by Abhinavagupta, Bharatamallika, Śaṅkara, Govardhana, Kamalākara, Kuśalakavi, Vaidyanātha and a host of others too numerous to mention.

Another work *Nītisāra* is attributed to Ghaṭakarpara. The work is in twenty-one verses in the form of a dialogue between a hog and a lion. Madana's *Kṛishṇalīlā* (Saṁvat 1680) consists of two pairs of rhyming lines, one of the lines being taken from Ghaṭakarpara, so that four consecutive verses of this poem have an entire verse from Ghaṭakarpara[1].

Ghaṭakarpara may have written many more works to make him famous as a Gem, but we have sufficient traces to show that his fame in the court of Vikrama was well deserved.

1. For a complete and detailed account of this Gem see Krishnamachariar : *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, P. 316f and footnotes.

THE SEVENTH GEM KĀLIDĀSA

The seventh Gem in the court of Vikramāditya is reputed to be Kālidāsa who may easily be regarded as the most lustrous among the Nine. Kālidāsa is easily the greatest and the best national poet of India, and his works both in the original and in translations have brought solace and joy to the minds of the intelligentsia of the whole world. The conquests of Kālidāsa over the minds of the people embrace the whole globe, and his achievements are greater than those of the greatest conquerors. Of Kālidāsa every Indian is proud.

The evidence of Kālidāsa being honoured by Vikramāditya Śakāri comes from Abhinanda, the court poet of the Pāla king of Bengal Devapāla (*c.* 815-854)[1]. Abhinanda in his great work *Rāmacharita* testifies to the fact that Kālidāsa's works were given the highest encomiums by Śakāri the enemy of the Śakas[2]. Thus, no doubt needs be entertained regarding the contemporaneity of Kālidāsa with the great king Vikramāditya.

That Kālidāsa was connected with Ujjayinī, the capital of Vikramāditya in the west, is evidenced by Rājaśekhara who in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*[3] gives us the interesting information that Kālidāsa was examined at Viśālā at a poets' examination.

Some of the manuscripts of the commentary on the *Setubandha-Kāvya* record an ancient tradition that the

1. This date for Devapāla is taken, along with others, from the authoritative work of H. C. Ray entitled *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, P. 384.
2. K. S. Ramaswamy Shastri, ed: *Rāmacharita* of Abhinanda (GOS), Chap. XXII, Verse 100—
   'Khyātim kām api Kālidāsakṛitayo nītāḥ Śakārātinā.'
3. Op. cit. 3rd edition by K. S. Ramaswamy Shastri, P. 55 and Introduction, P. xxxvii.

Kāvya was written for king Pravarasena by Kālidāsa at an express order of king Vikramāditya[1].

A few quotations available from the now lost work *Kuntaleśvaradautya* record an interesting tradition that Kālidāsa was sent as an ambassador to the court of the Kuntala king. It further adds that Kālidāsa was not received kindly at first by the king and was not offered a seat. Kālidāsa was thus obliged to sit on the ground, but he did it gracefully and the Śloka he composed on the occasion is preserved. The mission of Kālidāsa, however, proved ultimately successful, and this gave great satisfaction both to the Kuntala king and his master Vikramāditya, as we know from the extracts from the *Kuntaleśvaradautya* still preserved in Alaṅkāra works[2]. It is unfortunate that the work composed by Kālidāsa is now no longer extant in full, but there is enough remnant left to prove the veracity of the above statement.

Kālidāsa displays in his *Meghadūta* great fondness for Ujjayinī, the capital of Vikrama, and shows his partiality for the city by devoting no less than thirteen stanzas to it in the poem. Kālidāsa's works amply prove the fact that he was acquainted with the topography of Malwa in its minutest detail and thus indirectly revealed that he was a native of Malwa[3].

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1. Compare "Iha tāvat mahārāja-Pravarasenanimittam mahārājādhirāja-Vikramādityenājñapto nikhilakavichakrachūḍāmaṇiḥ Kālidāsa-mahāśayaḥ Setubandhaprabandham chikīrshuḥ." For detailed information please refer to the excellent and well documented paper entitled *King Pravarasena and Kālidāsa* by K. S. Ramaswamy Shastri in the *Proceedings* of the Seventh Oriental Conference, Pp. 99ff.

2. For a fuller treatment of the topic please refer to the Notes of K. S. Ramaswamy Shastri on *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (GOS), Pp. 214ff.

3. S. C. De : *Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya*, P. 171. H.P. Shastri's opinion was the same in *JBORS*, Vol. I, P. 211.

Kālidāsa in a solitary stanza (No. 47) describes Daśapura and its female beauties, and in doing so uses the significant expression "parichita-bhrūlatā-vibhramāṇām" suggesting that in his young age Kālidāsa was very familiar with the coquettish motions of the eyes as displayed by the Daśapura belles. This familiarity of rather an intimate type coupled with various other circumstantial evidences led MM. H. P. Shastri to conclude that Kālidāsa was born and spent his boyhood at Daśapura or some place near it[1].

Scholars who discover in the 14th stanza of the *Meghadūta* a reference to Diṅnāga and Nichula-Kavi are not wrong in their assumption, and it is quite possible that all of them were contemporaries[2].

Kālidāsa not only was a contemporary of Vikramāditya but he must have out-lived him to see the reign of his son Kumāra Gupta (414-456 A. D.) whose birth may have been commemorated by the composition of the *Kumārasaṁbhava*. But it is very doubtful whether Kālidāsa was living in the reign of Skanda Gupta (456-481 A. D.) who does not appear to be alluded to in his many works. Kālidāsa has indeed referred to a statue of Skanda, but this should not necessarily represent king Skanda Gupta[3]. It should be taken as a statue of the War-lord Skanda who must have been a favourite of the warrior king Vikramāditya.

It is hardly necessary here to disprove the theory of MM. H. P. Shastri who makes Kālidāsa a contemporary of Yaśodharman Vishṇuvardhana who flourished in the first and second quarters of the sixth century A.D.

1. *JBORS*, Vol. I, P. 212.
2. See the discussion on the subject by S. K. Dikshit in *IC*, Vol. VI, P. 383f.
3. As has been taken by H. P. Shastri in *JBORS*, Vol. II, P. 40.

This Yaśodharman[1] is neither a Vikramāditya nor a Śakāri. He defeated the Hūṇas and, therefore, he may be described as a Hūṇāri but not a Śakāri. In spite of his great vauntings about his own prowess he does not appear to me to be a great king with extensive dominions. Yaśodharman is not glorified and lionised by any poet except those composing his inscriptions. One of his inscriptions is dated 589 Mālava era corresponding to A. D. 533-4 when the seventh or the last Imperial Gupta king Kumāra Gupta II Vikramāditya was ruling, perhaps before Yaśodharman's very nose at his nearby capital of Ujjayinī. We have evidence[2] that this king ruled till 565 A. D. and was served by Bhaṭṭārka from whom the Valabhī dynasty started.

Kālidāsa in accordance with the convention of his age described the seasons in his *Ṛitusaṁhāra*, although such descriptions are not only numerous but also dramatic and gorgeous in almost all his compositions. As the writers of the Mālava inscriptions of the same age have all described the seasons almost without exception, Kālidāsa can easily fit in with the traditions of Malwa poets in the 4th and 5th centuries of the Christian era[3] and later.

Kālidāsa is reputed to be the author of the seven works *Ṛitusaṁhāra, Meghadūta, Vikramorvaśīya, Śākuntala, Kumārasaṁbhava, Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Raghuvaṁśa*. It is a modern fashion to attribute the *Setubandha*-

1. *"Kālidāsa—His Age"* in *JBORS*, Vol. II, Pp. 31-44.

2. See my recent article entitled *"New Light on the History of the Imperial Guptas"* in the *Journal of Sir Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*. This time-period is assigned on the authority of the *Bhavishyottara Purāṇa*. "Vijityeśānavarmādīn Bhaṭṭārkeṇānusevitaḥ/ Chatuśchatvāriṁśad eva samā bhokshyati medinīm//"—*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Introduction, P. civ.

3. *JBORS*, Vol. II, P. 33.

Kāvya and now lost work *Kuntaleśvaradautya* also to his authorship[1].

Kālidāsa did not make the slightest attempt to display his knowledge like his compatriot Bhavabhūti. But his learning must have been phenomenal[2]. He knew the Vedas, the Purāṇas, the Kāmaśāstra, the Alaṅkāra and Nāṭya Śāstras, Dharmaśāstra, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Dhanurveda, Āyurveda, Vyākaraṇa, history, geography of India and outside India, Yoga, Vedānta and Sāṅkhya, astronomy, astrology and horoscopy. He knew the Greek astrological authors and used Greek terms in his compositions. He was an educationist and intellectualist, rather than a moralist. His sole purpose in writing his works was the glorification of Brāhmaṇism. The sanctity of the Brāhmaṇa and the cow is the key-note of this Brāhmaṇism. MM. Shastri believed that Kālidāsa was himself a Brāhmaṇa, probably a Daśapura or Dassorā Brāhmaṇa.

Much has already been written on Kālidāsa and his works, and by many scholars of great celebrity and authority[3]. It is not necessary to quote their opinions and repeat them here in order to give further biographical details of Kālidāsa. I would, however, draw the attention of scholars to three excellent articles on Kālidāsa, his home, his age and the chronology of his works contributed by MM. H. P. Shastri to *JBORS*, Vol. I, Pp. 197-212, Vol. II, Pp. 31-44 and 179-189. These articles can be read both for pleasure and profit.

1. See *Supra*.
2. For Kālidāsa's learning and education, see *JBORS*, Vol. II, P. 184f.
3. Krishnamachariar: *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Pp. 99-125 and footnotes. Here the views of great scholars have been summarised and criticized.

THE EIGHTH GEM VARĀHAMIHIRA

Varāhamihira is reputed to be the eighth Gem in the court of Vikramāditya, and the lustre of this Gem is not a whit less bright than that of the Gem just described. Varāhamihira calls himself an Āvantika or the resident of Avanti in his *Bṛihajjātaka*[1]. Bhaṭṭotpala, the great commentator of Varāhamihira's works, calls him an Āchārya and describes him as a Magadha-dvija or a Brāhmaṇa of Magadha and as having received a boon from the Sun-god[2]. Varāhamihira also describes himself as the son of Ādityadāsa and as having received his education from him and as having composed his work in the village of Kapittha[3]. That mischievous floating verse already referred to makes Varāhamihira the son of Śabarasvāmin by his Brāhmaṇa wife[4]. These are the only biographical details about him. If we believe in Bhaṭṭotpala, Varāhamihira belonged originally to Magadha[5] and must have come to Ujjayinī along with Vikramāditya in his western conquests. That will be a sane view, because, as we can imagine, Vikramāditya does not seem to be one to begin military operations without the advice of a master astrologer like Varāhamihira. Some consider 'Magadha-dvija' as an error for 'Maga-dvija' and thus consider him as a Maga Brāhmaṇa or a Magi priest. But here it can only be pointed out that if the manuscripts show 'Magadha' it will be prudent to leave it at that and not change it to 'Maga'. If we adopt this as a principle, many fantastic speculations will automatically disappear from the field of Indian research.

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1. *Bṛihajjātaka*, Chap. xxviii, Verse 9—Āvantiko munimatāny avalokya samyak.
2. *Bhaṭṭotpalavivṛiti* on *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, P. 2. "tad ayam apy āvantikā chārya-Magadha-dvija-Varāhamihiro'rkalabdhavaraprasādaḥ."
3. *Bṛihajjātaka*, Chap. xxviii, Verse 9.
4. See *Supra*.
5. According to Al-Beruni he belonged to Kusumapura or Pāṭaliputra. See Weber : *History of Sanskrit Literature*, P. 258.

The way Varāhamihira advocates the necessity of keeping well-versed astrologers for the protection of the country[1], and shows the greatest importance of this arrangement to kings in general, leaves very little room for doubting that Varāhamihira himself belonged to the court of a great king and proved his usefulness to him. Thus it is not improbable that Varāhamihira was patronized by Vikramāditya although independent evidence is hard to find to corroborate the statement of Gaṇaka Kālidāsa.

There is a great deal controversy regarding the date of Varāhamihira. A tradition says that Varāhamihira went to heaven in Śāka 509[2]. Here obviously to indicate the year the word 'Śāka' is used. But there are scholars who are inclined to believe that the word must indicate the 'Śaka' era. But they seem to forget that 'Śāka' also stands for merely 'year' without reference to an era. Here apparently the word has to be taken as a year of an unspecified era, obviously the most popular at the time. Eras in Malwa could only be two, namely, the Gupta era or the Mālava era. These two eras in Malwa were too strong to allow the Śaka era to intrude into the country, especially in Ujjayinī, the very capital of the Śakāri Vikramāditya. Thus I am inclined to think that it will be prudent to take the year 509 of Varāhamihira's death as referring to the Mālava era. Thus his death has to be put down to 451 A. D. which will be just suitable for the chronological scheme of

1. Compare, for instance,

कृत्स्नाङ्गोपाङ्गकुशलं होरागणितनैष्ठिकम् ।
यो न पूजयते राजा स नाशमुपगच्छति ॥— Chap. ii, Verse 6.

See also Verses 10 and 11 in the same chapter.

2. See full discussion on this point in *IC*, Vol. VI, Pp. 201ff. The passage is "Navādhika-pañcha-śata-saṁkhya-śāke Varāhamihirāchāryo divam gataḥ".

Gaṇaka Kālidāsa. I am afraid this view will have to be taken as correct, at least for the time being, in view of the other associations of his with Ujjayinī and Nine Gems.

It is also said that as Varāhamihira quotes the opinion of Āryabhaṭa, whose date has been fixed by Fleet at 499 A. D. and whose birth has been put down by Kern to 476 A. D., he must belong to a later period, say the sixth century A. D[1]. If Varāhamihira dies in 451 he cannot conceivably get a chance of quoting Āryabhaṭa who is born in 476 A. D. Therefore, it must be clearly understood that Varāhamihira had nothing to do with the composition of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* in which Āryabhaṭa is quoted. Bhaṭṭotpala, the commentator of Varāhamihira, has commented on two of his works *Bṛihajjātaka* and *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* but not on the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*. The obvious reason is that he never considered the last named work as belonging to the same authorship. It is further to be noted that out of the three works attributed to Varāhamihira, the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* and the *Bṛihajjātaka* belong to one class, astrology, while the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* belongs to another class, higher mathematics and astronomy. This very fact should make us pause before we attribute all the three works to one authorship. As a matter of fact, G. Thibaut in his introduction to the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*[2] has already referred to two Varāhamihiras, although not on identical ground. The tradition among the astronomers of Ujjayinī also was that there were two Varāhamihiras and that the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* at least was the work of the second Varāhamihira[3].

1. Prof. H. Kern : *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IV, Pp. 76 and 78.
2. See Introduction, P. xxviii, last line.
3. Colebrooke : *Algebra*, P. xxxiii, where a list of astrologers given by the Pandits of Ujjayinī was published.

Varāhamihira appears to me to be the royal astrologer in the court of Vikramāditya, and as such he was a practical man and needed only such knowledge as would help the king, the State and the people. The higher mathematics and astronomy are necessary only for scholars and theoretical men. In the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* Varāhamihira dealt with mundane astrology[1] in all its various remifications, and showed how the planets, their colour, their motion, their declinations and latitudes, their retrograde and direct movements, the seasons, the eclipses and occultations, etc., affect mankind, the State and the king. He showed the way how to anticipate calamities and visitations of nature and man, and what precautions should be taken to tide over these difficulties.

Similarly, in the *Bṛihajjātaka*, Varāhamihira treats of personal horoscopy showing the possibilities of advancement, longevity, ups and downs of life, planetary combinations, favourable or adverse, and planetary periods and sub-periods and various cognate topics in the case of an individual. He shows also how the twelve signs reside in the body and what particular physical processes are governed by the planets. These are great works, marvellous works, the likes of which are not likely to be produced again. Be that as it may, they are practical works designed to benefit humanity. But when we look to the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* we find that it is not a practical work; it is a work for the experts; it is a comparative study of the five schools of calculations;

1. On this subject there are only a few works in Sanskrit. The chief among them are the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, King Vallāla Sena's *Adbhutasāgara*, and the Jain *Meghamahodaya*. The voluminous work of Vallāla (1185 A. D.) shows how the Indian kings considered this class of astrology as of great practical value to the State. It is said Lakshmaṇa Sena knew that the country would pass into the hands of the Mlechchhas, from the stars.

it is a scholastic work for the edification of the Pandits and the highbrows. At least in this, there is a difference between the two classes of works attributed to Varāhamihira. The authorship must be taken as different if there is a chronological difficulty of any kind. Thus the conclusion seems to be irresistible that Varāhamihira who composed the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* and the *Bṛihajjātaka* was a contemporary of Vikramāditya and that he died in 451 A. D.

In this connection another fact may be noted. Varāhamihira is quoted in the *Pañchatantra* and this latter work was translated into Pehlevi in the reign of Shah Khusru Nushirvan (531-579 A. D.)[1]. As books in that hoary old age never used to be translated into foreign languages immediately after publication, an allowance has to be made for the *Pañchatantra* to become famous, and an additional amount of time to allow Varāhamihira to acquire fame in order to be quoted by the author of the *Pañchatantra*. If these allowances are made on a liberal scale, Varāha's time will coincide with that of Vikramāditya.

Varāhamihira in his *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* has made appreciative remarks about the Yavana astrologers, and said that they were great exponents of the science and received the same respect as shown to ancient seers[2]. Varāhamihira must have had a good knowledge of the Greek language, Greek authors and Greek astrology and astronomy, and this is more than proved by the fact that he has used no less than thirty-six Greek technical terms in his works after Sanskritizing them[3]. The terms

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1. Prof. H. Kern : *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IV, P. 88.
2. *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, Chap. II, Verse 14.
   Mlechchhā hi yavanās teshu samyak śāstram idam sthitam/
   Ṛishivat te'pi pūjyante kim punar daivavid dvijaḥ//
3. For a list of such words, see Prof. H. Kern : *Verspreide Geschriften* Vol. IV, P. 94.

like Anaphā, Sunaphā, Duradhurā, Kemadruma, Heli, Āpoklima, Paṇaphara clearly bear the stamp of Greek origin on them.

Varāhamihira has quoted liberally the opinions of previous authorities in his works. All these references have been collected by Kern in his introduction to the English translation of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[1]. Among them, we notice the interesting names of Satya, Siddhasena, Bādarāyaṇa and Maṇittha who are described as Kālatantra Kavis in the court of Vikramāditya by Gaṇaka Kālidāsa in his *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*[2]. Varāhamihira's testimony gives a curious confirmation to the statement of Gaṇaka Kālidāsa.

One of the great and permanent contributions to mundane astrology by Varāhamihira consists in the Ashṭakavarga for the preparation of which he has given ample directions[3]. This Ashṭakavarga system will keep the science of astrology living for ever, because by this method alone it is possible to determine by a number the strength of all the planets in their own houses, negative and positive signs, in the Kendras and Trikoṇas and so forth. When once the strength of the planet is known by a number, it is possible to anticipate its effect in transit. The planets to be true, predictions based on their movements must necessarily be true. Astrology as it is practised to-day in India is a dead science. Ashṭakavarga alone can make it living again.

1. For a comprehensive list see Prof. H. Kern : *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IV, P. 95.

2. See *Supra*.

3. *Bṛihajjātaka*, Chap. ix. For Ashṭakavarga calculations, calculating machines have been prepared. With the help of this one horoscope can be calculated in less than five minutes. For directions see Subrahmanya Shastri's edition of *Bṛihajjātaka*, P. 212.

Some of his observations on the effects of planets on earth are very reliable, and sooner these are studied the better it would be for all of us, the ruler and the ruled. Varāhamihira observed that Saturn moving and retrograding in the seven lunar mansions beginning from Kṛittikā and ending in Āśleshā brings about terrible famines, wars and other national disasters[1]. These observations have come out true in the past, and they are still coming out true at this very moment when this paper is being written on the 24th December 1943. Varāhamihira's prediction has never been more thoroughly confirmed than in the present times. At this time Saturn is moving and is retrograding in the constellation of Mṛigaśiras which is only the third from Kṛittikā, and its disastrous effect can be seen in the famine, the war and visitations of nature that are now raging.

In some respects Varāhamihira's services to the country and mankind in general are greater than those of the other Gems in the court of Vikramāditya. All honour to him.

THE NINTH GEM VARARUCHI

We have some information regarding Vararuchi the ninth and the last Gem in the list of Gaṇaka Kālidāsa. That Vararuchi was connected with Vikramāditya is testified to by the author himself who refers to the king in his *Patrakaumudī* and says that under the reputed king Vikramāditya's instructions he composed the work[2].

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1. *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, Chapter 36, Verse 13—

   प्राग्द्वारेषु चरन् रविपुत्रो नक्षत्रेषु करोति च वक्रम् ।
   दुर्भिक्षं कुरुते महदुग्रं मित्राणां च विरोधमवृष्टिम् ॥

   Here 'Prāgdvāra' is explained by Bhaṭṭotpala as seven Nakshatras beginning with Kṛittikā.

2. Dikshit: *IC*, Vol. VI, P. 379f. Cf.,

   विक्रमादित्यभूपस्य कीर्तिसिद्धेर्निदेशतः ।
   श्रीमान् वररुचिर्धीमान् तनोति पत्रकौमुदीम् ॥

Vararuchi's *bhāgineya* (sister's son) was the great Subandhu, the author of the *Vāsavadattā*, who was also in the court of Vikramāditya at Ujjayinī[1]. Thus Vararuchi's connection with Ujjayinī is also to a certain extent established.

S. N. Mitra has discovered a manuscript which throws additional light on the connection of Vararuchi with king Vikramāditya. This is the manuscript of the long lost *Vidyāsundara*. It is entitled *Vidyāsundara Upākhyāna* and is written in a strange admixture of Bengali and Devanāgarī alphabets. The author is mentioned as Vararuchi who, according to the last colophon, composed it under the instruction of Vikramāditya who is described as the great lord of the entire Mahī-Maṇḍala[2].

Vararuchi should not be confounded with the grammarian Vararuchi who flourished even before the time of Patañjali. According to Rājaśekhara the grammarian Vararuchi was examined at Pāṭaliputra at a scholars' examination (Śāstrakāra-parīkshā)[3].

With Vararuchi the ninth Gem my task is done. May the example of Vikramāditya and the Nine Gems be a source of perennial inspiration to my countrymen and enthuse them with a sense of national glory and national pride.

May Ujjayinī again be the fountain head of national culture and national scholarship to teach the world the noble and the glorious art of living.

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1. See Gray : *Vāsavadattā*, Introduction, P. 6.
2. Dikshit : *IC*, Vol. VI, P. 380. Also *Proceedings* of the Second Oriental Conference, Pp. 216-218. The wording of the last colophon is :—

इति समस्तमहीमण्डलाधिपमहाराजाविक्रमादित्यनिदेशलब्ध-श्रीमन्महापण्डित-वररुचि-विरचितं विद्यासुन्दरप्रसङ्गकाव्यं समाप्तम् ।

3. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, 3rd edition, P. 55.

VIKRAMĀDITYA AND THE VIKRAMA ERA

By

HARIHAR NIVAS DVIVEDI, Gwalior

The Vikrama Era started to commemorate the "Vikrama" or the great deed of valour performed in the remote past by our ancestors has completed two millenniums of its history. The stage to which its long march of years has brought us may not present a very happy picture; yet if we calmly retrospect and look back sufficiently far, we cannot fail to catch a glimpse of that glorious past of this ancient land from which we have inherited that great cultural heritage which has enabled us to hold our heads high in the galaxy of nations. The two thousand years of this era that have passed belong comparatively to the time of the later Indian History, when the age of the pure Vedic civilization, the times of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the ***Mahābhārata***, the period of Mahāvīra and the Buddha, the reign of the all-powerful Chandragupta Maurya and the empire of piety of the Great Aśoka and the tales of the conquests of Pushyamitra Śuṅga had already become things of the past, when many Indian colonies founded beyond the seas had already sunk into oblivion, when the Vedas,

the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads and the Smṛitis had been reduced into writing. Yet even during the span of these two thousand years, Indian valour, genius and wisdom had reached such a high water-mark that they could well vie with the achievements of the hoary past.

While the first Vikrama Millennium witnessed the crumbling of the foreign powers before the might and bravery of Bhāraśiva Nāga, Yaśodharman, Samudragupta, Chandragupta and Skandagupta, the poetic genius of Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the superhuman magical glamour of Śaṅkarāchārya and Kumārilabhaṭṭa, and the birth of the great Rajput community, the second millennium showed that we could sustain defeats and bear their grim consequences without much loss of our inherent strength and stamina. The troubled times through which we have passed bear testimony to the fact that we are made up of the stuff which knows sacrifice and have shown it whenever occasion has demanded it. That we continue to exist as a nation notwithstanding our social differences of caste and creed shows that there is some thing great behind our civilization which has not allowed our vitals to be eaten up, whereas many other ancient nations of the world are even completely wiped out of the globe.

It is a matter of great pride to the lovers and admirers of Indian civilization that an era in India is probably the oldest of the current eras and when it has completed two thousand years of its long existence it is but natural for us that on such historic and important occasion while celebrating this grand festival light is also thrown on the material available regarding the Vikrama Era and its founder the victorious Vikramāditya.

VIKRAMĀDITYA AND VIKRAMA ERA

REVIEW OF VARIOUS THEORIES

The story of the investigation of the Vikrama problem in Indian History is in itself very interesting. It is necessary to examine the various theories propounded by the eminent explorers in the field of Indian Antiquity regarding the starting and the founder of the Vikrama Era and proof of the historicity of Vikramāditya.

The commencement of the era is an event which a historian cannot deny, however great a disbeliever he may be in the past greatness of India. Who can disown the fact of the beginning of a Saṁvat which has had such a long and continuous existence? What better proof can there be of the fact that a person was sometimes born than the fact that he is living to-day? Similarly no extraneous evidence is required to prove the age of an era.

The Vikrama Saṁvat has,however, had to face some strange and interesting theories. In 1870 Fergusson[1] put up the suggestion that the Vikrama Era was set up in 544 A. D. and not in 58-57 B. C. According to him a ruler of the name or title of Vikramāditya defeated the Hūṇas in 544 A. D. and in commemoration of this victory set up the Vikrama Era and, with a view to embellishing it with a halo of antiquity, antidated its beginning by 600 years. What queerer idea than this could be conceived? In the beginning this suggestion did not attract much attention, but when later on, while extolling the genius of Fergusson, Maxmuller[2] upheld this peculiar conception, the theory that this Saṁvat was not two thousand years old began to gain more currency. Fortunately, however, this opinion could

1. *J. R. A. S.*, 1870, P. 81.
2. *India: What it can teach us?*, P. 280.

not hold firm ground for long. Fergusson's palace of imagery was blown away with the discovery of the inscriptions[1] which contained references to the Vikrama Saṁvat prior even to 544 A. D.

The opinions of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar[2] and Vincent Smith[3] are no less interesting, though not so strange as that of Fergusson. According to them, originally this Saṁvat was current as Mālava Saṁvat and Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty who held the title of Vikramāditya renamed it as Vikrama Saṁvat. The supporters of this theory are to be found even to this day, but it has to be borne in mind that separate Gupta Era of the Gupta dynasty had already been in vogue and that Chandragupta II himself never made use of the Saṁvat alleged to be founded by him[4].

Not only have there been made such attempts to cut short the age of the Vikrama Era, but doubts have also been expressed of the very fact of Vikramāditya being its founder.

Kielhorn[5] holds quite radical views on the point. He maintains that neither was there any ruler of the name of Vikramāditya in the year 57 B. C., nor did any person set up this Saṁvat. He holds that the word 'Vikrama' connotes the period of war; as the Mālava Saṁvat begins from the autumn season, the time for the monarchs to start upon their military expeditions,

1. See Appendix to this article.
2. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, P. 398.
3. *Early History of India*, third edition, P. 290.
4. Along with this, the opinion of some other scholars may also be mentioned, who hold that Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty is the very Vikramāditya who set up the Vikrama Saṁvat and that his time was 1st century B. C. instead of the 4th century A. D. But this theory has been subjected to so little examination that it can be regarded neither as proved nor as disproved.
5. *I. A.*, Vols. 19 and 20.

this Mālava Saṁvat was denominated as Vikrama Saṁvat. There are a number of difficulties in accepting this theory. In the first place "Valour" and "War" do not mean the same thing, and, secondly, Vikrama Saṁvat does not begin everywhere in India from the autumn season.

Cunningham[1] and Marshall[2], too, have advanced their respective theories. According to both of them, the ruler who set up this era did not bear the name of Vikramāditya. Cunningham bestows its authorship upon Kanishka of the Kushāna dynasty. This opinion has been subjected to much critical examination and many authorities on the subject have written for or against it[3]. Sir John Marshall has, however, conclusively proved that the time of Kanishka was 78 A. D. and not 57 B.C. Cunningham's theory was thus exploded. But then Marshall's theory began to gain ground. He held that the commencement of the Vikrama Era was made by the Śaka ruler Azes of Gandhāra. This opinion, too, is without any foundation. It has been established that the Saṁvat set up by Azes bore his own name while Vikrama Saṁvat was current as "Kṛita" or "Mālava" Saṁvat. Moreover a Saṁvat started by a foreign ruler in a remote corner of India could not engender in itself a sentiment of victory over foreigners.

Some other theories besides these were also sponsored. According to one of them the Mālava warrior Yaśodharman[4] set up this Saṁvat. Another one gives its authorship to Pushyamitra Śuṅga[5]. Dr. K. P.

1. *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, P. 627.
2. *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, P. 973, and 1915, P. 191.
3. *J. R. A. S.*, 1913.
4. Hoernle's view in *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, P. 545, and 1909, Pp. 89 ff.
5. Dr. Beni Prasad in *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā*, Saṁvat 1990.

Jayaswal[1] holds that this era was started by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. He has identified the Vikramāditya of Jain tradition with Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi of history and has thus tried to effect co-ordination between tradition and history. The learned Doctor has based his theory on two grounds. Firstly, all the attainments attributed to Vikramāditya were possessed by Gautamīputra; in the Nāsik inscription mother Gautamī has attributed all those to her son Śātakarṇi. Secondly, Śātakarṇi had defeated some Śaka ruler. This suggestion has been approved of by many scholars. But, in the first place, it is not as yet proved that the Śakas defeated by a Śātakarṇi were the same who held Ujjain under their domination, nor is this fact proved that Gautamīputra's victory had taken place in the 1st century B. C. Secondly, the lengthy inscription describing so many attainments of Gautamīputra contains no clear reference to the title "Vikramāditya".

Dr. A. S. Altekar[2] is one of those who do not believe in the Vikrama Era being founded by any person named Vikramāditya. He holds that the original name of the Vikrama Era is "Kṛita" which was so named to commemorate the victory of the Commander-in-Chief of Mālava Gaṇa named "Kṛita" over the Śakas. Though he has held the verses referring to Vikramāditya contained in the Kālakāchārya story as interpolated and disbelieves the Jain tradition, yet he writes :—

> "Now it may also be conceded that the ruler of the name 'Kṛita' who set up this Saṁvat may have possessed the alias of 'Vikramāditya.'"[3]

1. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. 16, Parts III and IV, Pp. 226-316. Also see *I. A.*, Vol 47, P. 112, where he writes "The theory or rather the mythology about the non-existence of Vikrama circulated by early Indianists in their imperfect knowledge is fit to be given up".
2. *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā*, Saṁvat 2000, P. 77.
3. *Ibid.*

But if so much could be conceded, there are definite reasons to believe the existence in 57 B. C. of a Commander-in-Chief or ruler of Mālava Gaṇa named Vikramāditya.

THE TESTIMONY OF INSCRIPTIONS

After reviewing all these theories, we next take up the examination of the inscriptions bearing the date in Vikrama Era and mentioning its name in various forms. Vikrama Era is the main argument that proves the existence of Vikramāditya. The manner in which this era is mentioned in the earlier inscriptions throws great light on the Vikrama problem in Indian History. For this purpose a list of all the inscriptions bearing the name of this era is appended hereto. A study of this list reveals the following facts :—

(1) In the inscriptions dated upto 461 A.D., this era is named as "Kṛita".

(2) After 461 A. D., this era is named as "Mālava Saṁvat". In the Mandasor inscription of 461 A. D. both the names "Mālava" and "Kṛita" have been used.

(3) In the Dhīnīki inscription of 794 A. D. this era is for the first time mentioned as Vikrama Era. But this plate is proved to be forged[1]. Hence the first authoritative mention of this era is in the Dholpur inscription of 898 A. D.

(4) Territorially, the names 'Mālava' and 'Kṛita' are used in Udaipur, Jaipur, Kotah, Bharatpur, Mandasor and Jhalawar. The name 'Vikrama' is used in the whole of India.

1. *E. I.*, Vol. XXVI, P. 189.

The Mandasor inscriptions of V. S. 461 and 493 prove it beyond doubt that 'Kṛita', 'Mālava' and 'Vikrama' are the names of the one and the same era.

In order to understand the meaning and significance of the word 'Kṛita' the following texts of the various inscriptions may be usefully read together :—

(1) Śrī (r-m) Mālavagaṇāmnāte praśaste Kṛitasaṁjñite (Mandasor, V. S. 461).

(2) Mālavānām gaṇasthityā (Mandasor, V. S. 493).

(3) Vikhyāpake Mālavavaṁśakīrteḥ (Mandasor, V. S. 524).

(4) Mālavagaṇasthitivaśāt kālajñānāya (Mandasor, V. S. 589).

(5) Saṁvatsara.......Mālaveśānām (Kanaswa, V. S. 795).

(6) Mālavakālāch chharadām (Gyaraspur, V. S. 936).

These readings show the facts that (*a*) the era is founded by a ruler of Malwa (Mālaveśa), (*b*) the Mālava-vaṁśa was established (or restored) by this ruler and the era was founded to commemorate that event, and (*c*) this Mālava Era is also called Kṛita. All these would give an aggregate reading as follows :—

"The ruler of Mālava performed an act which enhanced the glory of the Mālava-vaṁśa, assured the existence of the Mālava clan or its restoration, and to commemorate that 'act' (Kṛita) this era was founded."

This clearly reveals the meaning of the word 'Kṛita'. It is definitely not a proper name, but denotes the action of some person. Who this person was is

clearly denoted by the following texts of the inscriptions bearing the name of the era as 'Vikrama' :—

(1) Kālasya Vikramākhyasya (Dholpur, 898).
(2) Vikramādityabhūbhṛitaḥ (Udaipur, 1028).
(3) Vikramādityakāle (Vasantagadh, 1099).
(4) Vatsarair Vikramādityaiḥ (Tilakwada, 1103)
(5) Śrī-Vikramādityotpāditasaṁvatsara (Navsari, 1131).
(6) Śrī-Vikramārkanṛipakālātītasaṁvatsarāṇām (Gwalior, 1161).
(7) Śrī-Vikramādityotpāditātītasaṁvatsara (Jodhpur, 1176).

One thing that can be seen from these texts is that as early as the 9th century of the Vikrama Era the name of the Mālava ruler was taken to be Vikramāditya. Both these sets of readings would thus mean that the leader of the Mālava clan named Vikramāditya performed the above-mentioned act (Kṛita) which enhanced the glory of the Mālavas and assured their existence and continuity.

The territorial distribution of these inscriptions is no less significant. The names 'Mālava' and 'Kṛita' are used in Malwa or in the territory near about Malwa. It is just possible that the oligarchical Mālava tribe might have preferred to attach more importance to the name of their clan, while the monarchical territories outside might have preferred to use not the name of the clan but of its leader Vikramāditya. He might have also gathered other people under the Mālava banner for expelling the common foe, the Śakas (the fact denoted by 'Āmnāya').

The main reason for the formation of different theories mentioned above is said to be that no coins or inscriptions bearing the name of any Vikramāditya belonging to 57 B. C. have been found. This had led to the denial of the very existence of Vikramāditya so well established in Indian tradition. The scholars who have attempted to remould Indian History have tried to strangulate Vikramāditya for the mere offence that they could not discover his coins or inscriptions, though the stories of his bravery are to be heard even in the remotest corners of India, just like those of Rāma and Kṛishṇa. Coins and inscriptions no doubt can form irrefutable proofs of the existence of a particular ruler, but their absence need not mean the non-existence of any personage. How much portion of the vast ocean of Indian Archaeology has as yet been explored ? Particularly Malwa and Ujjain, the seat of Vikrama, are yet practically untouched. It is possible that an exploration in this direction may yield some fruitful results. Hence the mere absence of coins and inscriptions should not lead one to disbelieve Indian tradition.

VIKRAMĀDITYA IN INDIAN TRADITION

Indian tradition adds valuable details to the very sketchy and rough outline of Vikramāditya presented by the texts of the inscriptions mentioned above. A passing reference to some of the most important of these is being made below.

The oldest of the references to Vikramāditya is contained in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* written for Hāla, the ruler of Paiṭhan, who lived in the 1st century A. D. The verse in the *Saptaśatī* containing a reference to Vikrama is as under :—

Saṁvāhaṇasuharasatōśiyeṇa denteṇa tuha kare lakkhaṁ/

Chalaṇeṇa Vikkamāittachariaṁ aṇusikkhiaṁ tissā //

This clearly shows that in the 1st century A. D. a tradition was prevalent that a brave and generous-hearted ruler named Vikramāditya had bestowed gifts of thousands on the needy. The date of the *Gāthāsapta-śatī* also has been a subject of keen controversy. Dr. Bhandarkar[1] has advanced a number of arguments to prove that the period of the writing of the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* is 600 A. D., but MM. G. H. Ojha[2] and Dr. K. P. Jayaswal[3] have successfully refuted them.

The other tradition is found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* written by Somadeva. This is based on the *Bṛihatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, a contemporary of Sātavāhana Hāla, and hence has the support of a work of the 1st century of Vikrama Saṁvat. It, therefore, cannot be said to be unreliable. Now, according to this work, Vikramāditya was the ruler of Ujjain, his father's name being Mahendrāditya and that of his mother being Saumyadarśanā. Owing to the absence of any issue for a long time Mahendrāditya began the worship of Śiva. Just at this time fearing the down-fall of religion and the growing strength of the heretics, the gods prayed unto Mahādeva to lighten the burden of the earth. Thereupon Lord Śiva ordered one of his attendants Mālyavān (or the historically famous Mālavagaṇa) to go to the earth, don the human form at his devotee Mahendrāditya's house and lighten the burden of the earth. Lord Śiva conferred upon Mahendrāditya the boon that a son would be born unto him and commanded him to name the child as Vikramāditya. In his description of this ruler Somadeva writes that he was "father unto the

1. *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, P. 187.
2. *Prāchīna-Lipi-Mālā*, P. 168.
3. *I. A.*, Vol. 47, P. 112.

fatherless, brother unto the brotherless, a protector of the unprotected and the whole and sole unto his subjects". (A description tallying with this one appears in the *Bhavishya-Purāṇa*, in which Vikramāditya's father's name is given as Gandharvasena and that of his mother as Vīramatī; Śiva and his attendant deities are mentioned in the same manner as above, while Gandharvasena is mentioned to belong to the Paramāra dynasty.)

The third tradition is contained in the Jain writings. In the *Paṭṭāvalī* written by Merutuṅgāchārya it has been stated that in the year 470 of the Mahāvīra-Nirvāṇa Saṁvat Vikramāditya crushed the Śakas and set up a Saṁvat. This is further supported by the *Prabandhakośa* as well as the *Śatruñjayamāhātmya* written by Dhaneśvara Sūri. A description how the Śakas conquered Gardabhilla of Ujjain and how again they were ousted by Vikramāditya is found in the Jain writings.

The *Kālakāchārya-Kathānaka* describes the arrival of the Śakas in Malwa. According to it Kālakāchārya and his sister Sarasvatī, a Jain nun, were living in Ujjain where a ruler named Gardabhilla was ruling. One day on seeing Sarasvatī Gardabhilla's passions were inflamed, and, confining her in his palace, he made her a victim of his lust. Kālakāchārya made a number of efforts to free Sarasvatī, tried to persuade Gardabhilla, made humble requests to him, but all to no purpose. Being disappointed at last, Kālakāchārya took a vow to destroy the ruler and left for Sindh, where there reigned a number of Śaka rulers known as 'Śāhas' above whom there was an over-lord denominated as 'Śāhi Śāhānuśāhi'. Kālakāchārya approached one of these Śāhas and gained great influence over him. Later on, once the over-lord got angry with this Śāha as well as with a few others. Kālakā-

chārya advised him along with others to undertake the invasion of Mālava. The Śāha, accompanied by others and making conquests on the way, came to Ujjain, defeated Gardabhilla and drove him away.

Sarasvatī was thus liberated ; Kālakāchārya began to lead a happy life, while Malwa was subjugated to foreign rule.

Sometime afterwards came to power Emperor Vikramāditya who exterminated the Śāhas and set up his own era. According to the *Paṭṭāvalī* Vikramāditya was Gardabhilla's son.

Besides these, there are other works such as *Vikramacharitra, Vetālapañchaviṁśati, Rājāvalī,* etc., which contain numerous tales and legends about Vikramāditya.

THE NINE GEMS

Tradition has attributed Nine Gems to the brilliant court of Vikramāditya. Like the title of Vikramāditya, this idea of decorating the grandeur of a ruler by the addition of the halo of the ministerial gems has also gained a deep root in Indian imagination. The Nava Ratans of the Moghul emperor Akbar or the Ashṭa Pradhānas of Śivāji echo the age-old tradition of respecting the best talents of the court. But for a student of the historicity of Vikramāditya this idea of Nine Gems presents many difficult problems.

The verse enumerating the Nine Gems of Vikrama's court occurs in the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* of some Kālidāsa, which runs as follows :—

Dhanvantarikshapaṇakāmarasiṁhaśaṅku-
Vetālabhaṭṭaghaṭakharparakālidāsāḥ /
Khyāto Varāhamihiro nṛipateḥ sabhāyām
Ratnāni vai Vararuchir nava Vikramasya //

The exact date of these nine scholars is still undecided and the historians of today are not prepared either to take all these personalities as contemporaries or as existing in the court of Vikramāditya. This is no place to enter into a detailed discussion about all the nine persons mentioned above, but one thing can be stated here that the traditional relation of Vikrama and Kālidāsa is proved to be real. In a MS of *Abhijñāna-śākuntala*[1] (copied in Vikrama Saṁvat 1699) there appears to be a passage which indicates two things: (*i*) that the Vikramāditya mentioned there bore the *name* of Vikramāditya, while his *title* was Sāhasāṅka, and (*ii*) that he was the chief of the Mālava Gaṇas. In some old MSS of this drama, there is a mention that the play was staged before Vikramāditya. There are scholars who prove the age of Kālidāsa as 57 B. C. Of course, some of them hold that there were several poets of this name.

Though reasonable doubts have been cast on the authenticity of the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*, yet the tradition embodied in the verse mentioned above deserves the attention of Indian scholars, since its investigation may lead to useful results.

These Nine Gems might have or might not have illumined the court of Vikramāditya in 57 B. C. or the idea of tagging them together may even be a fine imagination of some ingenious brain sponsored after the completion of the first millennium of the Vikrama Era; yet one thing is certain that this cannot effect the historicity of Vikramāditya of 57 B. C., so well established in Indian tradition.

1. *Vikrama-Smṛti-Grantha*, P. 44.

VIKRAMĀDITYA AND VIKRAMA ERA

THE TITLE 'VIKRAMĀDITYA' AND ITS HOLDERS

The title 'Vikramāditya' has been as popular in India as that of 'Caesar' in the West. Both in 'Vikramāditya' and in 'Caesar' are ingrained the sentiments of victory, glory and empire. The investigation of the holders of the title 'Vikramāditya', besides explaining so many other things, points out by analogy that as there was a ruler of the name of Caesar in Europe similarly there must have been one named Vikramāditya in India in order to inaugurate this title.

Uptil very recently, the first monarch who bore the title 'Vikramāditya' was taken to be Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty. This was one of the arguments which were advanced to prove that the Gupta emperor was the original Vikramāditya of history and tradition. But now it is also indicated that his father, the great Samudragupta used the title 'Śrī-Vikramaḥ'[1]. This great conqueror well deserves this title. His victorious march throughout the vast territories enumerated by Harisheṇa in the Allahabad inscription clearly indicates that the 'Parākramaḥ' was also a 'sun of valour' and could rightly assume the title 'Śrī-Vikramaḥ'. The holding of the title of 'Śrī-Vikramaḥ' by Samudragupta may be doubted by some scholars even now, but that Chandragupta II held this title cannot be doubted. This mighty emperor added lustre to this title. Skandagupta Vikramāditya is said to have added a great charm to this title and the story of this hero has touched the imagination of the Indian mind the most.

1. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol.V, Part II, Pp. 136-137. Commenting on this hoard of coins discovered by him at Bamnālā in the Indore State, Mr. D. B. Diskalkar writes ;—

"On the seventh coin the dress of the king and other items are similar to those in coins Nos 1 to 5, and in all respects this coin closely resembles

After the great Guptas, the use of this word as a title or name is found all over India. The Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, the Chola Vikrama, and so many others indicate the popularity of this title amongst the rulers in ancient India.

Whoever later on obtained victory over foreigners or thought to have done so took up this title. It is stated that even Hemu proclaimed himself as Vikramā-

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the coins of Samudra-gupta of the standard type. But it is of an extraordinary importance, in that it bears on the reverse the legend "Śrī Vikramaḥ" instead of the usual legend "Parākramaḥ". No other coin of Samudra-gupta has hitherto been found bearing this legend, which is found used only on the coins of Chandra-gupta II. This novelty may be explained in two ways.

"It may be supposed, therefore, that the coin of Samudra-gupta in the Bamnālā hoard bearing on the reverse the biruda Śrī Vikramaḥ was struck in the early period of Chandra-gupta's reign, the old die for the obverse of the coin of Samudra-gupta being used instead of the die of Chandra-gupta's early coins of the archer type. After only a few coins were struck in this way the mistake was detected and the further minting of the coin was discontinued. It is for this reason that our coin in the Bamnālā find is the only specimen of the variety so far found. If this supposition is accepted, it would be better to call this as Chandra-gupta's coin wrongly bearing on the obverse the die of Samudra-gupta's coin.

"An alternative suggestion can also be made. It may be supposed that in the later period of his reign Samudra-gupta introduced the epithet 'Vikrama' in place of the usual synonymous epithet 'Parākrama' used on coins of the standard type and that Chandra-gupta continued to adopt on his coins the epithet 'Vikrama' which he liked better than the epithet 'Parākrama'. It may be said against this view that the coins of the standard type of Samudra-gupta, which is a close copy of the later coins of the Kushāna type, are the earliest of all his coins and that if he had introduced the new epithet on some coins of his standard type, it could have been used also on other coins struck by him."

To me it appears that both these assumptions are made with a view to maintaining *status-quo* in the historical world. Though the singleness of this type has helped this scholar to maintain this attitude, the theory that it is a coin of Chandra-gupta II is far from being convincing. To me it seems that Samudra-gupta assumed this title of 'Śrī-Vikramaḥ' when the "Devaputra Śāhi Śāhānuśāhi Śakas" bowed before his might and began to offer their daughters to him (—Allahabad Inscription).

ditya when he hoped that he would be successful in overthrowing the Mughal empire.

The conquest over foreigners is of course the main basis upon which sentimental value is attached to the title of Vikramāditya. The later holders of this title encouraged literature and art, gave away unlimited charities, and raised to the highest pinnacle the glory of their court. This seems to be the main reason why a congregate image of the virtues of all the emperors bearing the title of Vikramāditya has arisen in the brain of the people submerging the identity of the original Vikramāditya of Mālava Gaṇas underneath a deep sea of oblivion whence it has become difficult to resuscitate him. Whatever was found to be the best in the Indian civilisation or monarchical rule has been made symbolic with Vikramāditya. He subsequently came to be known as the patron of the Nine Gems—the best intellectuals that India could produce in the different branches of learning; he was attributed with the fine qualities of giving protection to the poor and of doing unadulterated justice with a high sense of sacrifice and generosity. The Vikramāditya of Mālava Gaṇa might have possessed all these qualities but the picture painted of him seems to be a bit exaggerated and, to a certain extent, unreal.

CONCLUSION

From the above analysis of the known historical facts and traditions the conclusions we arrive at are :—

That the Śakas had subjugated the Mālava Gaṇas near about 57 B. C., the primary reason of their defeat being the religious rivalries and internal dissensions in the land. A hero named Vikramāditya having gathered together and unified the Mālava Gaṇas and other people

completely routed and drove away the Śakas from India. To commemorate this great national victory a new era called the Vikrama Saṁvat was started and the coins bearing the legend "Mālavānām Jayaḥ" were circulated. This Vikramāditya was very powerful and possessed high qualities of head and heart. It was quite natural for the Mālava-Gaṇa people to attach more importance to their community. In preference to the individuality of their leader, they preferred to call this era as 'Mālava' or 'Kṛita' after their clan or its heroic deed. But outside the Mālava, however, the people under monarchical government did not like to accept it in the name of the clan, but regarded it a beginning of the Golden Age, and to give honour to the great hero of the event called it 'Vikrama Saṁvat'.

We are prepared to concede that in the chain of arguments about this theory a number of links require strengthening by additional evidence; yet this conception does not run counter to the known historical facts and at the same time does not go against our tradition. The acceptance of the title of Vikramāditya in the early centuries of the Vikrama Era by the mightiest of the Indian rulers and their feeling elevated and honoured thereby clearly show the great veneration and respect that the indigenous imagination has for the epithet Vikramāditya. The era inaugurated by Vikramāditya is our greatest cultural heritage and has ever since then become a luminous star which continues constantly to remind us of our great and glorious past and which guides and inspires us in our onward march to the greater and more glorious future.

Appendix[1]

No.	Vikrama Saṁvat	Find place	Donor or Ruler	Text relating to Saṁvat
1	282	Nāndsā (Udaipur State)	Śaktiguṇaguru ..	Kṛitayor dvayor varshaśatayor dvyaśītayoḥ 200 80 2 Chaitrapūrṇamāsīm
2	284	Barṇālā (Jaipur State)	(......) Vardhana	Chaitrapūrṇamāsīm Kṛitehi (=Kṛitaiḥ)
3-5	295	Baḍvā (Jaipur State)	..	Kṛitehi (=Kṛitaiḥ).
6	335	Barṇālā (Jaipur State)	Bhaṭṭa ..	Kṛitehi (=Kṛitaiḥ) 300 30 5 Jarā sudhasya pañchadaśī
7	428	Bijayagaḍh (Bharatpur State)	Vishṇuvardhana ..	Kṛiteshu chaturshu varshaśateshv ashṭāviṁśeshu 400 20 8 Phālguṇabahulasya pañchadaśyām etasyām pūrvāyām
8	461	Mandasor (Gwalior State)	Naravarman ..	Śrī-Mālavagaṇāmnāte praśaste Kṛitasaṁjñite / ekashashṭy-adhike prāpte samāśatachatushṭaye // dine Āśvojaśuklasya pañchamyām atha satkṛite/
9	480	Gaṅgdhār (Jhalawar State)	Viśvavarman ..	Yāteshu chaturshu Kṛiteshu śateshu sausyaishvā (?) śītasottarapadeshv iha vatsa (reshu) śukle trayodaśadine bhuvi Kārttikasya māsasya
10	481	Nagarī (Udaipur State)	Two Bania brothers.	Kṛiteshu chaturshu varshaśateshv ekāśītyuttareshv asyām Mālavapūrvāyām (400) 80 1 Kārttikaśuklapañchamyām
11	493	Mandasor (Gwalior State)	Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman	Mālavānām gaṇasthityā yāte śatachatushṭaye / trinavatya-dhike 'bdānām ṛitau sevyaghanastane // Sahasyamāsaśuklasya praśaste 'hni trayodaśe/

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vols. XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, Appendix, and Vol. XXVI, Pp. 118-125.

No.	Vikrama Saṁvat	Find place	Donor or Ruler	Text relating to Saṁvat
12	524	Mandasor (Gwalior State)	Prabhākara ..	Śaranniśānāthakarāmalāya vikhyāpake Mālavavaṁśakīrteḥ / śaradgaṇe pañchaśate vyatīte trighātitāshṭābhyadhike krameṇa //
13	589	Mandasor (Gwalior State)	..	.....................yāteshv ekānnanavatisahiteshu / Mālavagaṇasthitivaśāt kālajñānāya likhiteshu //
14	770	Chitorgaḍh (Udaipur State)	Māna ..	"The probability is that in this inscription the era of the Mālava king is referred to."
15	794	Dhīnīki[1] (Kathiawar)	Jāikadeva of Saurāshṭra.	Vikramasaṁvatsaraśateshu saptasu chaturnavatyadhikeshv aṅkataḥ 794 Kārttikamāsāparapakshe amāvāsyāyām Ādityavāre Jyeshṭhānakshatre Ravigrahaṇaparvaṇi
16	795	Kaṇaswa (Kotah State)	Śivagaṇa ..	Saṁvatsaraśatair yātaiḥ sapañchanavatyargalaiḥ saptabhir Mālaveśānām
17	898	Dholpur (Rajputana)	Chaṇḍamahāsena	Vasunavāshṭauvarshāgatasya kālasya Vikramākhyasya / Vaiśākhasya sitāyā Ravivārayutadvitīyāyām // Chandre Rohiṇīyukte lagne Siṁhasya Śobhane yoge //
18	936	Gyāraspur (Gwalior State)	..	........Mālavakālāch Chharadām shaṭtriṁśatsaṁyuteshv atīteshu / navasu śateshu Madhāv iha
19	973	Bijāpur ..	Rāshṭrakūṭa Vidagdharāja	Rāmagirinandakalite Vikramakāle gate tu Śuchimā (se)/
20	1005	Bodh-Gayā (Bihar).	..	'Era of Vikramāditya' is referred to.
21	1008	Āhār (Udaipur State)	Allaṭa ..	Kārttikasitapañchamyām Agraṭanāmnā susūtradhāreṇa / prārabdham devagṛiham kāle vasuśūnyadiksaṁkhye // Daśadigvikramakāle Vaiśākhe śuddhasaptamīdivase/ Harir iha niveśito 'yam ghaṭitapratimo Varāheṇa //

22	1013	Osiā (Jodhpur State	..	'Vikrama year' is referred to.
23	1028	Ekaliṅgaji (Udaipur State)	Naravāhana ..	..........Vikramādityabhūbhṛitaḥ / ashṭāviṁśatisaṁyukte śate daśaguṇe sati //
24	1086	Rādhanpur (Bombay Presidency)	Bhīmadeva ..	Vikramasaṁvat 1086 Kārttikaśudi 15...........
25	1099	Vasantagaḍh (Sirohi State)	Pūrṇapāla ..	Navanavatir ihāsīd Vikramādityakāle // Jagati daśaśatānām agrato yatra pūrṇā prabhavati nabhamāse sthānake Chitrabhānoḥ // Mṛigaśirasi śaśāṅke kṛishṇapakshe navamyām
26	1103	Tilakwāḍā (Baroda State)	Jasorāja and Bhojadeva	Vatsarair Vikramādityaiḥ śatair ekādaśais tathā / tryuttarair Mārgamāse'smin Some Somasya parvaṇi //
27	1116	Udayapur (Gwalior State)	Udayāditya ..	Ekādaśaśatavarshāṅga tadadhikam shoḍaśam cha Vikrame(ṁ) dresam // Saṁvat 1116 navaśataikāśīti Śaka gata Śālivahina cha nṛipādhiśa Śake 981
28	1118	Deogarh (Jhansi U. P.)	Satī stone ..	(Vikrama) Saṁvat 1118 Jyeshṭhasu..........
29	1131	Navasāri (Baroda State)	Karṇarāja and Durlabharāja	Śrī-Vikramādityotpāditasaṁvatsaraśateshv ekādaśasu ekatriṁśadadhikeshu atrāṅkato'pi Saṁ. 1131 Kārttikaśudi ekādaśīparvaṇi
30	1148	Sunak (Baroda State)	Karṇadeva Trailokyamalla	Vikramasaṁvat 1148 Vaiśākhaśudi 15 Some
31	1150	Gwalior ..	Mahīpāladeva ..	Ekādaśasv atīteshu saṁvatsaraśateshu cha / ekonapañchāśati cha gateshv abdeshu Vikramāt // Pañchāśe chāśvine māse kṛishṇapakshe..........aṅkato'pi 1150 // Āśvinabahulapañchamyām
32	1157	Arthūṇā (Banswara State)	Chāmuṇḍarāja ..	Saptapañchāśadadhike sahasre cha śatottare / Chaitrakṛishṇadvitīyāyām........Vikramasaṁvat 1157 Chaitravadi Some

1. This copper-plate is proved to be spurious by Dr. Altekar in *E. I.*, Vol. XXVI, P. 189.

No.	Vikrama Saṁvat	Find place	Donor or Ruler	Text relating to Saṁvat
33	1161	Gwalior ..	Successor of Mahīpāladeva	Śrī-Vikramārkanṛipakālātītasaṁvatsarāṇām ekashashṭyadhikāyām ekādaśaśatyām Māghaśuklashashṭhyām
34	1164	Kadmāl (Udaipur State)	Vijayasiṁha ..	Śrī-Vikramakālātītasaṁvatsaraśateshv ekādaśasu chatuḥshashṭyadhikeshu Āshāḍhamāsāmāvāsyāyām Sūryagrahaṇe 'ṅkato'pi Saṁvat 1164 varshe Āshāḍhavadi
35	1166	Arthūṇā (Banswara State)	Vijayarāja ..	Varshasahasre yāte shaṭshashṭyuttaraśatena saṁyukte / Vikramabhānoḥ kāle........Vikramasaṁvat 1166 Vaiśākhasudi 3 Some
36	1176	Sevāḍi (Jodhpur State)	Ratnapāla ..	Śrī-Vikramādityotpāditātītasaṁvatsaraśateshv ekādaśasu shaṭsaptatyadhikeshu Jyeshṭhamāsabahulapakshāshṭamīguruvāsare aṅkato 'pi Saṁvat 1176 Jyeshṭhavadi 8 Gurau
37	1191	Dhārā ..	Yaśovarmadeva ..	Śrī-Vikramakālātītasaṁvatsaraikanàvatyadhikaśataikādaśeshu Kārttikaśudi ashṭamyām
38	1195	Ujjain (Gwalior State)	Jayasiṁha ..	Vikramanṛipakālātītasaṁvatsaraśataikādaśasu pañchanavatyadhikeshu // aṅkataḥ Saṁ. 1195 (1) Jyeshṭhavadi Gurau
39	1195	Bhadreśvara (Cutch State)	Jayasiṁhadeva.	Vikramasaṁvat 1195 varshe Āshāḍhaśudi 10 Ravau asyām saṁvatsaramāsapakshadivasapūrvāyām tithau
40	1196	Dohad (Panch Mahal, Bombay Presidency)	Jayasiṁhadeva ..	Śrīnṛipavikramasaṁvat 1196
41	1198	Kirāḍū (Jodhpur State)	Jayasiṁha Siddharāja Someśvara.	........ashṭanavatau varshe Vikramabhūpateḥ
42	1199	Jhālrāpāṭana (Jhalawar State)	Naravarmadeva and Yaśovarmadev	Vikramāṅkasaṁvat 1199 Phālgunaśudi........

DHANVANTARI, ONE OF THE NINE JEWELS OF VIKRAMĀDITYA'S COURT AND HIS NAME-SAKES IN LEGEND AND LITERATURE

By

P. K. GODE, Poona

According to tradition Dhanvantari was one of 1e nine gems[1] of the court of Vikramāditya, whose ra the *Saṁvat* begins in 56 B. C. The date of this 'ikramāditya is by no means settled. Dr. Bhau Daji lentifies Vikrama with Harsha Vikramāditya who ved in the middle of the sixth century.[2]

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1. These are :—(1) धन्वन्तरि, (2) क्षपणक, (3) अमरसिंह, (4) शङ्कु, (5) वेतालभट्ट, (6) घटकर्पर, (7) कालिदास, (8) वराहमिहिर, (9) वररुचि.

2. See P. 221 of *Classical Dictionary* by J. Dowson, London, 1913. Dowson records three namesakes of Dhanvantari :—(1) Name of a Vedic deity to whom offerings at twilight were made; (2) The physician of the gods, produced at the churning of the ocean; (3) the Court-physician, one of the nine gems at the court of Vikramāditya (*Ibid*, P. 88). The traditional verse about the nine jewels reads as follows:—

"धन्वन्तरिक्षपणकामरसिंहशङ्कुवेतालभट्टघटखर्परकालिदासाः ।
ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥"

Vide P. 37, Verse 67 of **सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागार** (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1935).—No source of the verse is indicated.

According to Indian medical tradition the knowledge of medicine had a two-fold origin. On the one hand it was delivered by God Indra to Dhanvantari (also called Divodāsa and Kāśīrāja) and from him to Suśruta. This tradition traces medicine from a mythical through a semi-mythical to an historical beginning.[1]

The B. O. R. Institute (Government MSS Library) possesses a MS of a work called धन्वंतरिमंत्र (MS No. 668 of 1895-1902—folio 1). This *mantra* reads as follows :—

"श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।। धन्वंतरीमंत्र ।। धन्वंतरीमहामंत्रस्य अवांतर्यातम ऋषिः। गायत्री छंदः। धन्वंतरी महाविष्णुर्देवता। वं बीजं। स्वाहा शक्तिः। धन्वंतरीमहा-मंत्रजपे विनियोगः। वां अंगुष्ठाभ्यां नमः। वां कनिष्ठिकाभ्यां० एवं हृदयादिन्यासः। ध्यानं

पयोत्थे मध्यस्थं दशशतभुजालंबि विलसत्
घटौ धास्यां निर्यत्सुविमलसुधापूरसलिलैः ।
अमुं संचितंतं निजशिरसि संचित्य वपुषा
भवेदायुर्दीर्घं ग्रहदुरितदोषैर्विषहरं ।।

The only jewel in the above list which is datable is Varāhamihira the celebrated astronomer who composed the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*. He died in A. D. 587 (Vide P. 305 of *Early History of India* by V. Smith, 1914). The attempt to make all these authors contemporaries of one another at the court of Vikramâditya after whom the Vikrama Era takes its name cannot succeed, though it may be possible to suggest the contemporaneity of one or two names in this list. Vide my paper on the "Probable identity of Mahâkshapaṇaka, the author of the *Anekārtha-dhvanimañjari*, with his namesake associated with the court of Vikramâditya" contributed to the विक्रम-स्मृति-ग्रंथ, Gwalior (in Hindi). See also Pp. 780-781 of शब्दकल्पद्रुम, Vol II, Calcutta.

1. Vide P. 7 of *Osteology* by Hoernle, Oxford, 1907. See also P. 88 of Dowson's *Dictionary*. Dowson states that Dhanvantari was a teacher of medical science and the Āyurveda is attributed to him. In another birth he was son of Dirghatamas and his "nature was exempt from human infirmities, and in every existence he had been master of universal knowledge." He is called also "Sudhā-pāṇi", carrying nectar in his hands, and Amṛita, 'the immortal'. Other physicians seem to have had the name applied to them as *Bhela, Divo-dāsa,* and *Pālakā-pya.*

वां करतलकरपृष्ठाभ्यां नमः। ओन्नमो भगवते विष्णवे धन्वन्तरे अमृतकलशहस्ताय सर्वमायविनाशनाय त्रैलोक्यनाथाय महाविष्णवे स्वाहा ॥ धन्वंतरी अनुष्टुप्

अरिसदनिजळकारत्नपीयूषकुंभ—
प्रविलसितकरांतः कांतपीतांबराढ्यः ।
तनु तव सविराजन्मौलिरारोग्यकारी
शतमखमणिवर्णः पातु धन्वंतरीर्वः ॥

अच्युतानंद गोविंद विष्णो नारायणामृत ।
रोगान्मे नाशयाशेषानाशु धन्वंतरे हरे ॥

इति धन्वंतरी अनुष्टुप्॥ समाप्तः ॥"

The two verses in the foregoing *Dhanvantari-mantra* are of iconographic value and they suggest to me the necessity of collecting iconographic texts about Dhanvantari and also studying his sculptural representations,[1] if any, so far brought to light.

According to Suśruta, Divodāsa was the incarnation of Dhanvantari, the celebrated physician of the gods in heaven, and he first propounded the Art of Healing in this world. Vide अथ खलु भगवन्तं, अमरवरं, ऋषिगणपरिवृतं, आश्रमस्थं, काशिराजं, दिवोदासं, धन्वन्तरिमौषधे नववैतरणौ रभ्रपोष्कालावतकरवीर्य्यंगोपुररक्षितसुश्रुतप्रभृतय ऊचुः ।
—*Suśruta-Saṁhitā*, I. i.

1. Vide Pp. 39-40 of *Mūrtivijñāna* (in Marathi) by G. H. Khare, Curator B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1939.—Mr. Khare observes :—Dhanvantari with *amrita-kumbha* is one of the 14 jewels turned out from the churning of the ocean by gods and demons. We cannot say how D. became an *avatāra* in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. From the story of D. in the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* D. appears to be an expert in सर्पविषचिकित्सा and an expert physician in general. Iconographic descriptions of धन्वन्तरि are found in भागवतपुराण (८।८।३१); मार्कण्डेयपुराण (२५१।५); विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (७३।४१); विष्णुपुराण (१।९।३६); शिल्परत्न (२३।१४।१३।३६); समराङ्गणसूत्रधार (७७।४७). Mr. Khare states that he has not come across any image of धन्वन्तरि which can be definitely identified on the strength of texts. Facing P. 40 he gives a photo (Plate 8) of an image in the B. I. S. Mandal which he thinks is one of Dhanvantari.

Referring to the nine gems of King Vikrama's court (B. C. 57), Thakore Saheb of Gondal[1] states that "there have been several persons bearing the name *Dhanvantari*, which is generally applied to an accomplished physician. The gem referred to as adorning Vikrama's court was the author of an elaborate work on Materia Medica called *Nighaṇṭu*." Evidently the Thakore Saheb believes in the identity of Dhanvantari of Vikrama's court with his namesake, the supposed author of the *Dhanvantari-Nighaṇṭu.*

In his chapter on the "Qualities of a Physician" the Thakore Saheb further records the following definitions of three types[2] of physicians :—

(1) *Vaidya*—"A practitioner knowing *one hundred* remedies is called a *Vaidya.*"

(2) *Bhishak*—"One with a knowledge of *two hundred* remedies for any one disease is called a *Bhishak.*"

(3) *Dhanvantari*—"To one who is acquainted with no less than *three hundred* remedies for each and every affection is applied the term *Dhanvantari.*"

We have referred above to the theory that Dhanvantari of Vikrama's court is identical with Dhanvantari, the author of the Materia Medica *Dhanvanatri-Nighaṇṭu.* We have also mentioned Amara, the author of the lexicon *Amarakośa,* as the contemporary of Dhanvantari at Vikrama's court. This contemporaneity of Amara and Dhanvantari is contradicted to a certain

1. Vide P. 196 of *Aryan Medical Science* by H. H. Sir Bhagvat Sinh Jee, K. C. I. E., London, 1896.

2. *Ibid,* P. 163.

extent by the following remarks[1] of Prof. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā about the date of the *Dhanvantari-Nighaṇṭu* :—

"The oldest is the *Dhanvantari-Nighaṇṭu* in nine chapters, which according to Kshīrasvāmin is *older than Amara*. It gives also the medical virtues and is the basis of almost all the later *Nighaṇṭus*."

Elsewhere[2] in his Introduction to the *Kalpadrukośa* Prof. Śarmā observes :—

"*Dhanvantari*, another *predecessor of Amara*, wrote a medical *Nighaṇṭu* (=*Dhanvantari-Nighaṇṭu*)."

Kshīrasvāmin, the earliest commentator on the *Amarakośa*, makes Dhanvantari a predecessor of Amara. Kshīrasvāmin flourished in the latter half of the 11th century, *i. e., between A. D.* 1050 *and* 1100. His testimony about the priority of Dhanvantari to Amara cannot be ruled out easily.

Speaking of Amara, the so called contemporary of Dhanvantari, Prof. Śarmā states :—

"Amara was a Buddhist. He is traditionally believed to have been one of the nine gems of King Vikramāditya, whose very identity is involved in mystery. He must, however, have lived *prior to the sixth century A. C.* when his work was translated

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1. Vide P. xlix of Introduction to *Kalpadrukośa*, Vol. I, 1928 (G. O. Series, Baroda). Vide Pp. x-xi—While accounting for *bālatanaya* in Amara II. 4. 50 as a synonym of *Khadira* Kshīrasvāmin says that it was due to Amara's reading by a mistake *bālaputra* in Dhanvantari's text instead of *bālapatra* ("बालपत्रो यवासः खदिरश्चेति द्व्यर्थेषु धन्वन्तरिपाठमदृष्ट्वा बालपुत्रभ्रान्त्या ग्रन्थकृद् बालतनयमाह"—Vide P. 62 of K. G. Oka's edition of *Amarakośa* with Kshīrasvāmin's Com.).

2. *Ibid*, P. xvi.

into Chinese (Vide Lassen: *Indische Altertumskunde*, IV, 633)."[1]

The foregoing notes indicate how the concept of *Dhanvantari* has undergone several changes. From his mythical origin he becomes semi-mythical and later assumes a historical character, being associated with the illustrious court of King Vikramāditya, whose very existence is involved in mystery. The working of the popular imagination is a mystic and wonderful process which rides over all difficulties of history and chronology and the Indian mind, in spite of the best efforts of Indologists, will continue to hold fast to the legend of the nine jewels of Vikrama's court, which will now receive added glory and lustre by the cumulative force of the Vikrama Celebrations all over India which are bound to create much interest in the glory that was Ind two thousand years ago.

Leaving aside Dhanvantari of the early myth and legend we may record here some information about physicians of the name Dhanvantari or works ascribed to authors of the name Dhanvantari.

In *A. D.* 1381 a work on veterinary medicine ascribed to Salator was transcribed from Sanskrit by the order of Firroz Shah after the capture of Nagorecote. A copy of it was preserved in the royal library of Lucknow

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1. *Ibid*, P. xvii.—In the *Ashṭāṅgasaṁgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa I (*c. A. D.* 625 according to Hoernle) the worship of Dhanvantari and other gods like Avalokiteśvara, Tārā, etc., is prescribed in the chapter on अन्नरक्षाविधि (सूत्रस्थान Chap. 8—vide P. 84 of *Sūtrasthāna* by R. D. Kinjavadekar, Chitrashala Press, Poona, 1940)—"ततश्चार्यावलोकितेश्वरमार्यतारां······धन्वन्तरिसुश्रुत·········वैनतेयान् अन्यांश्च यथाविध्युक्तदेवताः···············महतीभिः दक्षिणाभिः पूजयित्वा etc." The above extract contains a curious mixture of early Hindu deities, early medical authors raised to the status of deities and Buddhist deities like Avalokiteśvara, Tārā, etc.

(Maxmüller's *Science of Language*, Vol. I, P. 116). Among the Hindu physicians of the time one is mentioned as the son of DHN, director of the hospital of the Barmaks in Bagdad. This may be *Dhanya* or *Dhanian* chosen probably on account of its etymological relationship with the name धन्वन्तरि, the name of the mythical physician of the gods in Manu's lawbook and the epics (cf. Weber: *Indische Lithuratur geschichte*, Pp. 284-287)[1] The celebrated Jaina author Jinaprabhasūri, a contemporary of Muhammad Taghlak, composed a work called the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*,[2] which is a rich source of historical and legendary lore about the different *tīrthas* of India. This work according to its learned editor Muni Jinavijayaji must have been composed between *A. D.* 1308 *and* 1333.[3] In his account of the town of Ahichchhatra called "*Ahichchhatrānagarīkalpa*"[4] Jinaprabha refers to a well named after धन्वन्तरि ("धन्नंतरिकूव" or "धन्वन्तरिकूप") the yellow sands of which were capable of yielding gold. This anecdote told by Jinaprabha 600

1. Vide Pp. 352-353 of Vol. I of *Surgical Instruments of the Hindus* by G. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1913. Regarding the references to Dhanvantari in medical tradition and literature, vide **आयुर्वेदनो इतिहास** by Durgashankar Kevalram Shastri, Ahmedabad, 1942.— Index (P. 275) refers to धन्वन्तरि, chronology of धन्वन्तरि and सुश्रुत, धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु, धन्वन्तरिविलास, धन्वन्तरिसंप्रदाय, and धन्वन्तरिसारनिधि.
2. Ed. in *Singhī Jaina Granthamālā*, *No.* 10, Shantiniketan, 1934.
3. *Ibid*, Intro. P. 2.
4. *Ibid*. P. 14—"**धन्नंतरिकूवस्स** य पिंजरवण्णाए मट्टिआए गुरूवएसा कंचणं उप्पज्जइ।"

   The Prakrit—Hindi Dictionary by Hargovinddas called the **पाइअसद्द-महण्णव** (=**प्राकृतशब्दमहार्णव**) makes the following entry about Dhanvantari on P. 596 :—

   "**धण्णंतरि** पुं (धन्वन्तरि) १ राजा **कनकरथ** का एक स्वनामख्यात वैद्य (विपाकश्रुत १.८) २ देववैद्य (जयतिहुअणस्तोत्र २)"

years ago amply proves the miraculous hold of the name Dhanvantari on the popular imagination.

We shall now record some information about the association of Dhanvantari with Sanskrit works represented by manuscripts. Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* makes the following entries regarding Dhanvantari and works named after him :—

Part I, P. 267—धन्वन्तरि—

Aushadhaprayoga. Opp. 1168 (in Telugu characters).

Kālajñāna. B. 4. 220.

Chikitsātattvajñāna. Quoted in ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण Oxf. 22b.[1]

Chikitsādīpikā. Oudh III, 20.

Chikitsāsāra. B. 4. 224 (74 leaves).

Bālachikitsā. B. 4. 230 (19 leaves, 660 *Ślokas*).

Yogachintāmaṇi. Med. Bhr. 371.[2]

Yogadīpikā. Med. B. 4. 232 (32 leaves).

Vidyāprakāśachikitsā. L. 1446.[3]

The work विपाकश्रुत in which a physician of the name धन्वन्तरि is mentioned belongs to the Śvetāmbara Jaina Canon, being its eleventh Aṅga. This work could *not* be *later than the end of the 4th century A. D.* (See P. 452 of *Indian Literature,* Vol. II, by Winternitz, Calcutta, 1933). This reference shows how the name धन्वन्तरि for an expert physician had become current very early in Indian literature.

1. This quotation reads :—

"चिकित्सा च तत्त्वज्ञानं नाम तन्त्रं मनोहरम् ।
धन्वन्तरिश्च भगवाँश्चकार प्रथमे सति ।।"

2. This MS=*No.* 371 *of* 1882-83 in the Government MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The MS is dated *Saṁvat* 1842=*A. D.* 1786 and ends as follows :—"इति धन्वन्तरिविरचितं योगचिन्तामणि ग्रंथ स्माप्तं " (15 folios).

3. R. Mitra describes this work as "a treatise on the treatment of diseases. Attributed to Dhanvantari but it is apparently a modern work."—The MS is dated *Saṁvat* 1887 (=*A. D.* 1831). It ends :—"इति श्रीधन्वन्तरिविरचिता विद्याप्रकाशचिकित्सा समाप्ता."

धन्वन्तरिगुणागुणयोगशत—See *Yogaśata.*[1]

धन्वन्तरिग्रन्थ—Med. Oppert 69 (400 pages).

धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु—A glossary of Materia Medica. Cop. 105, I. O. 1507,[2] Oxf. 194b,[3] L. 823, K. 212, B. 4. 226, Report XXXVI, Ben. 64, Bik. 636,[4] Kāṭm. 13, NW 592, NP I, 12, Burnell 70b[5], Taylor 1, 118. 253, Oppert 3991, 8021; II, 523, 4172, 4658, 6582, 8244, Rice 294, Bühler 558. Quoted by क्षीरस्वामी on अमरकोश, in भावप्रकाश Oxf. 311b, Nighaṇṭurāja[6] Oxf. 323a.

धन्वन्तरिपञ्चक—Med. Opp. 4118.

धन्वन्तरिविलास—Med. Composed under some Tanjore prince of the last century. Burnell 68a.[7]

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1. Vide *Cata. Catalo.*, I, 479—A work of the name योगशतक or योगशत is attributed to वररुचि (W. P. 296, K. 214, Burnell 67b, B. P. 274) with commentaries by अमितप्रभ, पूर्णसेन and रूपनयन.

   One वररुचि is one of the nine jewels of Vikrama's court.

2. India Office No. 1507b of धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु is dated Saṁvat 1857 (=*A. D.* 1801).

3. Aufrecht makes the following remark about this MS :—

   "Haec voluminis pars *anno* 1467 non satis accurate exarata est."

4. This Bikaner MS is dated *Saṁvat* 1667 (=*A. D.* 1611).

5. Burnell states that a part of this MS was written *about A. D.* 1650.

6. This is the राजनिघण्टु of Narahari, the Kashmirian.

7. This work was composed by King Tulaja of Tanjore (*A.D.*1729-1735) (Vide P. 1400 of *Des. Cata. of Tanjore MSS*, 1933, Vol. XVI). On P. 1401 of this Catalogue a MS of धन्वन्तरिसारनिधि is described. The author of this work is also King Tulaja referred to above.

Part II, P. 57b—धन्वन्तरि—

Nibandhasaṁgraha (Peters. 4.40).[1]

Vaidyabhāskarodaya (Stein 190—59 leaves).

Vaidyavidyāvinoda (Stein 190—142 leaves)[2].

धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु—

Fl. 351 (inc.). Govt. Ori. Lib. Madras 39. I. O. 114, 1507. Peters. 4.39. Rgb. 923, 924.[3]

Part III, P. 59a—धन्वन्तरि—

Āyurvedasārāvali (Hpr. 1, 31).

धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु—

Bc. 452. Lz 1220. Tb 174.

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1. This MS=*No.* 1058 *of* 1886-92 (B. O. R. I.) dated *Saṁvat* 1874 (=*A. D.* 1818). The author of this work is डल्हण. It is a commentary on the निदानस्थान of सुश्रुतसंहिता (Vide P. 142 of *Des. Cata. of Vaidyaka MSS* by H. D. Sharma, Vol. XVI, Part I, 1939—B. O. R. I.).
2. This MS is dated *Saṁvat* 1766 (=*A. D.* 1711).
3. These are Government MSS. at B. O. R. I. The following are B. O. R. I. Government MSS of द्रव्यावली, or द्रव्यावलीनिघण्टु, or धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु :—

   No. 895 *of* 1887-91—dated *Saṁvat* 1924 (=*A. D.* 1868) by महेन्द्रभोगिक, son of कृष्णभोगिक.

   No. 894 *of* 1887-91—by महेन्द्रभोगिक.

   No. 1054 *of* 1886-92—dated *Saṁvat* 1572 (=*A. D.* 1516) by महेन्द्रभोगिक.

   No. 1057 *of* 1886-92—dated *Saṁvat* 1743 (=*A. D.* 1687) by महेन्द्रभोगिक or धन्वन्तरि ?

   No. 897 *of* 1887-91—निघण्टुनाममाला dated *Saṁvat* 1747 (=*A.D.* 1691) by महेन्द्रभोगिक or धन्वन्तरि ?

   No. 924 *of* 1884-87—dated *Saṁvat* 1698 (=*A. D.* 1642).

   No. 923 *of* 1884-87—dated *Saṁvat* 1744 (=*A. D.* 1688).

The foregoing record of the works and manuscripts which are named after Dhanvantari prove rather the popularity of the name धन्वन्तरि than his historicity. The late character of many of these works is evident from the information available to me and recorded in the footnotes given by me. These footnotes are mainly based on the description of the MSS of these works as I found recorded in the several descriptive catalogues available at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

The only work in the above list which can claim some antiquity is the धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु. The chronology of this work on the strength of subsequent references to it may be indicated as follows :—

A. D.

..........Date of धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु (=*DN*) prior to *Amarakośa* according to Kshīrasvāmin (11th century).

c. 500-600—Date of *Amarakośa* according to R. Śarmā.

*c.*1050-1100—Date of Kshīrasvāmin who refers to *DN*'s text as wrongly understood by the author of the *Amarakośa*.

1220—Quotation from *DN* by Aruṇadatta[1] in his commentary on the *Ashṭāṅgahṛidaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II (8th or 9th century A. D.).

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1. Vide *Ashṭāṅgahṛidaya* ed. by Harishastri Paradkar, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1939—

Page 118—" तथा च धन्वन्तरिराख्यत् (धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टौ व. १।२।१२)— 'बिभीतको वर्षफलो' इत्यादि.

Page 75—Aruṇadatta quotes from a work called धान्वन्तर as follows :—

"तथा चोक्तं धान्वन्तरे–'शालिपिष्टमयं सर्वं गुरुभावाद्विदह्यते' इति."

This work called धान्वन्तर seems to be different from the धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु.

c. 1260—Hemādri[1] in his commentary on the *Ashṭāṅga-hṛidaya* refers to *DN*.

c. 1550—Reference to *DN* by Bhāvamiśra in his *Bhāva-prakāśa* (Oxford MS) referred to by Aufrecht.

Though the identity of Dhanvantari the author of the *DN* with Dhanvantari of Vikrama's court cannot be proved beyond challenge, we have in the *DN* a work ascribed to Dhanvantari possessing an antiquity of about 1500 years in spite of the variations it might have undergone in its text during this period. We have already seen that the Thakore Saheb of Gondal believes that *DN* is the work of Dhanvantari of Vikrama's court[2]. Though Aruṇadatta and Hemādri, both of the 13th century, quote from the *DN* sparingly, Kshīrasvāmin of the 11th century quotes from this work many times.[3] The *Amarakośa* of Amarasiṁha, the supposed contemporary of Dhanvantari at Vikrama's court, does not mention धन्वन्तरि though according to Kshīrasvāmin Amarasiṁha appears to have used the धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु. The priority of धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु to the *Amarakośa* now resting on the single testimony of Kshīrasvāmin needs more evidence in its support before it could be relied upon with implicit confidence.

As regards the antiquity of the verse which makes Dhanvantari a contemporary of Kālidāsa and other

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1. *Ashṭāṅgahṛidaya* (Paradkar's Edition). On P. 275 "धन्वन्तरीया:" are quoted. On P. 112 we get the following quotation :— "(त्वङ्मूलपल्लवं ग्राहि कषायं पित्तनाशनम्" इति (धन्वन्तरीयनिघण्टौ वर्गं ५।७)".
2. Vide P. 196 of *Aryan Medical Science*.
3. Vide *Amarakośa* with Com. of Kshīrasvāmin, ed. by K. G. Oka, Poona, 1913, Pages 56, 59, 62, 67, 74, 77, 80, 81, 82, 110, 111, 148, 156, 157, 179 etc.—The quotations are introduced by the words तथा च धन्वन्तरि: etc.

jewels of Vikrama's court we are told by scholars[1] that it is found *"in a work of the sixteenth century"*. Unless this verse is traced in very early sources it is impossible to believe in its veracity.

In the brief note on Dhaṇṇantari (धन्वन्तरि) in the Jaina encyclopaedic *Abhidhānarājendra* (Part IV, 1913) P. 2659, the following information is found :—

(1) धन्वन्तरि is a divine physician as stated in the verse—

"नारायणांशो भगवान् स्वयं धन्वन्तरिर्महान्।
पुरा समुद्रमथने समुत्तस्थौ महोदधेः॥"

(2) धन्वन्तरि=दिवोदास काशिराज

(3) धन्वन्तरि=A Paṇḍita at the court of Vikramāditya ("धन्वन्तरिक्षपणकामरसिंहशङ्कुवेतालभट्ट etc.")

(4) धन्वन्तरि=A Yogī who originated the science of medicine (बृ. १ उ. २ प्रक.)

(5) धन्वन्तरि=The Court-physician of कनकरथ, king of विजयपुर (Vide विपाकश्रुत–स्था. १० वा.)

(6) धन्वन्तरि=A divine hermit who had come down to earth for testing जमदग्नि

("इतश्च जैनमादेशावभूतां द्वौ सुरौ दिवि।
स्वं स्वं धर्मं प्रशंसन्तावूचतुः साधुतापसौ॥"
——आवश्यककथा, आवश्यकचूर्णि

"इतो यदो देवा वेसानरो सड्ढो धणंतरी तावसभत्तो" इति
—आवश्यकमलयगिरि १ अ. २ खंड)

1. Vide P. 239 of *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II (Historical), Oxford, 1909. Speaking of the mythical Vikramāditya the author observes :—

"With Vikramāditya an often-quoted verse occurring in a work of the sixteenth century associates a number of distinguished authors, including Kālidāsa, as the 'nine gems' of his court. Sufficiently dubious owing to its lateness, this verse loses all chronological validity as we do not know with certainty who was meant by Vikramāditya. The date of each of the literary men named in it must therefore of course be ascertained on separate and independent evidence.

As to Kālidāsa, the most famous of the nine gems, we have now good reason to believe that he flourished not later than A. D. 450. On the other hand his knowledge of the scientific astronomy borrowed from the Greeks shows that he can hardly have lived earlier than A. D. 300."

(7) धन्वन्तरि=A physician of कृष्ण वासुदेव, resident of द्वारावती

—आवश्यककथा

From the above references the two aspects of धन्वन्तरि, *viz.*, *human* and *divine* are sufficiently clear. As the Brāhmaṇical legend makes धन्वन्तरि a gem of Vikrama's court and as he is supposed to be the author of the धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु, we must regard him human. In the same manner the Jaina legend makes धन्वन्तरि a physician of King कनकरथ of विजयपुर and thus makes him human according to the story given in विपाकश्रुत (earlier than *c.* A. D. 400). We have seen above that the work धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु is supposed to be prior to Amarasiṁha who is assigned to the 6th century A. D. If this priority is correct, we are led to the conclusion that both the Brāhmaṇical and the Jaina legends which associate धन्वन्तरि with the court of a ruling king are very early legends, the historical origins of which, if any, need to be studied in sources prior to A. D. 500 or so. And if Vikramāditya[1] himself is regarded as

1. I note here some works associated with विक्रम or विक्रमादित्य, as recorded in the *Jinaratnakośa* (Catalogus Catalogorum of Jaina MSS) by Prof. H. D. Velankar. This *Kośa* is now being published by the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. The works referred to above are as follows :—

विक्रमचरित्र by देवमूर्ति composed *before Saṁvat* 1492= *A. D.* 1436

विक्रमचरित्र by Pandit सोमसूरि

विक्रमचरित्र by Rājameru, pupil of Sādhuratna (in Sanskrit prose) --MS dated 1589

विक्रमचरित्र by Rāmachandra

विक्रमनृपकथा

विक्रमपञ्चदण्डचरित्र by Rāmachandra

विक्रमप्रबन्ध

विक्रमप्रबन्धकथा by Śrutasāgara

a historical personage, the association of धन्वन्तरि with his court, as traditionally believed, may have had some substratum of fact, though it is difficult to make all the gems of Vikrama's court contemporaries on the strength of a verse found in a late work of the 16th century A. D. In the present paper I have recorded some useful information about धन्वन्तरि which by its very nature cannot be conclusive unless all the problems that arise out of this information are satisfactorily solved.

I have not studied the Jaina sources in their entirety with reference to the tradition about Vikramāditya and hence it is not possible for me to say what additional information they contain about Dhanvantari and his association with Vikramāditya's court. Similarly I claim no knowledge of the Buddhist sources, if any, with regard to the Vikrama traditions. I may, however, note here that neither the *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*[1] nor the *Pāli-English Dictionary*[2] contains any reference to the name Dhanvantari.

As the present paper was prepared at short notice, I have had no time to go through the entire literature[3] about the Vikrama Era in search of Dhanvantari. Even with a little more time it would have been

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विक्रमादित्यकथा (anonymous)

विक्रमादित्यचरित्र by Rāmachandra

विक्रमादित्यचरित्र composed by शुभशील in *Saṁvat* 1490 (= *A. D.* 1434)

विक्रमादित्यधर्मलाभादिप्रबन्ध by Merutuṅga Sūri

विक्रमादित्यपञ्चदण्डछत्रप्रबन्ध by पुण्य (पूर्ण) चन्द्रसूरि

विक्रमादित्यप्रबन्ध by विद्यापति

विक्रमार्कविजय by कविगुणार्णव

1. By G. P. Malalasekara, London, Vols. I and II (1937-38).
2. By Rhys Davids, Chipstead, 1925.
3. Vide article on "*Vikrama Era*" by Vincent A. Smith in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* by J. Hastings, Vol. XII. 1921, P. 623.—

impossible to get access to all the literature on the subject, which has now leapt into prominence owing to the completion of 2000 years of the Vikrama Era.

Aufrecht[1] refers to a MS of a work called "**विक्रमनवरत्नानि** Pet. 728." This MS was extant at St. Petersburg. We may get some information about it after the present world war and see what light it throws on the nine jewels of Vikrama's court. Aufrecht also refers to numerous works[2] associated with **विक्रम** or **विक्रमादित्य** but time and space forbid me to study them in the present paper and hence such a study must be left to a future occasion.

Smith records important *literature* on the subject at the end of his article Smith observes :—

"No record is known of any *rājā* Vikrama or Vikramāditya at Ujjain or elsewhere in 58 or 57 B. C., from whose accession the epoch of the era might be reckoned. But it is possible that such a rājā may have existed and the presumption is that the name Vikrama as applied to the era should be that of the king who established it."

"The name Vikrama or Vikramāditya appears not to have been applied to the era until quite a late date in the 10th or 11th century A. D."

1. Vide *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, 569.

2. Vide *CC, I*, 569—cf. विक्रमचन्द्रिका, विक्रमचरित, विक्रमप्रबन्ध, विक्रमभारत (a medley of legends about Vikramāditya by शम्भुचन्द्रनृपति written at the beginning of the 19th century), विक्रमसेनचम्पू, विक्रमादित्य (पत्रकौमुदी), कविदीपिकानिघण्टु by विक्रमादित्यराज, and *CC*, III, 120—cf. विक्रमसेनचरित्र, and विक्रमादित्यचरित्र.

VIKRAMĀDITYA IN THE SANSKRIT TRADITION

By

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The study of the Vikramāditya tradition in Sanskrit literature is another occasion for regretting that the original of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛihatkathā* in Paiśāchī is now lost to us and that from the three summaries of it now available it is not possible to get a clear idea of all the contents of the original work. It would be of special interest to know whether the work as Guṇāḍhya wrote it contained any stories relating to Vikramāditya. If it did, that would be the earliest work containing the Vikramāditya tradition.

Date of Guṇāḍhya's Bṛihatkathā

While the existence, in ancient days, of an author called Guṇāḍhya and of a work of his called Bṛihatkathā is no more in doubt, their exact date has not yet been fixed. The *Bṛihatkathā* was well-known in the 7th century A. D., because Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇa knew it.[1] It is, however, not easy to decide how much

1. (*a*) कथा हि सर्वभाषाभिः संस्कृतेन च बध्यते ।
भूतभाषामयीं प्राहुरद्भुतार्थां **बृहत्कथाम्** ॥

—Daṇḍin: *Kāvyādarśa*, I. 36.

earlier than the 7th century it is. As all the three Sanskrit summaries of it which we possess contain a cycle of stories relating to Udayana Vatsarāja, it is reasonable to suppose that the original Paiśāchī work also contained a similar cycle of stories and if it was from this cycle that Bhāsa, a predecessor of Kālidāsa, borrowed the material for his *Svapnavāsavadatta*, we reach for the *Bṛihatkathā* a date much earlier than the 7th century A.D., perhaps the third or fourth century A.D. Lacote points out that the 5th sarga of the *Bṛihatkathāślokasaṁgraha* contains references to artisans and craftsmen, especially Greek artisans and craftsmen, who could make flying machines[1]. Winternitz suggests that if this goes back to the original *Bṛihatkathā*, it would point to the period when the Gāndhārà art flourished in India as the period when the *Bṛihatkathā* came into existence, *i. e.*, the 1st century A. D.[2]

Did the original Bṛihatkathā mention Vikramāditya ?

However that may be, the next point which it would be interesting to decide is whether the original *Bṛihatkathā* contained a cycle of stories relating to Vikramāditya. Winternitz was of the opinion that Subandhu must have found in the *Bṛihatkathā* which he knew a cycle of stories relating to Vikrama, because in one passage of the *Vāsavadattā* (P. 110, Hall's edition) there is a "sure reference to the story of the maiden becoming a statue".[3] I have not got Hall's

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(*b*) अस्ति बृहत्कथालम्बैरिव सालभञ्जिकोपशोभितैः etc.

—Subandhu: *Vāsavadattā*, Pp. 123-124 (Vāṇı Vilāsa Edition).

(*c*) समुद्दीपितकन्दर्पा कृतगौरीप्रसाधना ।
हरलीलेव नो कस्य विस्मयाय बृहत्कथा ॥

—Bāṇa : *Harshacharita*, Intro. Verse 18.

1. Lacote : *Essay on Guṇāḍhya and Bṛihatkathā*.
2. Winternitz : *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*—Drilter Band, P. 316.
3. Winternitz : *Ibid*, P. 313.

edition of the *Vāsavadattā* with me, but the passage must be the following according to the Vaṇī Vilāsa edition: अस्ति मन्दरगिरिशृङ्गैरिव प्रशस्तसुधाधवलैः बृहत्कथालम्बैरिव सालभञ्जिकोपशोभितैः..............वेश्मभिरुद्भासितं..............कुसुमपुरं नाम नगरम् ।[1] Everything turns on the meaning and significance of "बृहत्कथालम्बैरिव सालभञ्जिकोपशोभितैः". Lacote quotes the passage according to Hall's edition, the explanations of Śivarāma Tripāṭhin, Jagaddhara and Narasiṁha and the interpretations adopted by Hall, Speyer and Von Mankowski. He seems to prefer, on the whole, that of Von Mankowski, but proposes one of his own, without being convinced of its correctness.[2]

Our only interest in this passage of the *Vāsavadattā* lies in finding out whether it indicates that the *Bṛihatkathā* which Subandhu knew contained stories relating to Vikramāditya. The passage means that the houses of Kusumapura were like the lambakas of the *Bṛihatkathā* because they had "śālabhañjikās". In the case of houses the word *śālabhañjikā* must mean 'statue'. It was a recognised custom to decorate houses with statues of Vidyādharas, Vidyādharīs, Yakshas, etc. It is not equally clear what the expression means when applied to the 'lambakas' of the *Bṛihatkathā*. 'Lambakas' are divisions of the *Bṛihatkathā*, divisions which have persisted in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī*. Śivarāma Tripāṭhin remarks : शालभञ्जिका नायिकाविशेषः. If this explanation is right, Subandhu must have meant that in every 'lamba' of the *Bṛihatkathā* the heroine 'Śālabhañjikā' played a part. We have not the slightest reason to believe that such was the case because such is not the case in any of the versions of the *Bṛihatkathā* which we now possess. In fact, no heroine of that name figures

1. *Vāsavadattā*, Pp. 123-124 (Vāṇī Vilāsa Edition).
2. Lacote: *Essay on Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛihatkathā*, P. 165.

in them. Jagaddhara's explanation: Śālabhañjikā= Vidyādharī, has been interpreted to mean the heroines who give their name to some of the lambakas of the *Kathāsaritsāgara.* "Śalabhañjikopaśobhitaiḥ" would thus mean "associated with Vidyādharīs" and this epithet can apply both to the houses of Kusumapura which are decorated with statues of Vidyādharīs and to the lambakas of *Bṛihatkathā* which are called after some 'Vidyādharī' or other.[1] The difficulty in this interpretation is that not all the names of the lambakas of the *Bṛihatkathā* are names of Vidyādharīs. Śaktiyaśolambaka and Vishamaśīlalambaka are instances. It is true that many of them are associated with names of women, but these women are not all "Vidyādharīs". For Subandhu's epithet to be appropriate, it is necessary that all the lambakas should be associated with "Vidyādharīs" and that is not the case, at least in the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* and we cannot be sure whether it was so or not in the original *Bṛihatkathā.*

The same difficulty confronts us in the third explanation, that of Narasiṁha: बृहत्कथा पुस्तकभेदः तत्र शालभञ्जिकोपाख्यानम्. In the Vishamaśīlalambaka there is the story of a śālabhañjikā, the story of a woman who is turned into a śālabhañjikā or statue, but this does not happen in any other lambaka. But Winternitz did not attach much importance to this point, but was more struck by the fact that this story occurs in a lambaka associated with the name of Vishamaśīla or Vikramāditya[2] and concluded that a cycle of stories relating to Vikramāditya must have existed in the original *Bṛihatkathā.* To

1. See Lacote: *Essay on Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛihatkathā*, Pp. 164-165.

2. नाम्ना तं विक्रमादित्यं हरोक्तेनाकरोत् पिता।
तथा विषमशीलं च महेन्द्रादित्यभूपतिः॥

—*Kathā.*, P. 567 (N. S. P. Edition).

me, the conclusion does not seem to be justified. If Subandhu's epithet means anything, it must mean that all the lambakas of the *Bṛihatkathā* were associated with 'śālabhañjikā', but the story of a woman turning into a śālabhañjikā occurs only in the Vishamaśīlalambaka where Kalāvatī is cursed by Indra to be transformed into a statue (śālabhañjikā).[1] The only conclusion which can be drawn from these considerations is that while the possibility of the original *Bṛihatkathā* having contained a cycle of stories relating to Vikrama is not absolutely ruled out, the passage from Subandhu cannot be interpreted to mean that.

The next earliest work to contain a definite reference to Vikramāditya is the *Saptaśatī* of Hāla. According to Keith, the work was produced in the period from A. D. 200 to 450.[2] Winternitz allows an earlier date for Hāla, *i. e.*, 1st or 2nd century A. D., as he comes, according to Purāṇic tradition, in the middle of the list of Āndhra kings who bore the name of Sātavāhana or Śālivāhana and who ruled from about the 3rd century B. C. to about the 3rd century A. D.[3] Thus the date of Hāla is not certain, but there is no doubt that he lived sometime in the early centuries of the Christian Era and that is quite enough for our purpose. In his *Saptaśatī*, there is a clear reference to Vikramāditya:—

संवाहणसुहरसतोसिएण देन्तेण तुह करे लक्खम् ।
चलणेण विक्कमाइत्तचरिअँ अणुसिक्खिअं तिस्सा ॥

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1. यथा च छागनृत्तं तद्दृष्टं तेनापराधिना ।
तत: कलावतीमेवमाहूयेन्द्र: शशाप स: ॥
नृत्तार्थमस्य छागस्य येनावस्था कृतेदृशी ।
रागात्तं मानुषं गुप्तं यदिहानीतवत्यसि ॥
—*Kathā.*, P. 573, Verse 145.

2. Keith : *History of Sanskrit Literature*, P. 224.

3. Winternitz : *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, Vol. III, Pp. 102-103.

"By being pleased at being nicely massaged and transferring its लाक्षा to your hand (लक्खं देन्तेण) her foot seems to have learnt to act like Vikramāditya who gives a lac into the hand (of his servant) being pleased with his help in destroying the enemy (संवाहणसुहरसतोसिएण)."[1]

The interest of this passage is not only the mention of Vikramāditya by name, but the reference to the most important feature of the later Vikrama tradition, namely, his extraordinary generosity. This point will be elaborated later on.

Though the majority of scholars believe that Subandhu is earlier than Bāṇa on the ground that the *Vāsavadattā* mentioned by the latter in the verse :—

कवीनामगलद्दर्पो नूनं वासवदत्तया।
शक्त्येव पाण्डुपुत्राणां गतया कर्णगोचरम्॥[2]

is the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu, Pt. R. V. Krishnamacharya argues in the Introduction to his edition of the *Vāsavadattā* that Subandhu is later than Bāṇa.[3] Even if he is later than Bāṇa, he cannot be much later and a reference to Vikramāditya in Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* must be looked upon as an early reference. The following verse contains such a clear reference:—

सा रसवत्ता विहता नवका विलसन्ति चरति नो कङ्कः।
सरसीव कीर्तिशेषं गतवति भुवि विक्रमादित्ये॥

"Ever since Vikramāditya passed away, all taste has disappeared from the world, new and inferior poets and patrons are flourishing and who does not do what, just as when the lake dries up, all swans disappear, cranes do not flourish and Kaṅka birds do not fly."[4]

1. *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, V. 64 (N. S. P. Edition).
2. *Harshacharita*, Intro. Verse No. 11.
3. *Vāsavadattā*, Introduction P. xxxiff.
4. *Vāsavadattā*, P. 11 (Vāṇī Vilāsa Edition).

This verse also records another important element in the Vikramāditya tradition, namely, that king's patronage of the literary arts.

Stray Verses referring to Vikramāditya

Stray verses referring to Vikramāditya and mentioning one or more of the features found in the Vikrama tradition are found scattered in Sanskrit literature. For instance, the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhoja has the verse :

केऽभूवन्नाढ्यराजस्य राज्ये प्राकृतभाषिणः।
काले श्रीसाहसाङ्कस्य के न संस्कृतवादिनः॥[1]

Āḍhyarāja is explained by the commentator as Śālivāhana whom tradition associates with Prākṛita as persistently as it associates Sāhasāṅka or Vikramāṅka with Saṁskṛita. The *Subhāshitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* quotes a verse praising the generosity of Vikrama :

कीर्तिस्ते दयिता तदीयजठरे लोकत्रयं वर्तते
तस्मात्त्वं जगतः पिता पितृधनं येनार्थिनां त्वद्धनम्।
वीरश्रीवर विक्रमार्क भवतस्त्यागं न मन्यामहे
कस्त्यागः स्वकुटुम्बपोषणविधावर्थव्ययं कुर्वतः॥[2]

The Bṛihatkathāmañjarī of Kshemendra and the Kathāsaritsāgara

These stray verses coming down at least from the time of Hāla are an indication of the way in which the Vikramāditya tradition was growing in the country. Exactly when all this tradition grew sufficiently to find expression in a cycle of stories centering round Vikrama and collected together in one work or forming a distinct part of a more comprehensive work is not easy to say. The fact that so many kings ruling over different parts of India in the early centuries of the Christian Era are anxious to take the title of Vikramāditya is a proof that

1. Bhoja in *Sarasvatīkanṭhābharaṇa*, II. 15 (N. S. P. Edition).
2. *Subhāshitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*, P. 122, Verse 181.

the tradition had grown sufficiently and taken roots in the imagination of the people. The earliest work which we actually have containing a cycle of Vikramāditya stories is the *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī* of Kshemendra written probably about 1037 A. D. Not far removed from it is the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva, written between 1063 and 1081 A. D. Coming as they both do from Kashmir, they agree to a very great extent in the stories centering round Vikramāditya. The divisions of both these works are called laṁbakas and in both stories relating to Vikramāditya are found, mainly in the Vishamaśīla-laṁbaka which is the 10th laṁbaka in the *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī* and the last one in the *Kathāsaritsāgara.*

The Siṁhāsana-dvātriṁśikā

After these two works belonging to the eleventh century, we come to another work which is a collection of stories all of which celebrate the exploits of Vikramāditya. The *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśikā* is available to us in as many as five recensions four of which have been critically edited and translated by Prof. Edgerton in the Harvard Oriental Series Vols. 27 and 26. As all the stories are told to King Bhoja of Dhārā who ruled in the first half of the 11th century A. D., the work cannot be earlier than that, but the mention of Hemādri, the author of the *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, in the Southern recension makes it certain that at least that recension is as late as the 13th century A. D.[1] The work is known by many names :—विक्रमार्कचरित, विक्रमादित्यचरित, सिंहासनद्वात्रिंशिका, सिंहासनकथा, सिंहासनोपाख्यान, द्वात्रिंशत्पुत्तलिकाख्यान, विक्रमादित्यसिंहासन-द्वात्रिंशिका, सिंहासनद्वात्रिंशत्-शालभञ्जिका, etc., in the different

1. ………… हेमाद्रिप्रतिपादितदानखण्डोक्तगोदानभूदानकन्यादानविद्यादानान्न-दानोदकदानादिदानानि श्रुत्वा …………

—*Vikrama's Adventures*, H. O. S. Vol. 27, P. 79.

manuscripts of the different recensions. After a careful study of all the recensions, Prof. Edgerton came to the conclusion that they all go back to an original which is not now available.[1] It is remarkable that the stories found in this work are totally different from those which are found in the *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī* or the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* though the character of Vikrama is approximately the same everywhere. Of the four recensions edited by Prof. Edgerton, one is entirely in verse, another entirely in prose and very brief and the remaining two, the Southern and the Jainistic ones, are in mixed prose and verse. In spite of this point of resemblance between these two recensions and works like the *Pañchatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa* there is no special intention to teach morals or nīti in the *Vikramacharita.* The main intention seems to be just to tell the story and to glorify Vikramāditya. Prof. Edgerton has considered at length the authorship of these five recensions of the *Vikramacharita* and his conclusion may be stated in his own words : "We know nothing of the authorship of the original *Vikramacharita* nor do we know who the redactors of the individual versions were, except in the case of JR (Jainistic recension) and perhaps of Var R."[2]

The Jainistic recension is attributed to one Kshemaṅkara Muni and the Vararuchi recension to one Vararuchi.

The very existence of the Jainistic recension is a proof of the great interest which the Jainas took in the Vikramāditya tradition. This interest can be traced in the *Pārśvanāthacharita* of Vādidevasūri where there is a cycle of stories centering round Vikramāditya

1. *Vikrama's Adventures*—Translation, H. O. S. 26, P.XXX.
2. *Vikrama's Adventures*—Translation, P. LVIII (H. O. S. Vol. 26).

who appears as a parrot and in the *Pañchadaṇḍachhattra-prabandha*, the story of the parasol having five handles, belonging to the 15th century. The Vikrama tradition as found in Jain works is naturally coloured by Jainism.

Vīracharita of Ananta and Śālivāhanakathā of Śivadāsa

Two more works incorporating the Vikramāditya tradition must be mentioned : the *Vīracharita* of Ananta and the *Śālivāhanakathā* of Śivadāsa. The interest of these two works lies in the emphasis which they put on one aspect of the Vikrama tradition, namely, the fight between Vikrama and Śālivāhana. The rivalry and enmity of these two personalities are not confined to the political field. Even in the patronage of arts and letters, they stand for two different things. Vikrama is on the side of Sanskrit and Śālivāhana on the side of Prakrit.

Mādhavānala and Kāmakandalā

Needless to say that the Vikrama tradition was passed on to the literatures of the modern Indian languages when these developed after the Apabhraṁśa stage and practically all these languages have their cycle of stories centering round Vikrama. To cite only one instance, there is the *Mādhavānalakāmakandalā* of Gaṇapati, a work in Gujarati, belonging to the 16th century A. D. It is the story of how the two lovers Mādhavānala and Kāmakandalā are united by Vikrama who appears in the usual role of **परदु:खभञ्जन**, "one who helps those in distress". The work assumed very great popularity in Gujarat.

Vikrama's Generosity

It now remains to study in some detail the different aspects under which king Vikrama is presented to us by tradition. Of all the different aspects of the character of Vikrama, that of

generosity and charity is easily the most important. There is absolutely no limit to his generosity. As the first statuette declares in the *Vikramacharita* :—

निरीक्षिते सहस्रं तु नियुतं तु प्रजल्पिते।
हसने लक्षमाप्नोति संतुष्टः कोटिदो नृपः॥[1]

" At a look (from the king) a beggar received a thousand pieces of money; at a word spoken ten thousand; at a smile a hundred thousand; and if his favour was won, the king gave a crore."[2] This idea is repeated again and again in the *Vikramacharita*. King Vikrama simply does not know the distinction between himself and others:—

तस्य चेतस्ययं परोऽयं मदीय इति विकल्पो नास्ति।[3]

"In his heart never arose the question : is this man a stranger or does he belong to my side ?" [4]

The power of Vikrama's generosity did not die with him. After he died, his throne was buried in a field as there was no one considered fit to sit on it. Many many years afterwards, during the reign of King Bhoja, this field came into the possession of a Brāhmaṇa who erected a platform just at the place where the throne was buried, wherefrom he watched over the crops of the field. The power of the throne was so great that as long as the Brāhmaṇa was on the platform, he felt the most generous impulses and invited all and sundry to come and partake of the crop. As soon as he came down from the platform, these generous impulses left him and he began to chase those who had accepted his hospitality. This is what happened to King Bhoja and his followers, who were passing the Brāhmaṇa's field. Puzzled by this, King Bhoja

1. H. O. S. Vol. 27, P. 47.
2. H. O. S. Vol. 26, P. 52.
3. H. O. S. Vol. 27, P. 53.
4. H. O. S. Vol. 26, P. 59.

himself mounted the platform and felt the same generous instincts. He wanted to remove the world's distress, to abolish poverty from the world; he wanted to punish the wicked and reward the good; he felt that he could even sacrifice his body if anybody required it:— भोजराजस्य चेतसि वासनैवमभूत्। ननु विश्वस्यार्तिः परिहरणीया, सर्वस्य लोकस्य दारिद्र्यनिवारणं विधेयम्। दुष्टा दण्डनीयाः। सज्जनाः पालनीयाः। प्रजा धर्मेण रक्षणीयाः। किं बहुना। अस्मिन् समये यदि कोऽपि शरीरं प्रार्थयिष्यति तदपि देयम्।[1] King Vikrama's generosity often took the extraordinary form of surrendering the fruits of his own labour to some needy person. Once he learnt from an ascetic the magic rite for attaining immortality and spent a whole year in practising this rite with all its hardships. At the end of the year, a divine being surged forth from the sacrificial fire and gave the king the fruit of immortality. The king took it and returned to the city. On the way, he met one who was afflicted with leprosy and was about to die. He gave him the divine fruit.[2] On another occasion, when he saves a Brāhmaṇa couple from drowning, the latter gives him, in gratitude, all the 'puṇya' of his previous pious deeds. Immediately afterwards, Vikrama meets a 'Brahmarākshasa' to whom he transfers the Brāhmaṇa's 'puṇya' so that he may be saved from the awful condition of being a Brahmarākshasa.[3] Similarly Vikrama obtains a Kashmirian liṅga which granted all desires from an ascetic to whom he had told the story of King Rājaśekhara. On the way home, he meets a poor Brāhmaṇa to whom he gives away the liṅga.[4] His generosity sometimes takes unusual forms. On one occasion, his priest Vasumitra went to bathe in the Ganges at Benares and Prayāga and on the way back came

1. H. O. S. Vol. 27, P. 23.
2. H. O. S. 27, Pp. 95-96.
3. H. O. S. 27, Pp. 115-116.
4. H. O. S. 27, P. 123.

to a place ruled by the nymph Manmathojjīvanī. She was unmarried and had taken the vow to marry only one who has the courage to plunge in boiling oil. The priest reports this to King Vikrama who goes there and actually jumps into boiling oil. The nymph heals his burnt body and gives him a beautiful form and is quite ready to marry him. But the king, out of sheer generosity, requests her to marry the priest Vasumitra.[1] His generosity extends even to his enemies. That is how he once threw himself into the sacrificial fire to save his rival from the trouble of doing so every day according to the instructions of the goddesses whom he sought to please for obtaining wealth to be given away.[2] King Vikrama once expresses himself as follows on the greatness of generosity and charity:—

आरोहन्ति सुखासनान्यपटवो नागान् हयांस्तज्जुष-
स्ताम्बूलाद्युपभुञ्जते नटविटाः खादन्ति हस्त्यादयः।
प्रासादं चटकादयोऽपि निवसन्त्येते न पात्रं स्तुतेः
स स्तुत्यो भुवने प्रयच्छति कृती लोकाय यः कामितम्॥[3]

"Even stupid men mount upon seats of ease and those who possess them, upon elephants and horses; betel and such (luxuries) are eaten by actors and libertines; elephants and other (beasts) devour food; even sparrows and other (birds) dwell in mansions. Such creatures are not fit objects of praise. That man is truly worthy of praise upon earth who actively engages in giving to people their desires (or perhaps, who virtuously gives to people their desires)".[4]

Vikrama's Courage

Next to generosity, the tradition celebrates Vikrama's courage. We have seen already how he gives away freely what

1. H. O. S. 27, Pp. 128-129.
2. H. O. S. 27, P. 138.
3. H. O. S. 27, P. 236.
4. H. O. S. 26, P. 254.

has been won by courage and endurance. The two are frequently mentioned together in the texts :—

तत्र विक्रमतुङ्गाख्यो राजाभूत् सत्त्ववान् पुरा।
योऽभूत् पराङ्मुखो दाने नार्थिनां न युधि द्विषाम्॥[1]

"In the old days, there (in Pāṭaliputra) lived a king called Vikramatuṅga who never shrank from charity to the needy nor from battle with his enemies."

साहस उद्यमे धैर्ये च तत्समो नास्ति।[2]

Sometimes it is very difficult to distinguish between Vikrama's courage and generosity. The former is the generous gift of the most precious of all the things which he had, namely, his own life. Thus he was once ready to cut off his own head, as an offering to Goddess Bhuvaneśvarī, in order that the headless bodies of a man and a woman may come back to life.[3] On another occasion also, he is ready to offer his head to a goddess in order that she may bring water to a tank.[4] How he once plunges into boiling oil, an act of no mean courage, has already been mentioned. Not infrequently, Vikrama's courage takes the form of actual fights with evil beings and their destruction. Thus he kills a Rākshasa who used to torment a woman every night:—

तत उभयोर्युद्धं जातं राज्ञा मारितो राक्षसः।[5]

Helping those who are in distress was looked upon as the most legitimate use of his courage by Vikrama. That was how he once offered himself to be sacrificed to the Goddess Śoṇitapriyā of Vetālapura in place of the human victim of that day who was being dragged to

1. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, P. 160, Verse 54 (N. S. Edition).
2. H. O. S. 27, P. 53.
3. H. O. S. 27, P. 80.
4. H. O. S. 27, P. 85.
5. H. O. S. 27, P. 108.

be slaughtered in the very presence of Vikrama.[1] The goddess was so pleased with his courage and generosity that she even offered to refrain from taking human victims in the future.

Vikrama's courage was of a most comprehensive kind. It was associated not only with physical endurance, but also with nerve. He could not only face human enemies, but could deal with ghosts. In Avantipurī, there lived a very rich merchant who built for himself a magnificent mansion at very great expense. Then on an auspicious day, after performing all the prescribed ceremonies meant to propitiate the higher powers, he began to live in it. On the very first night, the merchant had hardly lied down on his bed when he heard somebody shout "I am falling". Knowing that there was nobody in the house but himself, he was puzzled and then terrified. He lighted a lamp and went to bed again but again heard the same voice call out "I am falling". His terror increased and he passed the night somehow without sleeping. The next day he reported the whole incident to King Vikrama. The king, realising that the merchant was in terror and was probably feeling regret for having spent such a large sum of money on a haunted house, offered to buy it at cost price. The merchant was pleased and agreed to it. When the transaction was completed, the king decided to spend the night in the house himself, against the advice of all his friends. When he lay down in bed, he heard the same voice call out "I am falling". The king replied "By all means do and you had better hurry up." Then a golden statue of a man fell and the spirit which was presiding over it congratulated the king on his courage, showered

1. H. O. S. 27.

flowers on him and disappeared.. Next day, the king took the statue to his palace.[1]

Vikrama's Love for the Brave

Not only was Vikrama himself very courageous, but he had a liking for those who were courageous and was prepared to overlook their other faults. That is why he gave protection to the son of a Brāhmaṇa who was loved by and was living with a woman whom he had saved from the fury of a mad elephant when everybody else had deserted her including her husband. The man and the woman were, of course, not quite happy, as they were being watched and criticized by others. But Vikrama had a weakness for such dare-devil characters :—

एवं च साहसधनेष्वथ बुद्धिमत्सु
संतुष्य दाननिरताः क्षितिपा भवन्ति ॥[2]

"Thus kings, being pleased with the brave and the intelligent, become generous towards them."

The courage of Vikrama was used for the protection of Dharma and for the destruction of all those who swerved from the path of Dharma. The idea that he destroyed all those foreign peoples who tried to invade India and destroy her ancient culture is often expressed in the literature. Here is a typical statement from the *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī* :—

अथ श्रीविक्रमादित्यो हेलया निर्जिताखिल-
म्लेच्छान् काम्बोजयवनान् नीचान् हूणान् सबर्बरान् ॥
तुषारान् पारसीकांश्च त्यक्ताचारान् विशृङ्खलान् ।
हत्वा भ्रूभङ्गमात्रेण भुवो भारमवारयत् ॥[3]

Vikrama's Magical Powers

Another aspect of Vikrama which is often stressed by tradition is his magical power, his control of semi-divine

1. H. O. S. 27, P. 239.
2. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, P. 122 (N. S. Edition).
3. *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī*, P. 433.

beings and genii. When Madanamañjarī, the wife of Maṇibhadra, brother of Kubera, is tormented by a Kāpālika who performed a gruesome rite on the cremation ground in order to attract her towards him, she appeals to Vikrama, who at once appears and summons the Vetāla Agniśikha and tells him to deal with the wicked Kāpālika as he deserves.[1] In one of the stories of the *Vikramārkacharita* we are told how the king actually came by his Magic Powers. Once upon a time, a naked ascetic came into the king's presence and pronounced a blessing upon him. Then he invited him to go to the crematorium and help him in performing a ceremony. The king did accordingly, but found that the ascetic was trying to sacrifice him to the deity. The king proved a match for the ascetic who was himself offered up instead. It was at this ceremony that a vampire (Vetāla) became attached to the king and gave him the Eight Magic Powers.[2] On another occasion, he visits a Yogin who teaches him a 'mantra' with the help of which he obtains the divine fruit of immortality. On another occasion he was actually entertained by the personifications of the Eight Magic Powers. He was taken by a Brāhmaṇa named Anargala to a temple situated near a beautiful lake. In one part of the lake the water was hot. In the middle of the night eight divine women came out of the fair lake from the midst of the hot water and went into the temple and worshipped. In the morning they saw Vikrama, invited him to go to their city and entered into the hot water. The king did the same thing. They took him to their great city in the lower regions, honoured him and offered the kingdom to him. The king declined the kingdom and asked them who they were. They an-

1. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, P. 570 (N. S. Edition).
2. H. O. S. 27, P. 13.

swered they were the Eight Magic Powers, *viz.*, Aṇimā (Minuteness), Mahimā (Greatness), Laghimā (Lightness), Garimā (Heaviness), Prāpti (Acquisition), Īśitā (Supremacy), Vaśitā (Dominion), Prākāmya (Irresistible Will). When the king prayed that he may be endowed with these Eight Powers, they gave him eight jewels which were endowed with these powers.

Vikrama's Patronage of Learning

Vikrama's patronage of learning is another important element in the Vikrama tradition and to this day in India any king or chieftain who collects round himself a group of learned men and poets is compared to Vikramāditya. His generosity to the poor and the needy is only surpassed by his munificence towards poets and learned people. His love of Sanskrit language and literature has become proverbial. The nine 'gems' who flourished at the court of Vikrama include talents of all types: Poet (Kālidāsa and Ghaṭakarpara), Physician (Dhanvantari), Lexicographer (Amarasiṁha and Kshapaṇaka), Astronomer (Varāhamihira), Grammarian (Vararuchi). We have no information as to what was the special work of Śaṅku and Vetālabhaṭṭa. It is true that no work earlier than the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* of the 16th century A. D. has been found in which this tradition is recorded, but there is no reason to doubt that the tradition is a much older one. It is true that we have plenty of evidence to show that these nine gems could not have been contemporaries. The tradition is none the less interesting because it emphasises the character of Vikrama as the patron of learning. As is the custom even today in all darbars, lavish praise was bestowed on the patron. The Jain version of the *Vikramacharita* gives us an idea of the kind of praise which must have been addressed to King

Vikrama by the learned men assembled at his court. Here are one or two specimens :—

अत्युक्तौ यदि न प्रकुप्यसि मृषावादं न चेन्मन्यसे
तद् ब्रूमोऽद्भुतकीर्तनाय रसना केषां न कण्डूयते।
देव त्वच्चवरणप्रतापदहनज्वालावलीशोषिताः
सर्वे वारिधयस्ततो रिपुवधूनेत्राम्बुभिः पूरिताः॥[1]

"If you will not be angry at an exaggeration nor hold it to be sarcasm, then we will say—for whose tongue does not like to praise marvels?—all the oceans, O Sire, which were dried up by the rows of blazing flames kindled by your youthful majesty, have since been filled by the water of tears of your enemies' wives."[2]

अत्युच्चाः परितः स्फुरन्ति गिरयः स्फारास्तथाम्भोधय-
स्तानेतानपि बिभ्रती किमपि न क्लान्तासि तुभ्यं नमः।
आश्चर्येण मुहुर्मुहुः स्तुतिमिति प्रस्तौमि यावद् भुव-
स्तावद् बिभ्रदिमां स्मृतस्तव भुजो वाचस्ततो मुद्रिताः॥[3]

"Very high the mountains spring forth on every side and extensive are the seas, yet you support them all and are not in the least wearied ; homage to you ! While I thus in admiration am making repeated praise of the Earth, then I am reminded that your arm supports Her and words fail me."

Vikrama a Poet

But Vikrama was more than a mere patron of poets. In the anthologies which have come down to us from the past, there are some verses attributed to King Vikramāditya. For instance, in the *Subhāshitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva (1467 A. D.) seven verses are attributed to him.[4] In the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (1363 A. D.) there are three such

1. H. O. S. 27, P. 236.
2. H. O. S. 27, P. 255.
3. H. O. S. 27, P. 236.
4. *Subhāshitāvalī*, Verses 506, 507, 1165, 1890, 3193, 3318 and 3494 (Bombay Sanskrit Series).

verses[1]; the *Vidyākarasahasrakam* of Vidyākaramiśra has also three of them[2]; the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* of Śrīdharadāsa (1205 A. D.) has eight of them; and the *Kavīndravachanasamuchchaya* has two of them.

Here again the question whether King Vikrama actually composed the verses which are attributed to him in the anthologies, it would be impossible to decide. Just now we are only concerned in analysing the different elements in the Vikrama tradition and the idea that Vikrama himself was a poet is an important element in that tradition. That so many Indian kings have cultivated literature and have left us works of no mean merit is really a continuation of this old Vikrama tradition. It will not be now out of place to give one or two specimens of verses attributed to Vikrama in the anthologies. Here is one from the *Subhāshitāvalī*:—

दृष्टं दुर्जनचेष्टितं परिभवो लब्धः समानाज्जनात्
पिण्डार्थे धनिनां कृतं श्वलडितं भुक्तं कपालेष्वपि।
पद्भ्यामध्वनि संप्रयातमसकृत् सुप्तं तृणप्रस्तरे
यच्चान्यत्र कृतं कृतान्त कुरु हे तत्रापि सज्जा वयम्॥[3]

"I have seen the conduct of wicked people, suffered humiliation from equals, behaved like a humble dog before rich men for the sake of bread, eaten out of skulls, walked long distances, slept on the grass. O Fate! what has not been done yet, bring that also. I am ready for that also."

Here is another from the same collection:—

विद्ययैव मदो येषां कार्पण्यं च धने सति।
तेषां दैवाभिशप्तानां सलिलादग्निरुत्थितः॥[4]

1. *Śārṅgadhārapaddhati*, 277 (edited by Peterson, Bombay Sanskrit Series).
2. *Vidyākarasahasrakam*, 170, 563 and 615 (edited by Dr. U. Misra, Allahabad University Sanskrit Series, Vol. II).
3. *Subhāshitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva, No. 3193 (B. S. S.).
4. *Subhāshitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva, No. 506.

"Those who are conceited in the learning and miserly though full of wealth are really cursed by fate. For them verily does Fire come out of water."

Here is one from the *Vidyākarasahasrakam*, attributed to Vikrama and Kālidāsa jointly:—

अमृतं वदने हि योषितां हृदि हालाहलमेव केवलम् ।
अत एव निपीयतेऽधरो हृदयं मुष्टिभिरेव ताड्यते ॥[1]

"There is nectar in the mouth of women, but only poison in their heart. That is why one drinks their lips, but squeezes their heart with the fist."

Vikrama the Lexicographer and Author of a Work on Dhanurveda

Vikramāditya's name is associated in the tradition not only with poetry but also with works of a more serious nature. The *Saṁsārāvarta* is a lexicographical work which is attributed to him. In Bühler's Report, P. XXXVI, a work on Dhanurveda is also attributed to him. It is only natural that one who was particularly good in the art of warfare and who is credited with having defeated the Śakas should also be associated with a work on the art of warfare, Dhanurveda.

Vikrama the Gallant

The erotic tone of some of the verses cited above brings us to the subject of Vikrama and his relations with women. We have already seen how he rescues women from the clutches of vampires and demons. The *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* describe how he acquires a large number of wives. In fact, on one occasion, after Vikrama had just married Malayavatī, the daughter of Malayasiṁha, and brought her to his capital, his chief queen Kaliṅgasenā felt a little jealousy and resentment,

1. *Vidyākarasahasrakam*, No. 615 (Allahabad University Sanskrit Series, No. 2).

called Devasena, the king's gracious friend, and told him:

............भ्रातः स्वामी ते बहुवल्लभः ।[1]

"Your Master loves many women."

But Devasena tried to comfort her by saying:

देवि स्वयं समायाति देवं दिव्याङ्गनाजनः ।[2]

"Divine women come of their own accord to His Majesty."

The tradition, as recorded in the different works, certainly speaks of Vikrama coming by a large number of wives. In some cases, he declines the offer and urges the person concerned to become the wife of somebody else. In other cases, he accepts the offer. Thus, the king of Simhala offers his daughter in marriage to Vikrama with the words :—

......अस्ति मम सर्वस्वं कन्यारत्नमनुत्तमम् ।
विक्रमादित्यदेवश्च रत्नानां भाजनं विभुः ।
समर्पितेयं वचसा मया तस्मै सुमध्यमा ।।[3]

"I have a jewel of a daughter, all I ever have. King Vikrama is the recipient of all jewels. Therefore, I offer my charming daughter to him."

The offer is accepted. All the obstacles which arise in the way of her actually joining Vikrama are overcome and the marriage takes place. At about the same time, the two maidens who were created by Prajāpati in order to bring about a quarrel between Ghaṇṭa and Nighaṇṭa, the two demons, were ultimately left with Kubera, to be given to the most worthy person. It was ultimately decided that they should

1. *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī*, P. 424 (N. S. Edition).
2. *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī*, P. 424 (N. S. Edition).
3. *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī*, P. 413 (N. S. Edition).

be given to King Vikrama, being the most worthy person of his day:

एतयोर्विक्रमादित्यो देव एवोचितः पतिः ।[1]

King Vikrama accepts the offer and marries them, too. In the meantime, Vikrama sees the picture of Malayavatī, the daughter of Malayasiṁha, and after making great efforts and surmounting many obstacles, marries her, too.[2] Thus Vikrama marries four wives, one after another. On another occasion a Śabara, whom King Vikrama met in the forest and who rendered him and his friend Devasena much service, offers his daughter to Vikrama in marriage.[3] Once Vikrama went to Pātāla and came back with a Nāga wife, Svarūpā by name. When he visited Gandharvaloka, he came back with Tārāvatī. Thus wherever he went, he acquired new wives, sometimes thrust on him by others, on other occasions actually sought by him.

Vikrama Becomes a Jaina

The Jainas have taken over Vikrama into their tradition and, as already pointed out, there are many Jain works where Vikrama figures in some capacity or other. Needless to say that sometimes Vikrama is presented to us as a good Jaina in these works. The Jainistic recension of the *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśikā* tells us how the great Jaina teacher, Siddhasena Divākara, converted Vikrama to his faith and makes the further remark वर्धमानसंवत्सर-परावर्तमकरोत्.[4] This remark has been much discussed. Some have seen in it a reference to the founding of an era by Vikrama. Literally, it means: "He made a change in the era of Vardhamāna".

1. *Bṛihatkathāmañjari*, P. 422 (N. S. Edition).
2. *Bṛihatkathāmañjari*, P. 424 (N. S. Edition).
3. *Bṛihatkathāmañjari* (N. S. Edition), P. 424.
4. H. O. S. 27, P. 236.

The space allotted to this paper does not permit us to pursue the Vikrama tradition in all its detail in the Jain literature. Nor is it possible here to analyse the contents of the *Vīracharita* of Ananta which deals with Vikrama and Śālivāhana. We leave it to others more competent to deal with the problems relating to the identification of the Vikrama of the tradition with a particular king of ancient days. From the way in which he is presented in Sanskrit literature, he is King Arthur and Don Quixote rolled into one. But he is far more than that. He is an ideal.

THE GHAṬAKARPARA* PROBLEM

By

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The *Ghaṭakarpara*, a small Sanskrit poem, has enjoyed immense popularity with old-type scholars for centuries and has been commented upon by several commentators, ancient and modern, including some of great note. MSS of the original poem and of its various commentaries are found numerously everywhere and it has also been printed a number of times at many places. Although its popularity has considerably waned with the advent of modern taste during recent decades, still literary critics and historians even now do not fail to allot some space in their works to the consideration of its worth, age, authorship, etc.

The poem contains twenty-two verses according to the general printed version which usually includes Verse 21 only as an interpolation. Readings and the sum-total of verses and the sequence of a few of them vary in different recensions as found in MSS and adopted by various commentators. Consequently, a

*The word is found to be spelt both as 'Ghaṭakarpara' and as 'Ghaṭakharpara' in old MSS. In Harisheṇa's *praśasti* on the Allahabad Pillar 'Karapara' occurs as the name of one of the tribes subdued by Samudragupta.

critical edition of the poem based on all the available recensions is a *desideratum*. In Appendix A I have furnished the recension adopted in Śāntisūri's commentary on the poem as contained in MS No. 505 of the Manuscripts Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, mainly because the commentary has probably not yet appeared in print and notes a verse (*viz.*, Verse 9) not found in the printed editions of the poem seen by me.

The *Ghaṭakarpara* belongs to the category of Dūta-Kāvyas since therein a collection of clouds is charged with the task of bearing a separated beloved's message to her lover who is wandering in some remote quarters far away from home even after the setting in of the rains. The actual message is contained in Verses 7-20. Verses 1-5, forming an introduction and depicting briefly the advent of the rainy season along with its consequences on nature's scenes and lovers' hearts, also appear[1] to be designed to be uttered by the beloved herself to one of her female friends. From the lips of the poet himself come three verses, *viz.*, Verse 6 making a third-person mention of the beloved and forming a connecting link between Verses 1-5 and 7-20, Verse 21 (interpolated and not traceable in many recensions including the one adopted by Śāntisūri) noting the lover's speedy return to home as effected by the message and Verse 22 wherein the poet makes a bold and boastful assertion regarding his unsurpassed skill in Yamaka, nothing less than riteously swearing by the sexual indulgences with his

1. From the use of the vocative form 'Kundasamānadanti' in Verse 2 this seems to be the most satisfactory view and most of the commentators have adopted it. However, the verses have been attributed differently by a few commentators like Ramāpatimiśra (vide P.K. Gode's *Descriptive Catalogue of Kāvya MSS*, Part I, 1940, P. 298), etc. The figures in the above paragraph refer to the popular printed recension.

ardently attached consort to bear water (for his whole life) in a potsherd (ghaṭakarpara) for any other poet who would vanquish him in that respect. It is from the use of the word 'ghaṭakarpara' in the poet's assertion in Verse 22 that the poem derives its strange title.

As many as eight metres, all middle-sized, are employed in this poem of barely twenty-two verses. The sentiment of love is drawn upon here with considerable elegance and simplicity and we meet with several touching, though cursory, allusions to the seasonal scenes such as clouds hovering in the sky, raining and thundering and associated with the lightning or the rainbow, waterfalls in hilly tracts, invisibility of the sun and the moon, starless nights, blue grass, blossomed Kadamba, Kuṭaja, Ketaka and Sarja trees, plight of swans, triumph of peacocks, the Chātaka bird crying for and receiving rain-water, fury of elephants, bees sucking jasmine-flowers, Cupid's respective operations on the hearts of lovers and beloveds in union or in separation, etc. Although the poet has devised fine Yamakas at the close of each pair of quarters,—and from his assertion in the last verse a display of his skill in Yamaka seems to be his main aim in composing the present poem,—yet he has done so with a charming ease and with the least degree of artificiality. Nowhere does the poetic charm appear to be marred or the easy sense of words to be sacrificed on account of the Yamakas. Hence the description of the *Ghaṭakarpara* simply as 'a highly artificial poem'[1] does not look appropriate and seems to be due to the western scholars' general aversion to artificial devices in Sanskrit poetry. In fact, to use the words of M. Krishnamachariar,[2] 'the author's poetry

1. M. Monier-Williams: *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1899), P. 375b.

2. *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (Madras, 1937), P. 359.

in spite of the Yamaka is free and exquisite' and the high estimation in which it has been held for so many centuries in India is not unjustified.

Of course, the poem contains nothing that is unique or extraordinary. Its extreme brevity does not appear to do full justice to the subject and testifies to the high soaring capacity of the poet's fancy or imagination only scantily. Although the cursory descriptions in the poem are in themselves poetic and enchanting, very little use is made of Arthālaṅkāras or figures of sense. Had the said Yamakas, too, been absent, the poem could even have been furnished as a specimen of poetry pure and simple yet effective. Even the poet's boastful assertion in the last verse appears nothing more than a juvenile challenge from a fresh but promising wrestler in the arena, since the artificial excellences in many other poems are definitely much more attractive than the general tri-syllabic Yamaka in this poem. Taking all these facts into consideration, the *Ghaṭakarpara* can best be described as a successful early attempt at fine composition of a rising poet showing much promise for the future. These findings will be of much help to us below while deciding the authorship of the poem.

Citations from the *Ghaṭakarpara* are usually not met with in important works on Poetics, but they are found in some important works on other subjects. Among the latter, two major commentaries on the *Amarakośa*, *viz.*, the *Padachandrikā*[1]

1. E. g., while commenting on the form 'Divākaraniśākarau' in *Amarakośa* I. 3.10, the *Padachandrikā* says: 'दिवाकरनिशाकरौ' इति 'देवताद्वन्द्वे च' इति नानङ। तत्र 'आनङ्ऋतो द्वन्द्वे' इत्यतो ग्रहणेऽनुवर्तमाने पुनर्द्वन्द्वग्रहणेन वेदलोकसहचरितद्वन्द्वग्रहणात्, अस्य तु द्वन्द्वस्यातथात्वात् । अत एव **'रविचन्द्रावपि नोपलक्षितौ' इति घटकर्परः ।** —Folio 55a of MS No. 5659 of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain.

(1474 A. C.)[1] by Rāyamukuṭa *alias* Bṛihaspati and the *Amarakośodghāṭana*[2] by Kshīrasvāmin (*c*. 1100 A. C.)[3], cite passages from this poem to demonstrate the grammatical propriety of a seemingly questionable form of a compound or to illustrate the use of a homonym in a particular sense, etc. Madana in his poem *Kṛishṇalīlā* composed *c*. 1623 A. C. adopts almost all the lines of the *Ghaṭakarpara*, rhyming each of them with those of his own composition.

Commentaries on the *Ghaṭakarpara* have continued to be written to the other day. Among the last century's commentators is also Govardhana *alias* Gaṭṭulāla, the famous blind *āśukavi* from Gujarat, whose learned and elaborate commentary entitled *Chandrikā*, composed and first published in 1866 A. C., adequately exposes almost all the beauties of the poem. Of utmost importance from the chronological and other points of view are the *Ghaṭakarparakulakavivṛiti*[4] and the *Ghaṭakarparaṭippanaka*[5] respectively by Abhi-

1. D. C. Bhattacharya: *Date and Works of Rāyamukuṭa* (*IHQ*, Vol. XVII, Pp. 456-471). The earlier view, promulgated by Aufrecht and others (vide *CC*, I, Pp. 27a, 526b, etc.) but now unchallengeably disproved by Prof. Bhattacharya, had assigned the *Padachandrikā* to 1431 A. C. on account of an incidental mention of that year (*i. e.*, Śaka 1353) in the body of the commentary.

2. Commenting on *Amarakośa* III. 3. 207 (भाव: सत्तास्वभावाभिप्राय-चेष्टात्मजन्मसु) the com. says "..........स्वभावे यथा—'भावानु-रक्तवनितासुरतैः शपेयम्'......"—*Poona Oriental Series No.* 43 (1941), P. 321.

3. Kshīrasvāmin quotes Bhoja (*c*. 1050 A. C.) and is himself quoted in the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* written by Vardhamāna in 1140 A. C.

4. Aufrecht: *CC*, I, P. 174a, II, P. 35b; K. C. Pandey: *Abhinavagupta* (Benares, 1935), etc.

5. Dalal and Gandhi: *Catalogue of Jesalmere MSS* (Baroda, 1923), P. 43, etc. MS No. 505 of the S. O. Institute, Ujjain, also contains Śāntisūri's commentaries on the Yamakakāvyas 1 *Vṛindāvana*, 2 *Ghaṭakarpara*, 3 *Meghābhyudaya* and 4 *Chandradūta* with the original and

navagupta (*c.* 1000 A. C.)[1], the celebrated rhetorician and philosopher from Kashmir, and by Śāntisūri (*c.* 1100-1200 A. C.)[2], a Jaina writer who was the chief disciple and successor of Vardhamānāchārya of Pūrṇatallagachchha[3]. Among other old commentaries on the poem hitherto published, stocked or recorded are, besides a few anonymous ones,[4] those[5] by Vindhyeśvarīprasāda, Vaidyanāthadeva, Bharatamallika, Śaṅkara, Ramāpatimiśra, Govinda, Kuśalakavi, Aḍakamalla, Kamalākara, Tārāchandra, etc.

Coming to the question of the authorship of the poem, we are at once confronted with two rival claims. The popular view is that it was composed by a great poet

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5 *Śivabhadrakāvya* without the original. Unluckily the last one or two folios are missing and no date can be traced in the MS which is, however, very old in appearance. Although the introductory and concluding passages in the com. on the *Ghaṭakarpara* make no mention of the commentator's name in this MS as in the Jesalmere MS, he is none but Śāntisūri himself as can be decided by other evidence. In the prelude to his com. on the first Kāvya, *viz.*, the *Vṛindāvana*, Śāntisūri clearly declares his pratijñā to comment on five Yamakakāvyas which include the *Ghaṭakarpara*—"ॐ नमो वीतरागाय ॥ वर्धमानं शुध्यमानं देवेन्द्रैः कृतसत्क्रियम्। वर्धमानं महामानं नत्वादेशितसत्क्रियम् ॥१॥ वृन्दावनादिकाव्यानां यमकैरतिदुर्विदाम्। वक्ष्ये मन्दप्रबोधाय पञ्चानां वृत्तिमुत्तमाम् ॥२॥" (—Folio 1a).

1. P. V. Kane : *History of Alaṅkāra Literature* (Bombay, 1923), P. LXXI.
2. Dalal and Gandhi : *Catalogue of Jesalmere MSS*, Intro. P. 59; M. D. Desai : **जैन साहित्यनो संक्षिप्त इतिहास** (Bombay, 1933), P. 230.
3. Vide the colophon to the com. on the *Meghābhyudaya*—इति पूर्णतल्लगच्छसंबन्धिश्रीवर्धमानाचार्यस्वपदस्थापितश्रीशान्तिसूरिविरचिता मेघाभ्युदयलघुकावृत्तिः समाप्ता ॥ (—Folio 8a of MS No. 505 of the S. O. Institute, Ujjain).
4. E. g. MSS Nos. 3367 and 3409 of the S. O. Institute, Ujjain, Nos. 352/1884-87, 695/1886-92, 157/1902-1907, 441/1895-1902 and 497/1891-95 of the Government Collections of MSS at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, etc.
5. Vide *CC*, I, Pp. 174a, 784a; II, Pp. 35b, 199a; III, P. 37b and the various earlier and later MSS catalogues.

(=*mahākavi*) who bore the very name Ghaṭakarpara and formed, like Kālidāsa, one of the celebrated nine jewels in the court of King Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī as detailed in the following well-known verses of the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* (XXII. 8 and 10) :—

> "शङ्कुः सुवाग्वररुचिर्मणिरङ्गुदत्तो जिष्णुस्त्रिलोचनहरी घटकर्पराख्यः ।
> अन्येऽपि सन्ति कवयोऽमरसिंहपूर्वा यस्यैव विक्रमनृपस्य सभासदोऽमी ॥"
> "धन्वन्तरिक्षपणकामरसिंहशङ्कुवेतालभट्टघटकर्परकालिदासाः ।
> ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥"

The other view is that it is a composition of the great Kālidāsa himself. A solution of the question, however, can be attempted through a critical examination of old documentary evidence along with that of the pertinent statements of old commentators.

It is noteworthy at the outset that several old MSS[1] of the original poem do not mention the author's name at all and many commentators[2], too, are silent about the same. It is only due to the prevalence of the popular view that some editors or compilers[3] mention Ghaṭakarpara as the author of the poem even

1. E. g., MS No. 3409 (undated but old in appearance and also containing an anonymous commentary after the conclusion of the original poem) of the S. O. Institute, Ujjain, Nos. 176 (*iii*)/A. 1882—83 and 466 (*i*)/1895-1902 of the Government Collections of MSS at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona (vide P. K. Gode's *Descriptive Catalogue of Kāvya MSS*, Part I, Pp. 285 and 288), Tanjore MS Serial No. 3761 (Vide *Tanjore Descriptive Catalogue*, Vol. VI, P. 2721), etc.

2. E. g., Śāntisūri, Bharatamallika, Ramāpatimiśra, etc., and the anonymous authors of the commentaries contained in MS No. 3409 of the S. O. Institute, Ujjain, Nos. 352/1884-87, 695/1886-92 and 497/1891-95 of the Government Collections of MSS at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, etc.

3. E. g., R. L. Mitra: *Notices of Sanskrit MSS*, Vol. IX (Calcutta, 1888), Pp. 249-250, No. 3172. Bharatamallika's com. contained in the MS (dated Śaka 1650) described here concludes simply as "इति भरतमल्लिककृतौ घटकर्परटीका समाप्ता ॥" and does not mention the original author's name at all.

while describing such really anonymous MSS in their Catalogues.

Despite my best efforts I was able to trace only four MSS of the text and only three commentaries thereon that really name the poet as Ghaṭakarpara :

The four MSS are Nos. 346/1892-95 of the B. O. R. I. Government Collections[1], 9. C. 74 of the Adyar Library[2] and R. 3137 (f) and D. 11839 of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras,[3] the colophons whereof read **इति श्रीघटकर्परविरचितं काव्यं** (or **यमककाव्यं) समाप्तं** or so. However, none of these four MSS is dated.

Among the commentators, Govardhana who wrote as late as 1866 A. C. vehemently supports the ascription to Ghaṭakarpara and opposes the same to Kālidāsa in his preface as follows :—

अथैतत्काव्यनिर्माता घटखर्परो नाम सत्कविः शककर्तुरुज्जयिनीश्वरस्य सार्वभौमस्य महाराजविक्रमादित्यस्य राज्यावसरे तत्सदसि मान्यो विद्वानासीत्।.............कश्चिदाधुनिको महाराष्ट्रभाषामये स्वग्रन्थे एतत्काव्यं कालिदासकृतमिति वदति तन्निर्मूलम्। एतत्काव्यस्य निश्चायकप्रमाणाभावात् कालिदासकृतत्वे काव्यस्य घटखर्परेतिनाम्ना प्रसिद्धिर्न स्यात्। अतो माघादिवदिदं घटखर्परकाव्यमिति कविनाम्नैव ग्रन्थनामप्रसिद्धेरवगमादिदं घटखर्परकृतमेव। युक्तं चैतत्। उक्तश्लोके कालिदासात्पार्थक्येन घटखर्परनिर्देशात्तस्य भिन्नकवित्वावगतेः, काव्यकलापे निःसंदिग्धतत्कृतनीतिसाराख्य— ग्रन्थस्य दृश्यमानतया तस्य ग्रन्थान्तरकरणेऽप्यसंभवाभावात्, एतत्काव्येऽप्यन्तिमश्लोके कुम्भकपालवाचिना 'घटखर्पर'पदेन मुद्रालंकाररीत्या कविनाममुद्रणस्याप्यनुभयमान-

1. P. K. Gode's *Descriptive Catalogue of Kāvya MSS*, Part I, P. 287.

2. *Adyar Library Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS*, Part II (1928), P. 5. From the colophons kindly furnished to me by the Honorary Director I find that the other MS No. 39. B. 8, though included in the *Catalogue* as ascribing the poem to Ghaṭakarpara, is anonymous.

3. Vide the respective volumes of *Madras D. C.* and *T. C.* From the colophons etc. kindly furnished to me by the Curator I find that D. 11840, though included under poet Ghaṭakarpara's name in the *Madras Alphabetical Index of Sanskrit MSS*, Part I (1938), P. 222, is really an anonymous MS.

त्वाच्च तथैव विद्वत्प्रसिद्धेश्च। एतत्काव्यपुस्तकेष्वपि सर्वत्र 'इति श्रीघटखर्परविरचितं यमककाव्यं संपूर्णम्' इति लेखो दृश्यते। तस्मादनेकप्रामाणिकसाधकयुक्त्यनुगृहीतादैतिह्यादिदं घटखर्परकृतमित्यवसीयते।........................

Vaidyanātha, who composed his commentary *Kāvyarasāvalī*[1] probably in Śaka 1717 (=1795-96 A. C.) or 1757 (=1835-36 A. C.), ascribes the poem to Ghaṭakarpara in his introduction as follows :—

घटकर्परनामा महाकविरेकस्मिन्दिवसे वर्षाकाले काव्यप्रकाशाय स्त्रीपुंसावुपलक्ष्य यमकेन तत्कालं वर्णितवान् etc.

An anonymous commentary contained in MS No. 441/1895-1902, dated Śaka 1753 (=1831 A. C.), of the B. O. R. I. Government Collections[2] ascribes the poem while starting with to Ghaṭakarpara in these words: शृङ्गारो द्विविधः संभोगो विप्रलम्भश्च । विप्रलम्भो विरहाख्यः। तमेव वर्णयन् घटखर्परनामा कविर्यमकालंकारेणाह etc. But the colophon इति श्रीकालिदासकृतं घटखर्परकाव्यं समाप्तं occurring at the conclusion of the text in the same MS ascribes it to Kālidāsa !

Unknown to me there may be many other MSS and probably also some commentaries wherein the ascription to Ghaṭakarpara may be traced. But their testimony can add real weight to the above-mentioned evidence only if they bear considerably older dates. As it is, the evidence is of little value and does not appear capable of proving the authenticity or agelongness of the tradition that ascribes the poem to Ghaṭa-

1. Vide R. L. Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS*, Vol. VII (Calcutta, 1884), P. 232, No. 2475. The commentator mentions his date in the concluding verse reproduced in the *Notice* as 'इति टीका कृता धीराः प्रतिपत्तीयता मया । द्विजश्रीवैद्यनाथेन शाके सप्तमसप्तमे ॥'. Here सप्तमसप्तमे (=5757) is obviously a mistake for सप्तमसप्तके (=1757) or सप्तकसप्तके (=1717).

2. P. K. Gode's *Descriptive Catalogue of Kāvya MSS*, Part I, Pp. 302-03.

karpara, especially in view of the bulk and age of the evidence on the other side. The four MSS, as already mentioned above, bear no date at all and all the three commentators belong to extremely late dates. Govardhana's statements in defence of the tradition need not detain us as they are extremely uncritical and ignore grossly the bulky ancient evidence in support of Kālidāsa's authorship of the poem,—in fact he goes to the extreme of fathering the very idea of Kālidāsa's authorship of the poem on a contemporary Marathi author!—, although it need not be doubted that he had access to many MSS supporting the ascription to Ghaṭakarpara. His conjecture that the poet by using the word 'Ghaṭakarpareṇa' in the last verse has suggested his own name through the device of a figure of speech called Mudrā, ingenious as it may be, is baseless as the old commentators, most of whom explain the passage almost literally, are not found to refer to it.

Here it may not be out of place to review very briefly the position of the poet Ghaṭakarpara. The idea of his existence and adorning the great Vikramāditya's court as one of the nine jewels has now been deeply rooted in the minds of the Indians so much so that while some popular myths assign him to the community of potmakers or Kumbhakāras some extant Brāhmaṇa families try to derive their own origin from him[1]. Still, we find little or no mention of him in genuine old literature! Probably the oldest allusion to his name and to the nine jewels collectively is in the pre-cited two verses of the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* (XXII. 8 and 10) which, though claiming the great Kālidāsa's au-

1. E. g., the Khâparḍe family of Amraoti (Berar) as recorded by N. C. Kelkar in the Marathi अभिनवकाव्यमाला, Part III (Poona, 1915), in connection with the poet B. G. Khaparde.

thorship, has now been substantially proved to be a forged work composed not earlier than the thirteenth[1] or even the sixteenth[2] century A. C. ! Many genuine old works allude to Vikramāditya's patronisation of Kālidāsa and of other bright stars not included in the list of the nine jewels, but an earlier allusion to the poet Ghaṭakarpara or to the nine jewels as located together in Vikramāditya's court has not yet been traced. Hence the very existence of the poet Ghaṭakarpara and of the nine jewels synchronously becomes extremely doubtful. The only other evidence that has come forth for the existence of Ghaṭakarpara is the ascription to him of the *Nītisāra*,[3] a collection of twenty-one gnomic stanzas, originally included in the *Kāvyasaṁgraha*[4] published by J. Haeberlin at Calcutta in 1847. But the manuscript evidence for this ascription, too, appears to be meagre, for Aufrecht could record only a solitary MS of the same in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*[5] posterior to its publication by Haeberlin. Further, there is nothing to prove the common authorship of the *Ghaṭakarpara* and the *Nītisāra*.[6] Thus even if the existence of the poet

1. S. B. Dikshit : भारतीय ज्योतिषशास्त्र (Poona, 1931), Pp. 212, 476.
2. A. B. Keith : *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (Oxford, 1928), P. 534. Contrast K. K. Lele and S. K. Oka : कालिदास व विक्रमादित्य यांच्या कालनिर्णयाची एक दिशा (published in March, April and May 1922 issues of the now-defunct *Vividhadnyānavistāra* of Bombay) and S. K. Dikshit : *Chandragupta II, Sāhasāṅka-alias Vikramāditya* (*Indian Culture*, Vol. VI, Pp. 191-210, 377-392), but for an appropriate criticism of the latter's views vide K. Madhava Krishna Sharma : *The Jyotirvidābharaṇa and Nine Jewels* (*Poona Orientalist*, Vol. V, Pp. 205-209).
3. Aufrecht : *CC*, Vol. I, P. 299b, and others.
4. Ernest Haas : *British Museum Catalogue of Sanskrit and Pali Books* (London, 1876), P. 41.
5. Vol. II, P. 65a.
6. As Keith says, there is nothing distinctive in the verses of the *Nītisāra* (*HSL*, P. 201) which are in the form of a dialogue between a hog and a lion.

Ghaṭakarpara were to be established on the basis of the ascription to him of the *Nītisāra*, it cannot go to prove his authorship of the *Ghaṭakarpara* since the rival claims of Kālidāsa for the same are far stronger and superior as I shall now proceed to show below.

In the course of my investigations I have traced out not less than twenty-two[1] old MSS and five commentaries that distinctly ascribe the poem to Kālidāsa. The said MSS are Nos. 3367 (dated Saṁvat 1814=1757 A. C.) of the S. O. Institute; 397/1887—91 (dated Saṁvat 1871=1814 A. C.), 631/1883-84, 633/1883-84, 60/1882-83, 27/1869-70 (dated Śaka 1737= 1816 A. C.), 442/1899-1915, 157/1902-1907 and 46/1871-72 (dated Saṁvat 1792=1715 A. C.) of the B. O. R. I. Government Collections[2]; 3758, 3759, 3760, 3762, 3763, 3764, 3765, 3766, 3767, 3768 and 3769 of the Tanjore Library[3]; 3795 of the India Office Library[4]; and D. 11841 of the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library[5], and their colophons read इति श्रीकालिदास-विरचितं घटखर्परकाव्यं संपूर्णम् or so. Since many of these MSS bear considerably old dates, their evidence is definitely of much more value than that of the four undated MSS ascribing the poem to Ghaṭakarpara.

1. I have not included in this number No. 441/1895-1902 of the B. O. R. I. Government Collections wherein, as already noted above, the anonymous commentator ascribes the poem to Ghaṭakarpara but the colophon to the text ascribes it to Kālidāsa.

2. Vide P. K. Gode's *Descriptive Catalogue of Kāvya MSS*, Part I, Pp. 285-305.

3. Vide *Tanjore Descriptive Catalogue* (Sanskrit), Vol. VI, Pp. 2716-2726. The last three MSS, as per their colophons extracted in the Catalogue, appear to ascribe the com. therein to Kālidāsa, but obviously it is the scribes' error.

4. Vide the *I. O. Catalogue*, Part VII.

5. Vide *Madras D. C.*, Vol. XX, P. 7921.

Of still more importance is the evidence furnished by prominent commentators on the poem.

An anonymous commentary contained in MS No. 3367 (dated Saṁvat 1814) of the S. O. Institute and Śaṅkara's commentary contained in the undated Madras MS D. 11841 ascribe the poem to Kālidāsa only in their concluding colophons (**इति श्रीकालिदासकृते घटकर्परकाव्ये टिप्पणं समाप्तिमगमत्** or so).

Tārāchandra, whose commentary is contained in several MSS, one of them, *viz.* No. 121 (3)/1866-68 of the B. O. R. I. Government Collections recording the date Śaka 1684 (=1762 A. C.)[1], commenting on the last verse says—**कविः प्रतिज्ञामाह भावेति ॥ भावानुरक्तमिति येन परेण कविना यमकैर्जीयेय तस्मै कवये घटखर्परेणाहमुदकं वहेयम्। तस्य किंकरो भवामीत्यर्थः।.........इति प्रतिज्ञादृढीकरणार्थं शपथं प्राह कालिदासः** etc. This shows that Tārāchandra has no doubt whatsoever about Kālidāsa himself having composed the *Ghaṭakarpara*. I have no means just now to settle the exact date of Tārāchandra, but he is certainly much earlier than 1762 A. C.

Kamalākara, son of Chaturbhuja, in his commentary *Ghaṭakarparayojinī*[2] similarly ascribes the poem to Kālidāsa himself. His concluding colophon reads—**इति श्रीचतुर्भुजसुतभट्टश्रीकमलाकरविरचिता कविश्रीकालिदासकृतस्य घटकर्परकाव्यस्य घटकर्परयोजिनीटीका समाप्ता ॥** In his prologue he says ....**इह तावत्काव्यालापांश्च वर्जयेदित्यादेः काव्यं यशसेऽर्थकृत इत्यादिप्रयोजनैरपवादमवधार्य मेघदूत इव विप्रलम्भशृङ्गारवर्णनमल्पपद्यैश्चिकीर्षुः कविः श्रीकालिदासो विशिष्टशिष्टाचारानुमितश्रुत्युपदिष्टाभीष्टो-**

1. P. K. Gode's *Descriptive Catalogue of Kāvya MSS*, Part I, P. 290 (निधिगजाङ्गमृगाङ्कमिते शके etc.).

2. *Ibid*, Pp. 303-304. The scribe's concluding colophon in this MS (No. 46/1871-72 of the B. O. R. I. Government Collections) reads: शके १६५७ संवत् १७९२ राक्षससंवत्सरे भाद्रकृष्णषष्ठ्यां दशपुत्रोपनाम्ना गोविन्देन लिखितमिति etc.

पायनकं शृङ्गारसाधनीभूतदीपनाद्यन्यतमनीरदाकाशप्राप्तिरूपत्वसुमङ्गलमाचरन् प्रोषितपतिकानायिकायाः प्रवासिनायकं प्रति मेघस्य दौत्यसंदेशाय मेघाविर्भावविवर्णनमारभते etc. Herein Kamalākara completely identifies the author of the *Ghaṭakarpara* with that of the *Meghadūta.* M. Krishnamachariar[1] assigns this Kamalākara, who also wrote a commentary entitled *Sāhityasachchandrikā*[2] on Lolimbarāja's *Harivilāsa,* to about the beginning of the 16th century A. C. and a MS of the *Ghaṭakarparayojinī* bears the date 1735 A. C.

Of utmost importance is the evidence furnished by Abhinavagupta who in his *Ghaṭakarparakulakavivṛiti*[3] distinctly records the tradition inherited by him about Kālidāsa having composed the poem in the words 'अत्र कर्ता महाकविः कालिदास इत्यनुश्रुतमस्माभिः'. He also finds fault with the verse तासामृतुः सफल etc. and dismisses it as a later interpolation since in his opinion Kālidāsa could not even be dreamt of having composed such an obscene stanza—'न चास्य काव्ये तृणमात्रमपि कलङ्कपात्रमुत्प्रेक्षितवन्तो मनोरथेऽपि स्वप्नेऽपि सहृदयाः, तस्मात्प्राक्तन एव समाप्तिश्लोकः।'. Abhinavagupta's unequivocal words must silence all misgivings about Kālidāsa's authorship of the *Ghaṭakarpara* and the tradition concerned must be accepted as current since long before 1000 A. C.

Since the ascription of the poem to Kālidāsa is established firmly as shown above, the rival tradition fathering the poem on a separate poet named Ghaṭakarpara, though extremely popular at present, must be

1. *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature,* P. 298.
2. *Aufrecht* : *CC,* II, P. 183b and P. K. Gode : *Lolimbarāja and his Works* (*Indian Culture,* Vol. VII, P. 333).
3. K. C. Pandey : *Abhinavagupta,* Pp. 65 ff, 142, 347. In this learned commentary, too, as elsewhere, Abhinavagupta eulogises his preceptor Bhaṭṭendurāja or Indurāja in these words :

कवीन्दोरिन्दुराजस्य ते सच्चित्तविकासकाः।
बोधांशवो विगाहन्तां भूर्भुवःस्वस्त्रयीमपि ॥

dismissed now as being spurious and lately coined since the slender thread of scriptural evidence in its favour belongs only to recent centuries. The reason why the poem came to be named as *Ghaṭakarpara* appears, as duly explained by some old commentators[1], nothing but the use of that word by the poet in its last verse.

The poem, it is true, falls much below the level of Kālidāsa's standard poems. But the difficulty is at once got over if we only imagine it, like the *Ṛitusaṁhāra*, to have been composed by him when his poetic talent was yet in its infancy. Nay, we can then even find some secondary justifications inside the poem itself for its ascription to him. It is well known that Kālidāsa often repeats self-same ideas, expressions, poetic fancies, similes, etc. in his various works. The *Ghaṭakarpara* contains many passages which can, as shown by me separately in Appendix B, be very aptly compared from this point of view with similar passages in the poems *Raghuvaṁśa*, *Kumārasaṁbhava*, *Meghadūta* and *Ṛitusaṁhāra*. Equally remarkable is his fondness for employing self-same devices (*e. g.* the lover in separation portraying the beloved in *Meghadūta* 110 and *Abhijñānaśākuntala* VI), sometimes also under obverted circumstances (*e. g.* the beloved lamenting for the deceased lover in *Kumārasaṁbhava* IV and the lover lamenting for the deceased beloved in *Raghuvaṁśa* VIII), with a view to a successful delineation of the subject-matter or enhancement of the effect of the sentiment in hand. Employment in the *Ghaṭakarpara* of a collection of clouds as the separated beloved's messenger

1. E. g., Kamalākara thus accounts for the title :

घटखर्परेणानीय वहनाद् घटखर्परम् ।
इति नाम्ना श्रुतं तस्माद्योजनं तस्य दुर्घटम् ॥

to the lover roaming in a remote quarter and again in the *Meghadūta* of a single cloud as the separated lover's messenger to the beloved at home is quite consistent with Kālidāsa's said practice. The obvious deviations in the parallel passages, devices, etc., occurring in the two poems rather mark the stages of development of his poetic faculty from comparative rawness to maturity, from boyhood to youth. Kālidāsa himself might have realised subsequently the various shortcomings of his earlier composition and set again to deal with the same topic under altered conditions with a master hand in his mature poem. It is probably thus that we find him in the *Meghadūta* selecting one major metre instead of a diversity of middle-sized ones, raising the number of stanzas by about a century with a view to creating a much wider range for a free and uniquely effective exercise of his poesy and fancy, making the separated lover, instead of the separated beloved, take the initiative, employing a single cloud, instead of several ones, to be the messenger and inventing several other poetic means and methods to make the poem a perfect success. The style, too, appears to have undergone considerable modification, as for instance the sensualist in Kālidāsa originally so crude and vulgar as to utter directly भाशानुरक्त-वनितासुरतैः शपेयम् ultimately becomes polished enough to suggest almost the same sense indirectly per the paronomastic line ज्ञातास्वादो विवृतजघनां को विहातुं समर्थः (*Meghadūta* 43). It is also likely that Kālidāsa lately detected the vainness of his boastful assertion regarding the unsurpassability of his skill in Yamaka in the closing verse of the *Ghaṭakarpara* and found it morally necessary to make a second display of the same skill in the ninth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* where it is certainly far more fascinating than in the *Ghaṭakarpara*. Thus the

ascription of the *Ghaṭakarpara* to Kālidāsa is not unaccountable at all.

* * * * *

For want of space I have not treated in this paper the views expressed recently by some scholars (1) that Kālidāsa himself was at some stage known as poet Ghaṭakarpara, and (2) that the so called poet Ghaṭakarpara is identical with Bhāsa, the celebrated predecessor of Kālidāsa. I hope to deal with these views in detail in a separate paper, but cannot help recording here that the first of these is based simply on imagination and not on scriptural evidence and that the second appears to rest mainly on an alleged passage in Hemachandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* which cannot be traced by me in any available MS or in the Kāvyamālā edition (N. S. P., 1901 and 1934 impressions) and the edition of R. C. Parikh and R. B. Athavale (Bombay-Ahmedabad, 1938) of that work !

* * * * *

J. B. Chaudhuri has tried to establish[1] that the earliest imitation of the *Meghadūta* is not the *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyī (*c*. 1200 A. C.) as held hitherto but the *Chandradūta* of Jambūkavi which he assigns to *c*. 950 A. C. While I have no hesitation to concur with him as regards the date fixed by him, I cannot help remarking that the *Chandradūta* is an imitation of the *Ghaṭakarpara* rather than of the *Meghadūta*. The reasons are quite plain. The *Chandradūta* is as much a Yamakakāvya as a Dūtakāvya, contains only twenty-three stanzas of Mālinī metre, employs the messenger,

1. Vide his edition of the *Chandradūta* (Calcutta, 1941), Intro. Pp. 11-17. In fact the date had already been suggested by L. B. Gandhi on P. 58 of his Sanskrit Introduction to the *Catalogue of Jesalmere MSS.*

viz. the moon, to bear the separated beloved's message to the lover who is abroad even during the rainy season and in this way, as also from the point of view of style and treatment of the topic, resembles the *Ghaṭakarpara*[1] far more than it does the *Meghadūta*.

1. An additional point of resemblance between the two poems is that both have been commented upon by Śāntisūri and also included together in several MSS.

THE GHAṬAKARPARA PROBLEM

Appendix A

घटकर्परकाव्यम्

(Śāntisūri's Recension[1])

निचितं खमुपेत्य नीरदैः प्रियहीनाहृदयावनीरदैः।
सलिलैर्निहितं रजः क्षितौ रविचन्द्रावपि नोपलक्षितौ ॥१॥

हंसा नदन्मेघभयाद् द्रवन्ति निशामुखान्यद्य न चन्द्रवन्ति।
नवाम्बुमत्ताः शिखिनो नदन्ति मेघागमे कुन्दसमानदन्ति! ॥२॥

मेघावृतं निशि न भाति नभो वितारं
निद्राभ्युपैति च हरिं सुखसेवितारम्।
सेन्द्रायुधश्च जलदोऽद्य रसन्निभानां
संरम्भमावहति भूधरसंनिभानाम् ॥३॥

सतडिज्जलदार्पितं नगेषु स्वनदम्भोधरभीतपन्नगेषु।
परिधीररवं जलं दरीषु प्रपतत्यद्भुतरूपमु[illegible]षु ॥४॥

क्षिप्रं प्रसादयति संप्रति कोऽपि तानि
कान्तामुखानि रतिविग्रहकोपितानि।
उत्कण्ठयन्ति पथिकाञ्जलदाः स्वनन्तः
शोकः समुद्भवति तद्वनितास्वनन्तः ॥५॥

छादिते दिनकरस्य भावने खाज्जले पतति शोकभावने।
मन्मथे च हृदि[2] हन्तुमुद्यते प्रोषितप्रमदयेदमुद्यते ॥६॥

सर्वकालमवलम्ब्य तोयदा आगताः स्थ दयितो गतो यदा।
निर्घृणेन परदेशसेविना मारयिष्यथ हि तेन मां विना ॥७॥

ब्रूत तं पथिकपांशुलं घना यूयमेव पथि शीघ्रलङ्घनाः।
अन्यदेशरतिरद्य मुच्यतां साथ वा तव वधूः किमुच्यताम् ॥८॥

[3]कोकिलास्वनवकोककूजिते मन्मथेन सकले शने जिते।
निर्गतोऽसि जिव! मासि माधवे नोपयासि शयितेऽपि माधवे ॥९॥

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1. MS No. 505 of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, contains Śāntisūri's com. on the *Ghaṭakarpara* along with the original text. However, I have restored Śāntisūri's recension mainly from his com. and have pointed out major deviations in the text in the MS in the footnotes below.
2. This word does not appear to be noted in the com.
3. This verse which is not found in the general printed recension has been restored here solely from the com. The text in the MS does not read this verse at all.

हंसपङ्क्तिरपि नाथ! संप्रति प्रस्थिता वियति मानसं प्रति ।
चातकोऽपि तृषितोऽम्बु याचते दुःखिता पथिक! सा प्रिया च ते ॥१०॥

[1]शष्पजातमतिभाति कोमलं वारि विन्दति च चातकोऽमलम् ।
अम्बुदैः शिखिगणो विनाद्यते का रतिः प्रिय! मया विनाद्य ते ॥११॥

मेघशब्दमुदिताः कलापिनः प्रोषिताहृदयशोककलापिनः ।
तोयदागमकृशा च साद्य ते दुर्धरेण मदनेन साद्यते ॥१२॥

किं कृपापि तव नास्ति कान्तया पाण्डुगण्डपतितालकान्तया ।
शोकसागरजलेऽद्य पातितां त्वद्गुणस्मरणमेव पाति ताम् ॥१३॥

कुसुमितकुटजेषु काननेषु
प्रियरहितेषु समुत्सुकाननेषु ।
वहति च कलुषं जलं नदीनां
किमिति च मां [2]समवेक्षसे न दीनाम् ॥१४॥

मार्गेषु मेघसलिलेन विनाशितेषु
कामो धनुः स्पृशति तेन विना शितेषु ।
गम्भीरमेघरसितव्यथिता कदाहं
जह्यां सखे! प्रियवियोगजशोकदाहम् ॥१५॥

[3]नववारिलवैर्विराजितानां
स्वनदम्भोधरवातवीजितानाम् ।
मदनस्य कृते [4]निकेतकानां
प्रतिभान्त्यद्य वनानि केतकानाम् ॥१६॥

तत्साधु यत्त्वां सुतत[5] ससर्ज
प्रजापतिः कामनिवास सर्ज! ।
त्वं मञ्जरीभिः प्रवरो वनानां
नेत्रोत्सवश्चासि सयौवनानाम् ॥१७॥

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1. The text in the MS reads नीलशष्पमतिभाति etc.
2. The text in the MS reads समपेक्षसे etc.
3. The text in the MS furnishes this verse after the next four verses and before Verse 21 (तासामृतुः etc.) and there it reads सुसुगन्धितया विराजितानां etc.
4. The com. reads निकेतनानां which, in view of the Yamaka, is obviously the scribe's error.
5. The text in the MS reads सुतरुं.

नव कदम्ब! शिरोऽवनतास्मि ते
वसति ते मदनः कुसुमस्मिते।
कुटज! किं कुसुमैरवहस्यते[1]
प्रणिपतामि[2] सुदुःप्रसहस्य ते ॥१८॥

कुसुमैरुपशोभितां सितैर्घनमुक्ताम्बुलवप्रकाशितैः।
मधुनः समवेक्ष्य कालतां भ्रमरश्चुम्बति यूथिकालताम्[3] ॥१९॥

[4]तरुवर! विनतास्मि ते सदाहं
हृदयं मे प्रकरोषि किं सदाहम्।
नवपुष्पनिरीक्षिता पदेऽहं
विसृजेयं सहसैव नीप! देहम् ॥२०॥

तासामृतुः सफल एव हि या दिनेषु
सेन्द्रायुधाम्बुधरगर्जितदुर्दिनेषु।
रत्युत्सवं प्रियतमैः सह मानयन्ति
मेघागमे प्रियसखीश्च[5] समानयन्ति ॥२१॥

[6]भावानुरक्तवनितासुरतैः शपेय-
मालभ्य चाम्बु तृषितः करकोशपेयम्।
जीयेय येन कविना यमकैः परेण
तस्मै वहेयमुदकं घटकर्परेण ॥२२॥

इति घटकर्परकाव्यम् ॥[7]

1-2. The text in the MS reads उपहस्यते and निपतितास्मि respectively.

3. The com. after noting this verse reads 'इति पर्यायिश्लोकः'.

4. The scribe has duly noted the Pratīka 'तरुवर' of this verse with a view to beginning its com. in the MS, but has inadvertently left out the whole com. on this verse along with a portion of the same on the next verse. In the third quarter of this verse the metre rather requires 'कुसुम' instead of 'पुष्प' furnished by the text in the MS.

5. Both the text and the com. read प्रियसखीश्च.

6. Prior to this verse, several MSS and printed versions of the poem furnish the following verse, marked as Verse 21 (since Verse 9 कोकिलास्वनव etc. of Śāntisūri's recension is absent in them) though generally regarded as an interpolation :—

एतन्निशम्य विरहानलपीडितायास्तस्या वचः खलु दयालुरपीडितायाः।
स्वं स्वारवेण कथितं जलदैरमोघैः प्रत्याययौ सदनमूनदिनैरमोघैः॥

The second half of this interpolated verse, too, involves many variations, but both the text and the com. in the MS under question take no note of the verse at all,

7. The com. concludes as 'समाप्तमिदं घटकर्परस्य टिप्पनकम् ॥'.

Appendix B

Comparable Passages in Kālidāsa's Standard Poems

(*The Ghaṭakarpara Verse Nos. below refer to Śāntisūri's recension.*)

1. मेघालोके भवति सुखिनोऽप्यन्यथावृत्ति चेतः कण्ठाश्लेषप्रणयिनि जने किं पुनर्दूरसंस्थे or प्रत्यासन्ने नभसि दयिताजीवितालम्बनार्थी etc. (मेघ० 3-4), घनशब्दविक्लवाः प्रियाः (मकुार० IV. 11); तावदाशु विदधे मरुत्सखैः सा (पुरमार्ग-संस्क्रिया) घनैः (रघु० XI 3). 2. त्वय्यासन्ने,........................संपत्स्यन्ते कतिपयदिनस्थायिहंसा दशार्णाः (मेघ० 23); शुक्लापाङ्गैः सजलनयनैः स्वागतीकृत्य केकाः प्रत्युद्यातो भवान् (मेघ० 22). 3. Contrast शरत्प्रसन्नमाकाशमाविष्कृतचारु-तारम् (रघु० XIII 2); शैलोपमः सः (गजः) (रघु० V. 46), यस्य क्षरत्सैन्यगज-च्छलेन यात्रासु यातीव पुरो महेन्द्रः (रघु० VI. 54). 4. उद्भिन्नविद्युद्वलयो घनः (रघु० XIII. 21); तस्यापतन्मूर्ध्नि जलानि जिष्णोर्विन्ध्यस्य मेघप्रभवा इवापः (रघु० XIV. 8). 5. यो वृन्दानि त्वरयति पथि श्राम्यतां प्रोषितानां मन्दस्निग्धै-र्ध्वनिभिः (मेघ० 104), बलाहकाः.............तुदन्ति चेतः प्रसभं प्रवासिनाम् (ऋतु० II. 4), अपहृतमिव चेतस्तोयदैः सेन्द्रचापैः पथिकजनवधूनां तद्वियोगाकुलानाम् (ऋतु० II. 22). 7. Vide 1 above. 8. तत्पयोद प्रियायाः संदेशं मे हर (मेघ० 7). 9. ....परभृताभिरितीव निवेदिते स्मरमते रमते स्म वधूजनः (रघु० IX. 47). 10. तृषाकुलैश्चातकपक्षिणां कुलैः प्रयाचितास्तोयभरावलम्बिनः (ऋतु० II. 3); vide also 2 above. 11-12. प्रवृत्तनृत्यं कुलमद्य बर्हिणाम् (ऋतु० II. 6), तं मयूरं पश्चादद्रिग्रहणगुरुभिर्गर्जितैर्नर्तयेथाः (मेघ० 46), स्निग्धाश्च केकाः शिखिनां बभूवुर्यस्मिन्नसह्यानि विना त्वया मे (रघु० XIII. 27.); vide also 2 above. 13. विक्षिपन्तीं शुद्धस्नानात्परुषमलकं नूनमागण्डलम्बम् (मेघ० 95); vide further मेघ० 90-92 etc. 14. स प्रत्यग्रैः कुटजकुसुमैः कल्पितार्घाय (मेघ० 4); कुसुमितासु वनराजिषु (रघु० IX 34). 15. गुहाविसारीण्यतिवाहितानि मया कथञ्चिद् घनगर्जितानि (रघु० XIII. 28). 16 ff. कदम्बसर्जार्जुनकेतकीवनं विकम्पयंस्तत्कुसुमाधिवासितः। ससीकराम्भोधरसङ्गशीतलः समीरणः कं न करोति सोत्सुकम् ॥ (ऋतु० II. 17). 18. सीमन्ते च त्वदुपगमजं यत्र नीपं वधूनाम् (मेघ० 71),............कादम्बमर्धोद्गतकेसरं च..........बभूवुर्यस्मिन्नसह्यानि (रघु० XIII. 27). 19. मधु द्विरेफः कुसुमैकपात्रे पपौ प्रियां स्वामनुवर्तमानः (कुमार० III 36). 22. प्रस्थानं ते कथमपि सखे लम्बमानस्य भावि ज्ञातास्वादो विवृतजघनां को विहातुं समर्थः (मेघ० 43). Parallel to the interpolated verse between Verses 21 and 22 there are a number of interpolated verses at the end of the *Meghadūta* in some recensions.

AMARA'S CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN LEXICOGRAPHY

By

S. M. KATRE, Poona

Tradition has associated Amarasiṁhā as one of the nine jewels with the court of the fabled king Vikramāditya[1] whose identity is still involved in mystery despite the progress of historical studies. How far tradition and history coincide in actual fact so far as the great lexicographer is concerned, is still a matter of dispute, and no final judgement can yet be delivered. In fact it is yet a desideratum to trace the antiquity of this tradition on incontrovertible evidence before constructive historical imagination can build up a solid basis for further investigation. It is doubtful if any progress has been made with reference to Amara since Theodor Zachariae published his little monograph on the Kośa literature in 1897[2]. For, the arguments marshalled since this date regarding the period to which Amara belongs are based on very slender grounds and on the evidence collated, not from Amara himself, but from the commentaries on his lexicon, composed centuries later.

1. A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, Preface, Pp. i ff.
2. *Die indischen Wörterbücher* (Bühler's Grundriss, I Band, Heft 3B).

Summarising the arguments contained in Zachariae's monograph and Winternitz's *Geschichte* Keith remarks:[1] "One of the earliest texts preserved for us is the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* of Amarasiṁha, called usually the *Amarakośa.* Its author is also known as a poet, and was certainly a Buddhist who knew the Mahāyāna and used Kālidāsa. His lower limit of date is dubious, he is certainly not known to the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi (A. D. 700) but the decline of Buddhism in India renders it improbable that he lived after the eighth century; his ascription to the sixth, however, rests on nothing better than the assertion that he was a jewel of Vikramāditya's court." The argument reproduced by the late Pandit Rāmāvatāra Śarmā in the Introduction to his edition of the *Kalpadrukośa* of Keśava[2], and repeated by Drs. Har Dutt Sharma and N. G. Sardesai in the Introduction to their edition of *Amarakośa* with Kshīrasvāmin's commentary[3], that this fact of his having lived prior to the sixth century A. D. could be established on the ground that his work was translated into Chinese by Guṇarāta of Ujjayinī in the sixth century rests ultimately on the authority of Lassen[4], and since called into question by Bunyiu Nanjio[5]. So ultimately we are left in the air. The further arguments of Drs. Sharma and Sardesai[6] based on certain comments of Kshīrasvāmin on the priority of Amara to the famous grammarian Chandragomin are only of probative value and lead us no nearer to the solution of the problem.

1. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, P. 413.
2. GOS, Vol. XLII, P. xvii.
3. POS 43, P. iii.
4. *Indische Altertumskunde* IV, 633.
5. Georg Huth, *Die Zeit des Kālidāsa* (Berlin, 1890), Pp. 20 ff. quoted by Zachariae, *op. cit.* P. 20.
6. *Op. cit.* P. iii.

AMARA'S CONTRIBUTION

The popularity of Amara's lexicon can be gauged from the fact that there are over fifty commentaries on this text, and by the frequent quotations by commentators in later literature. Like Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* it has thrown the works of earlier authorities into oblivion and assumed a pre-eminent position in its own field. Attempts to date Amara from quotations have not been successful : the words *tantram pradhāne siddhānte* found quoted in the *Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā* of Jinendrabuddhi by Sir Ramakrishna Gopala Bhandarkar[1] may indicate the priority of Amara to Jinendrabuddhi; but Keith's statement quoted above shows that he is not known to Jinendrabuddhi's *Nyāsa*, and this statement itself is in opposition to that of Bhandarkar! Thus a single approach to place Amara in his space-time context is bound to be limited in its value. It would, in my opinion, be more fruitful to consider some aspects of Amara's contribution to Indian lexicography; for here we shall be dealing with something which is more tangible, and so better suited to yield important results, than quotations or semi-historical traditions the antiquity of which has still to be determined. Moreover, as far as my knowledge goes, the study of the vocabulary as found in Amara's lexicon, or for that matter in the field of Sanskrit lexicography, in its historical setting of Indo-Aryan, has never been attempted properly[2]. It is surprising that a large number of words found in *Amarakośa* are not attested in Vedic or Classical Sanskrit literature; the same is true of other lexicons, and such words have

1. Sharma and Sardesai, P. xi.

2. Mr. M. M. Patkar, B. A., of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, is preparing a Thesaurus of all published and unpublished Kośa works on scientific principles as adumbrated by me in my paper "On a Thesaurus Linguae Sanskritae" in the *New Indian Antiquary* 4.271-279. On its completion a great deal of historical light will be thrown upon Amara and other lexicographers.

been indicated in Monier-William's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by the abbreviation 'lex.', the exact references being given in Böhtlingk and Roth's *Wörterbuch.* Rādhākānta's *Sanskrit Dictionary* is practically based on lexicographical texts, but a study such as I propose to indicate here—naturally briefly, in view of the extremely limited space available here—has long been a desideratum.

The first question that we have to ask ourselves is : what is the nature of the vocabulary that is incorporated in a Sanskrit lexicographical work ? Such a vocabulary cannot be artificial, built up by the lexicographer at the spur of the moment to suit his metrical sense ; for in that case it ceases to have a value for those for whose benefit the lexicon has been compiled. Thus the artificial creations must be limited to cases where the lexicographer has sanskritised a vernacular expression current during his days in the *śishṭa* speech and their number cannot therefore be considerable. The second point which must be obvious to any person using a lexicon is the reference value of the work : the vocables must be such, as far as possible, that they have been used in literary compositions current at that period, or such as obtain currency in the cultured speech of the people; if these conditions are not satisfied the lexicon loses its value and may entirely disappear owing to lack of popular support. If these points are granted it follows immediately that the vocables listed in a lexicon, if the lexicon is particularly ancient, must have been current during the period of the lexicographer—if the language was in use for common speech or for literary composition—or at a period anterior to him. In the first case we get contemporary vocables for the correctness of which the lexicographer himself can vouch ; in the second case we

must assume that the ancient lexicographer, like his modern descendant, collected material from texts available to him, from actual literary usage; otherwise the charge of artificiality must for ever destroy the testimony of his work, and this, as we have seen, can hold good only for a very small number of vocables. We are thus led to the conclusion that, in general, the vocabulary given by the lexicographer must have a basis in the literary tradition inherited by him, and may further reflect the usages current during his own time, holding good for the country as a whole, or for the particular province where he had his being.

In the light of the above conclusion we should try to explain the curious fact that a very representative proportion of the vocabulary in Amara's lexicon is not supported by quotable instances from extant Sanskrit literature. A consideration of the problem shows that we can approach it from several angles. One method is to discover the number of vocables in *Amarakośa* which reflect only Vedic usage, that is, to determine the number of words attested in those particular significances only in Vedic literature and having no quotable examples in classical Sanskrit literature. This will constitute the archaic element in his vocabulary which has not survived in the later period. From the nature of his lexicon, the number of these vocables should be small. A second strand is constituted by those vocables which, though not attested in the Sanskrit literary tradition, find quotable instances in Pāli, Ardhamāgadhī and other Middle Indo-Aryan literary languages, thus testifying to the genuineness of the tradition. Another method is to distinguish the new forms coined by the lexicographer himself on the basis of older material, with or without any nuances of meaning. This

type of vocable will be particularly interesting to the modern Indian mind as showing the manner in which our ancestors managed to enrich their vocabulary without having recourse to actual borrowing from non-Sanskritic languages. These fresh formations can show us the principles which guided the ancient lexicographers in arriving at their goal of finding newer expressions to meet the exigencies of unexpected situations rising from the necessity of constant change. Finally we may discover a fairly well distributed type of vocable, mostly of a technical nature, representing items of fauna and flora, of doubtful linguistic source.

The classification suggested above is bound to be altered when our knowledge of Sanskrit vocabulary in its historical setting gradually increases; for with the advance made in fixing the chronology of Sanskrit authors, with the discovery of fresh works of these authors, and the consequent gain both in the number of vocables and quotable instances of these, one type of vocable may then be transferred to another type. Nevertheless a knowledge of the distribution of these types in a given lexicon may act as an index to the probable age of the lexicographer, in the absence of any other collateral evidence.

It is not possible to deal with the whole of Amara's vocabulary in this manner within the limited space of a short paper; nor do I wish to present any final results here. The main object of this paper is to indicate a new method of analysis which may ultimately lead us not only to a better appreciation of the historical development of Sanskrit vocables, but also to a clearer understanding of the sources utilized by the lexicographer in the ultimate analysis.

AMARA'S CONTRIBUTION

A number of words listed in *Amarakośa* have a history ranging back to Vedic literature and probably continuing up to his own period :

áṁsaḥ 'shoulder (-blade)' found in the Ṛigveda and the Vājasaneyī Saṁhitās as also in Yājñavalkya and Śākuntala; *áṁsau* 'two shoulders' in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra. — *aṁsalá-* 'lusty, strong' is found in Śat. Br., Pāṇini and Raghuvaṁśa. On the other hand Amara does not include expression like *áṁsatram* (and °*-tra-kośa-*); *aṁsa-daghná-*, *aṁsadhrī*, *aṁsa-phalakám*, etc., which are recorded in Vedic texts; the last of these is also found in Suśruta. Similarly the words *aṁsa-kūṭaḥ* (noted by Hemachandra) and *aṁsa-mūlam* are not listed by Amara, though found in subsequent lexicons.

aṁhatiḥ 'anxiety, distress, trouble' is in Amara 'gift' as opposed to 'illness' in Hemachandra and Medinī which also record the sense of 'gift'.

áṁhas 'anxiety, trouble' is 'sin' in Amara whom Hemachandra follows. But words derived from the same base, such as *aṁhu-*, *aṁhurá-*, *aṁhūraṇá-* and *aṁhoyú-*, mostly found in Ṛigveda, are not noticed here.

á-kūpāraḥ 'the sea' with citations in the Vāj. Saṁ. and the Nirukta, listed by Amara, Trikāṇḍaśesha, Hemachandra and Medinī. No examples seem to have been found in later literature.

Though not strictly pertaining to Amarakośa, the example of *ákshaḥ* 'axle' paralleled by *aksham* 'axle, axis' cited as from Vaijayantī in the commentary on Śiśupālavadha, with a change of gender. Although both forms occur in Amara, this particular significance is not found there.

Of the compound words with *aksha-*, Amara gives only °*-darśaka-*, °*-devin-* and °*-dhūrta*; these may be compared with the number of well-attested expressions connected with the three forms *áksha-*, *akshá-* and *aksha-*.

akshavatī 'a game of dice' is also recorded by Hemachandra, and the Petersburg Dictionary mentions its occurrence at Nalopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata, while the Śabdakalpadruma quotes from the Ādiparvan; the references to both in the critical edition of the Mbh. are 3.77.10 (without any variant) and 1.1.105 (with the variants °*-vedyām* corrupted to °*-vidyām*).

akshāgrakīlakaḥ 'linch-pin', identical with Hemachandra's *akshāgrakīlaḥ*, is not attested elsewhere; on the other hand the word *āṇiḥ* 'linch-pin' is recorded by the Trik., Hemachandra and Sāyaṇa, while the simplex *aṇi-* is listed by Amara as well. In the sense of 'the pin of an axle of a cart' *āṇiḥ* is found in the Ṛigveda. This compound expression for which simpler words exist in Sanskrit as known to the lexicographers indicates that (*a*) such expressions are explanations given by the lexicographers for the words cited by them and

(*b*) should not be considered as vocables cited by them. Nevertheless the whole expression has been registered in Sanskrit dictionaries as from Amara.

akshikūṭakam 'eye-ball' of Amara and Hemachandra corresponds to *akshikūṭam* found in Yājñavalkya Cf. Vishṇusahasranāma also. —*akshigata-* 'hated' of Am. and Hch. is quoted as from Mahābhārata by Monier-Williams.

akshoṭaḥ 'walnut' is found mentioned in Raghuvaṁśa; the variants of this word such as *akshoḍa-*(*ka-*), *ākshoṭa-*, *ākshoḍa-*, show its Middle Indo-Aryan characteristic, ultimately to be derived from probable non-Aryan source (?).

akhāta- m; n; 'natural pond', found only in Am. and Hch.; the adjective *á-khāta-* 'not shortened or mutilated' occurs in the Atharva Veda.

agadaḥ 'medicine, drug' in Am. Hch. and Manu; cp. *a-gadá-* 'healthy' in Ṛig and Atharva Vedas. Manu 11.237 also shows *agadaḥ* 'health'. On the other hand *agadaṁ-kāraḥ* 'physician' is formed according to Pāṇini 6.3.70, occurs also in Naishadhacharita, Śrīkaṇṭhacharita, Yaśastilaka and Daśakumāracharita.

aghnyā 'excellent cow' occurs in the Ṛig and Atharva Vedas, is also attested in the Uṇādisūtra.

aṅgadam 'bracelet worn on the upper arm' is recorded by Amara, Trik., Hch., Medinī, and is attested in the Rāmāyaṇa and Vikramorvaśīya. It is also found in the Mahābhāshya and the Yudhishṭhiravijaya.

aṅgaṇam 'court-yard' (with v. l. *aṅganam*) is found in Raghuvaṁśa, Kāvyaprakāśa and the Rāmāyaṇa, besides lexicographical works, and has survived both in Middle and several modern Indo-Aryan languages. The *-ṇ-* may indicate a MI-A incorporation of *-n-* in OI-A.

áṅgāraḥ 'live coal' witnessed from Ṛigvedic times, and in Manu, Hitopadeśa; of compounds with this word, only *aṅgāra-dhānikā*, °*-vallarī*, °*-vallī* and °*-śakaṭī* are recorded by Amara; most of the other words to be found in Sanskrit dictionaries are to be traced only to later lexicons.

Of the words for 'finger' only *aṅgulī* is recorded by Amara; the form *aṅguri-* or *aṅgurī* (recorded only by a commentator on Amara) is not listed, nor the Vedic *aṅgúli-*, except in the compound *aṅguli-mudrā* for which the only *belege* in PW are from lexicographical literature, except for a stray reference from Śākuntala. Similarly *aṅgulīyakam* is found in this play, by the side of *aṅgulīya-* m. n., which is also recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa.

aṅgushṭhá- (Vedic) and *aṅgúshṭha-* (classical) is attested at all periods of Indo-Aryan.

While the word *áṅghriḥ* 'foot' is not missing in Amara, the only compound recorded is *aṅghri-parṇikā*, with variants in °*-vallī* or °*-vallikā* in scholia on the passage.

achaṇḍī 'a tractable cow' is recorded only by Amara and Hemachandra.

achalaḥ 'mountain' is used in the Rāmāyaṇa and in the Mahābhārata.

achchhaḥ 'clear water', and *achchha-* 'clear, transparent': the second is seen in Suśruta, Meghadūta and Amaruśataka.

achchha-bhallaḥ 'bear'; Amara records *bhallukaḥ, ṛikshaḥ, bhālūkaḥ* in addition to the preceding, and later lexicographers add *bhallaḥ* also; the first part being the MI-A equivalent of OI-A *ṛiksha-*, and the second <*bhadra-* : **bhadla-*[1]; the form *bhālūkaḥ* <*bhallūkaḥ* also indicates a MI-A development. Mar. *āsval* is a descendant of this *achchha-bhallaḥ*.

ajiram 'court-yard' is found in Rāmāyaṇa and Pañchatantra; cp. *ajirá-* 'quick' and *ajirám* 'quickly' used in the Vedas.

In the sense of 'body, sense object' etc. there are no quotable examples in literature.

ajihmagaḥ 'arrow' has no citations, but *ajimhaga-* as an adjective qualifying *bāṇa* is used in Manu.

ajjukā 'courtesan' as addressed in Sanskrit plays is a MI-A incorporation in Sanskrit; the word seems to have been used by Aśvaghosha (cf. *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, 44[2] ....*jjuke*) and in Daśarūpaka.

aṭanī 'notched end or extremity of a bow'; the form *aṭani-* occurs in Naishadha, but the former is seen in Hitopadeśa.

1. J. Przyluski considers this word, along with *malluḥ* as an Austro-Asiatic loanword in Indo-Aryan, with characteristic interchange of initial *m-/b-*, cf. *BSL* 90.196 and Turner, *Nepali Dictionary* s. v. *bhālu.* But on an independent *m-* : *bh-* correspondence in Indo-Aryan see P. Tedesco: Indic milati in *Language* (1943).

aṭāṭyā 'roaming' from Pāṇini and the Vārttikakāra; cf. Subhāshitāvalī; there are no other examples.

aṭṭaḥ 'loft, terrace', evidently a Dravidian loan, seen in Rāmāyaṇa.

ataṭaḥ 'precipice', used in Śākuntala.

attikā 'elder sister', clearly another Dravidian loan.

admará- 'gluttonous' from Pāṇini.

adhamarṇaḥ 'debtor' found in Manu; the extended form *adhamarṇikaḥ* is found both in Manu and in Yājñavalkya; *adhamarṇatā* is found in Naishadha.

ánas n. 'cart' is found from Ṛigvedic times, in Manu and Yājñ.

ánāmikā 'ring-finger' from Śat. Br. downwards.

ánīka- m. n. 'army', 'combat' : in Mahābhārata and Hitopadeśa.

anukāmīna- 'one who acts as he pleases' from Pāṇini.

anutarshaṇam 'drinking vessel' : no examples; *anutarshaḥ* is found at Śiśupālavadha, Jātakamālā, Śrīkaṇṭhacharita and Haravijaya.

anūkam 'family' or 'disposition' is found used in Suśruta.

anūpa- 'watery' from Pāṇini, but cf. *anūpáḥ* 'watery country' in Manu and 'pond' in the Ṛigveda.

anekapaḥ 'elephant' : no citations.

anehas 'time' quoted in Bālarāmāyaṇa, Bhāgavata Purāṇā and Śrīkaṇṭhacharita.

anokahaḥ 'tree' found in Śākuntala and Raghuvaṁśa.

antarīpam 'island' after Pāṇini; cf. Naishadha also; no further citations.

antardhiḥ 'concealment' in Atharvaveda, Shaḍviṁśa Br. and Pāṇini.

antarvatnī 'pregnant' in ṚV, AV, Pāṇini, Mahābhārata, Rājataraṅgiṇī.

antikā 'fire-place: no belege, other than Somadeva.

andukaḥ 'elephant-fetter': cf. *andū, andūka-*, all from lexicographical works; *Nachträge* (Schmidt) gives Dharmaś. 17·97 as a belege.

andhūḥ 'well' in Uṇādi, Trik. and Hch. and Rājat.

anvaksha- 'following'; but as adverb *anvaksham* used in Rām. and Yājñ.

apa-shṭhu- 'contrary, opposite, perverse', from Uṇādi.

apāchī 'south' only in lexicons.

apūpáḥ 'cake'-from Ṛigvedic times.

abhīkaḥ 'lover' and as adj. 'lustful, libidinous' in Raghuvaṁśa, Naishadha, Śiśu.

abhidhyā 'wish, longing' only in lexicons, the commoner form being *abhidhyānam*; cf. however, Somadeva I. 55.2.

abhīshuḥ 'rein, bridle' in Mbh., Śiśupālavadha, etc.; wrong orthography for *abhī́śuḥ* with *ś* replaced by *sh*, the main Vedic form.

abhriḥ f. 'shovel, spade, spatula', mostly Vedic; Manu uses the word.

abhrīya- 'belonging to clouds' and m. n. 'thunder-cloud', mostly Vedic.

abhreshaḥ 'propriety' from Pāṇini.

ámatram 'large drinking vessel' purely Vedic.

It will be clear from the foregoing analysis that Sanskrit lexicography has a long way to go before any semblance of perfection is reached. The number of words found in *Amarakośa* lacking quotable instances from Sanskrit literature is an indication of the need for a historical dictionary of Sanskrit on modern principles. It is only when we are in possession of that Thesaurus that we can properly estimate Amara's contribution to Sanskrit lexicography. From the short sample given above, based only on the extant modern dictionaries, it will appear that Amara had a great tradition before him, both literary and vernacular. If the entire vocabulary contained in his lexicon is treated in a similar way, as also the commentarial literature quoting him on Sanskrit masterpieces, we shall be in a better position to approach the problem of his date and provenance.

SIDDHASENA DIVĀKARA AND VIKRAMĀDITYA

By

CHARLOTTE KRAUSE, Ujjain

Jaina literature often and again refers to Vikramāditya, the Śakāri and Saṁvātsara-pravartaka, as to a personality of undoubted historicity. Brave in battle, efficient as a ruler, interested and proficient in arts and learning, lavishly generous, devoted to the exponents of religion, and keen on visiting and endowing places of worship, Vikramāditya is to the Jainas the model of a historical Śrāvaka king, ranging with Śreṇika, Samprati and Kumārapāla.

The pertinent evidence, it is true, might be pronounced to be of limited value so far as derived from epic poetry, legend, and even ecclesiastical history,—literature classed as "aupadeśika" and therefore open to the suspicion of treating the historical truth of its subject-matter as less important than its edifying or proselytizing qualities.

As a matter of fact, however, such evidence is also found in those dry chronological and genealogical lists which enumerate pontiffs along with contemporaneous rulers, representative luminaries of the respective periods ("yugapradhāna"), and other items characteristic

of the time. These Gurvāvalīs, Paṭṭāvalīs, etc., likewise reiterate that Vikramāditya, whose Saṁvat started 470 years[1] after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa and 135 years prior to the year of commencement of the Śālivāhana Saṁvat, was a historical Jaina king.

Most of those works connect Vikramāditya's name with that of the Jaina logician and lyric poet Siddhasena Divākara as that of his spiritual teacher. Since Siddhasena Divākara is a well-known figure in Jaina literature and some of his works are available, it follows that his historical whereabouts should form a convenient starting point in attempting to lay hold of Vikramāditya's elusive personality and to fix his place in history.

I. VIKRAMĀDITYA AND SIDDHASENA IN NON-JAINA LITERATURE

Such an attempt seems all the more hopeful, since non-Jaina literature obviously corroborates the mutual contemporaneousness of these two personalities in the following often quoted passage of the 22nd Prakaraṇa of the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*[2]:

वर्षे श्रुतिस्मृतिविचारविवेकरम्ये श्रीभारते खधृतिसंमितदेशपीठे।
मत्तोऽधुना कृतिरियं सति मालवेन्द्रे श्रीविक्रमार्कनृपराजवरे समासीत् ॥७॥
शङ्कुः सुवाग्वररुचिर्मणिरङ्गुदत्तो जिष्णुस्त्रिलोचनहरी घटखर्पराख्यः।
अन्येऽपि सन्ति कवयोऽमरसिंहपूर्वा यस्यैव विक्रमनृपस्य सभासदोऽमी ॥८॥
सत्यो वराहमिहिरः श्रुतसेननामा श्रीबादरायणमणित्थकुमारसिंहाः।
श्रीविक्रमार्कनृपसंसदि सन्ति चैते श्रीकालतन्त्रकवयस्त्वपरे मदाद्याः ॥९॥
धन्वन्तरिः क्षपणकामरसिंहशङ्कुवेतालभट्टघटखर्परकालिदासाः।
ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥१०॥

The question whether or not the word "kshapaṇaka" used in Stanza 10 to specify one of Śakāri

1. In some texts, somewhat deviating figures are found: vide infra.

2. महाकविश्रीकालिदासविरचितं **ज्योतिर्विदाभरणम्** भावरत्नविरचितसुखबोधिकासमेतम्—Published by Nārāyaṇaśarman (Bombay, 1908).

Vikramāditya's "Nine Gems" refers to Siddhasena Divākara, has often been discussed,[1] but not definitely settled as yet. There can be no doubt that in early Jaina literature like the *Nandisūtra* and the *Viśeshāvaśyaka* this word, or rather its Prakrit equivalent "khavaṇaya",[2] means "Jaina ascetic" in general, while in later Jaina works like the *Guruparvakramavarṇanam* by Guṇaratnasūri,[3] the *Tapāgachchhapaṭṭāvalīsūtra* by Dharmasāgaragaṇi[4] (both Śvetāmbara works) and the *Pravachanaparīkshā* by Yogīndradeva[5] (a Digambara work), it has assumed the special meaning of "Digambara ascetic" in contradistinction to "Śvetāmbara asectic". This meaning is confirmed by the lexicographers Hemachandra (Śvetāmbara) and Śrīdharasena (Digambara),[6] and by the non-Jinistic *Prabodhachandrodaya*.[7] In which sense it is used in the *Avadānakalpalatā*,[8] the *Mudrārākshasa*[9], the *Pañchatantra*[10], and other works, seems as uncertain as in the above-quoted stanza. Since, however, Siddhasena is claimed by Digambaras as well as Śvetāmbaras as belonging to their respective sect[11]

1. Vide M. Winternitz : *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1933), P. 477, Note; Krishnamachariar : *A History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (Madras, 1937), Pp. 87 ff. and 110ff.; Jugal Kishor Mukhtar: स्वामी समन्तभद्र (Bombay, 1925), Pp. 133ff.
2. Vide Pt. Hargovind Das T. Sheth : *Pāia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo* (Calcutta, 1928), s. v. "khavaṇaya".
3. *Paṭṭāvalīsamuchchaya*, ed. by Muni Darśanavijaya, I, 1933, P. 26, St. 14.
4. l. l. P. 50, St. 9, Vṛitti.
5. Vide J. Mukhtar, l. l. P. 140.
6. Vide J. Mukhtar, l. l. P. 141.
7. Nirṇayasāgara Press Edition, 1924, P. 109.
8. Vide Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana: *A History of Indian Logic* (Calcutta, 1921), P. 173.
9. Fifth Tantra, Story of the "Golden Man".
10. Edition of Telang, Pp. 210 ff. and 219 ff. of the text; vide also P. 17 of the Introduction.
11. Details vide infra.

and since—for the matter of that—he probably flourished at a time when the earlier meaning may still have been in force, there is certainly nothing in the way of applying the expression to him.

In the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* of Vardhamāna, it is true, the word "Kshapaṇaka" or "Mahākshapaṇaka" seems to be used as the proper name of a grammarian, author of an *Anekārthakośa* or *Anekārthadhvanimañjarī*, and of an *Ekārthakośa*.[1]

Accordingly, the possibility might be considered whether the author of the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*, too, has not used the word as a proper noun rather than a generic one, applied to an author who represented that station in life. A glance on the context, however, shows that six out of the "Nine Gems" (*viz.*, Amarasiṁha, Śaṅku, Ghaṭakharpara, Kālidāsa, Varāhamihira and Vararuchi) are mentioned twice, *viz.*, once as "Gems" and another time as "Kavis" or "Kālatantra-kavis" respectively. It is therefore likely that the "Kshapaṇaka" in the group of "Gems" is nothing but a second reference, under his generic designation, to Śrutasena who figures in the preceding stanza as a "Kālatantra-kavi". That "Śrutasena," according to prosodic and grammatical rules, is a regular substitute for "Siddhasena", has been pointed out by the commentator of the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* Bhāvaratna[2]. It is further corroborated by the fact that, though none of Siddhasena Divākara's astronomical works survives, yet an astronomer author Siddhasena is testified by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛihajjātaka*[3].

The mentioning of this "Śrutasena" alone would therefore be sufficient evidence to show that once, what-

1. Vide Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, s. v. "Kshapaṇaka".
2. Vide Commentary to Stanza 9, l.l.
3. Vide Aufrecht, l.l., s. v. "Siddhasena".

ever may be the actual time of composition of the *Jyotir-vidābharaṇa*, a non-Jinistic tradition did exist which connected Siddhasena and Vikramāditya as contemporaries. The commentator further quotes four panegyrical stanzas which Siddhasena Divākara is related to have composed in honour of Vikramāditya.

2. SIDDHASENA AND VIKRAMĀDITYA IN JAINA LITERATURE

The episode of the four Ślokas referred to by Bhāvaratna is one of the Vikramāditya-Siddhasena stories found in the Jaina Prabandhas and Kathānakas[1]. It relates how Siddhasena, seeking an interview with King Vikramāditya and stopped at the palace gate by the doorkeeper, sent in to the king a poetic Sanskrit message stating that, with four Ślokas in his hand, a mendicant friar was waiting outside, wondering whether he should come or go. Allowed entrance by a similar Sanskrit stanza of the king, Siddhasena entered, recited his four Ślokas, and thus won the favour of the king.

Another well-known episode is that of the Jina statue which Siddhasena caused to appear out of a Śiva liṅga in the presence of the king by the recitation of some of his renowned hymns, and of the subsequent restitution to the Jainas of the temple concerned, and the endowment of the latter with the substantial grant

1. *E.g.*, Prabhāchandrāchārya's *Prabhāvakacharita*, ed. by Jinavijaya Muni (Singhi Jaina Series No. 13, 1940), P. 58, St. 121 ff.; Merutuṅgāchārya's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* (ibidem No. 1), P. 7, Note (Version "D"); Rājaśekharasūri's *Prabandhakośa* (ibidem No. 6), P. 20, Para 26; Saṅghatilakasūri's *Samyaktvasaptatikā-vṛitti* (Devachandra Lālabhai Pustakoddhāra No. 35), Pp. 139 ff.; Śubhaśīlagaṇi's *Vikramacharitra* (ed. Paṇḍita Bhagavāndāsa, Saṁvat 1996), P. 63, St. 135 ff.; Vijayalakshmīsūri's *Upadeśaprāsāda* (Rājanagara, 1938), Pp. 61ff. Bhāvaratna, too, was a Śvetāmbara Jaina Sādhu.

of several hundreds of villages[1]. With this episode I have dealt in my article "जैन साहित्य और महाकाल मन्दिर".[2]

A third story tells how Vikrama, hearing people in the street refer to Siddhasena as "Sarvajña-putra" and desirous of testing the appropriateness of this epithet, greeted the ascetic by mental obeisance only, in response to which the latter, with loud voice and lifted-up hand, extended his "Dharmalābha", the formula with which Śvetāmbara Sādhus are still accustomed to greet laymen[3].

Significant is the reference to a Jaina temple at Oṁkāranagara (or Oṁkārapura resp.),[4] for the erection of which Siddhasena is related to have obtained King Vikramāditya's permission and which is described as

1. *Prabhāvakacharita*, l. l. P. 59, St. 130 ff.; *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Version "D", l. l. P. 7, Note; *Prabandhakośa*, l. l. P. 18, Para 26; Jinaprabhasūri: *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (Singhi Jaina Series No. 10), P. 88f.; *Prabandhachintāmaṇi-sambaddha Purātana Prabandha-saṁgraha* (Singhi Jaina Series No. 2), P. 10, Para 15; Tapāchārya: *Kalyāṇamandirastotra-ṭīkā* (vide R. B. Hiralal: *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS in the C. P. and Berar*, Nagpur, 1926, Pp. XII ff.); *Samyaktvasaptatikā-vṛitti*, l.l. Pp. 139 ff.; Śubhaśīla : *Vikramacharitra*, l.l. P. 95, St. 1 ff.; *Upadeśaprāsāda*, l.l. Pp. 60 ff.
2. In the Vikrama Two Millennium Commemoration Volume विक्रमस्मृतिग्रंथ in Hindi under publication by the Gwalior Government.
3. *Prabhāvakacharita*, l. l. P. 55, St. 61; *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, l. l. P. 7; *Prabandhakośa*, l.l. P. 16, Para 24; *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, l.l. P. 89; *Samyaktvasaptatikā-vṛitti*, l. l. Pp. 139 ff.; *Purātana Prabandhasaṁgraha*, l.l. P. 117, Para 263; Śubhaśīla: *Vikramacharitra*, l.l. P. 63, St. 119 ff.; *Upadeśaprāsāda*, l.l. Pp. 59 ff.; Bhadreśvara: *Kathāvalī*, as quoted by L. Gandhi in the Introduction to his edition of *Apabhraṁśakāvyatrayī* (G. O. S. No. 37), P. 74, Note 1.
4. Probably identical with "Oṁkāranātha", which Nundo Lal De in *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* (Calcutta Oriental Series, 1927), P. 142, states to be the same as ancient Māhishmatī or Māndhātā, situated on an island in the Narmadā, 32 miles n. w. of Khandwa, and representing the oldest of the Śiva temples and one of the great liṅgas of Mahādeva.

having surpassed in height and splendour the famous temple of Śiva situated there[1].

In some of the Prabandhas, Siddhasena is said to have predicted on Vikramāditya's question—in true Purāṇa style—that the next Śrāvaka king worthy to be compared with him would be Kumārapāla, who would arise 1199 years after him[2]. According to the *Purātana Prabandha-saṁgraha,* the pertinent stanza was preserved in the "Kuṇḍageśvara-" or "Kuṇḍigeśvara-Temple", or, according to the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi,* in the "Kudaṅgeśvara-Temple" in Malwa[3].

Of historical interest is also the information, found in the *Prabhāvakacharita* exclusively[4], that King Vikramāditya, advised by Siddhasena Divākara, caused the ancient Jaina place of pilgrimage Broach ("Bhṛigupura") to be repaired.

Somewhat separate from the Prabandhas and Kathānakas stands the reference to Vikrama and his Guru which Ratnaśekharasūri gives in his *Vidhikaumudī* (or *Śrāddhavidhi-Vṛitti*) and which has obviously been literally copied by the author of the *Ashṭāhnikavyākhyāna*[5]. Here Vikramāditya, the royal disciple of

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1. *Prabandhakośa,* l.l. P. 19, Para 27; *Samyaktvasaptatikā-vṛitti,* l.l. Pp. 139 ff. (the name is here mis-spelt as "*Chuṁkārapura*"); Śubhaśīla: *Vikramacharitra,* l.l. P. 63, St. 131 ff.; *Upadeśaprāsāda,* l.l. P. 61; without referring to the above episode, Jinaprabhasūri in his *Vividhatīrthakalpa,* l. l. P. 86, mentions, in other connection, a temple of the "Sahasraphaṇin Pārśvanātha", located on the "Oṁkāraparvata"; the *Upadeśaprāsāda* too refers to the above temple as to a Pārśvanātha temple.
2. *Prabandhachintāmaṇi,* l.l. Pp. 8 and 78; *Prabandhakośa,* l.l. P. 17, Para 24; *Vividhatīrthakalpa,* l. l. P. 89; *Purātana Prabandha-saṁgraha,* l. l. P. 123, 38.
3. Vide my above referred-to article for details.
4. l.l. P. 43, St. 77.
5. *Vidhikaumudī* (Jaina Ātmānanda Sabhā, Saṁ. 1974, Pp. 165 ff.; *Ashṭāhnikavyākhyāna* (Ibid., Saṁ. 1860), P. 7.

Siddhasena, is referred to as the example of a distinguished visitor to places of pilgrimage, who went to Śatruñjaya with a huge procession and with all pomp and formality, accompanied by 5000 Jainācharyas including Siddhasena Divākara, 14 kings adorned with their royal diadems, 70 lakhs of Śrāvaka families, 1 krore 10 lakh and 9,000 cars, 18 lakhs of horses, 7,600 elephants, besides camels, bullocks, etc., untold.

In his *Laghu Śatruñjayakalpa*, Dharmaghoshasūri[1] likewise mentions Vikrama in connection with this sacred place of the Jainas, which is stated to have been repaired by him.

According to Dhaneśvarasūri's *Śatruñjayamāhātmya*[2], Mahāvīra predicts to Indra that 466 years and 45 days after his Nirvāṇa King Vikrama would free the earth from debt and subsequently replace the Vīra-Saṁvat by his own Saṁvatsara.

Based mostly on the above-mentioned and similar sources, which have not yet been made available in print[3], are a number of brief references to Vikrama and Siddhasena, his Guru, sometimes only alluding to one or another of the above-related episodes, in later Jaina literature, such as Achalakīrti's *Vishāpahārastotra*-

1. *Śrī Śatruñjaya-Mahātīrthādi-Yātrā-Vichāra* (Bhavnagar, Saṁ. 1985), Pp. 193 ff.

2. Vide Gujarati translation, published by the Jaina Dharma Prasāraka Sabhā, Bombay, Saṁ. 1956, P. 488. Though this work claims to have been composed in Saṁ. 477 (l.l. P. 498), the *vaticinatio post eventum* re King Kumārapāla contained therein illustrates its real age clearly enough.

3. Some further literature is given in M. D. Desai's *Short History of Jaina Literature* (Bombay, 1933), Paras 150 ff., 683, 899, and Note 524; vide also *Sanmatitarka* edited by Pt. S. Sanghavi and Pt. B. Doshi (Shri Jain Shvetambar Education Board, Bombay, 1939), Introduction.

bhāshā,[1] Banārasīdāsa's *Kalyāṇamandirastotra-bhāshā*[2], Bṛindāvana's *Maṅgalāshṭaka*[3], and *Gurvāvalīstotra*[4].

Generally not much older than all the above works, none of which is, so far as can be ascertained, composed previous to A. D. 1200[5], are the references contained in the Paṭṭāvalīs and kindred works mentioned above, such as Dharmaghoshasūri's *Dusamākāla-Samaṇasaṁgha-Thayaṁ*, or rather its Avachūri,[6] Ravivardhanagaṇi's *Paṭṭāvalīsāroddhāra*[7], an anonymous *Guru-Paṭṭāvalī*[8], *Kharataragachchha-Sūri-Paramparā-Praśasti*[9], *Kharataragachchha-Paṭṭāvalī* Nos. 1 and 2[10], the anonymous *Ratṇasañchaya-Prakaraṇam*[11], and Pradyumnasūri's *Vichārasāra-Prakaraṇa*[12].

Still, works of this type are assumed to contain, by way of quotations, passages of very high antiquity. As a matter of fact, the pertinent passages of the last-named two works betray, by their very wordings, origin

1. *Jainārṇava*, No. 9, P. 65.
2. l.l. No. 8, P. 60.
3. *Bṛihajjinavāṇīsaṁgraha* No. 57, P. 158, St. 7.
4. l.l. P. 156, St. 23.
5. *Prabhāvakacharita* 1278 A. D., *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* 1305 A. D., *Vividhatīrthakalpa* 1333 A. D., *Prabandhakośa* 1451 A. D., *Samyaktvasaptatikā-vṛitti* 1366 A. D., Śubhaśīla's *Vikramacharitra* 1443 A. D., *Vidhikaumudī* 1450 A. D., Dharmaghoshasūri's death 1301 A. D., *Upadeśaprāsāda* 1787 A. D.
6. *Paṭṭāvalīsamuchchaya*, edited by Muni Darśanavijaya, Viramgam, 1933 A. D., P. 17; re its time of composition, vide last Note.
7. l. l. P. 150; composed 1683 A. D.
8. l. l. P. 166.
9. *Kharataragachchha-Paṭṭāvalī-Saṁgraha*, compiled by Śrī Jinavijaya (Calcutta, 1932), Pp. 2 ff., composed 1528 A. D.
10. l.l. Pp. 9 and 18.
11. Quoted by Kalyāṇavijaya in *Vīranirvāṇa aur Jaina-kālagaṇanā* (*Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā*, Vols. 10-11), P. 65, Note.
12. The pertinent passage is quoted from Peterson's *Third Report* by Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana in his *History of Indian Logic* (Calcutta, 1921), P. 173. Pradyumnasūri flourished in the first half of the 13th century.

from a common old source, and also the extent to which the original has been contorted. Both do not mention any relationship between Vikrama and Siddhasena, it is true, but they clearly state them to have belonged to approximately the same age.

(1) *Ratnasañchaya-Prakaraṇa* :

चउसयसत्तरि वरिसे वीराओ विक्कमो जाओ ॥५६॥

पंचेव य वरिससए सिद्धसेणो दिवायरो जाओ ।
सत्तसय वीस अहिए कालिगगुरु सक्कसंथुणिओ ॥५७॥

"470 years after Vīra, Vikrama flourished. 500 years after Vīra, Siddhasena Divākara flourished. 720 years after Vīra, Guru Kālaka who was praised by Indra."

(2) *Vichārasāra-Prakaraṇa* :

....

पंचेव य वरिससए सिद्धसेणदिवायरो य जयपयडो ।
छच्चसए वीसहिए सक्कथुऊ अज्जरक्खिपहू ॥२६॥

"500 years afterwards, Siddhasena Divākara of well-known glory, and 620 years afterwards, the Lord Āryarakshita, praised by Indra."[1]

Works of this last category claim by their very character to be treated as historical sources. Not only this, but even works of the former type, *i. e.*, the Prabandhas, etc., have been tapped for historical data by Bühler in his Biography of Hemachandra[2]. Accordingly, it might be expected that the above rich literature in its totality should allow Siddhasena Divākara's historical whereabouts to be conveniently settled.

1. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana seems to be unaware that the years are counted from Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa, as he quotes this passage in support of his theory that Siddhasena and the other "Gems" were contemporary with Yaśodharman!

2. Professor G. Bühler's *The Life of Hemachandra*, translated by M. Patel (Singhi Jaina Series, No. 11).

3. HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE VIKRAMĀDITYA-SIDDHASENA LITERATURE

Yet the task of reconstructing history from the Vikramāditya-Siddhasena literature mentioned above is beset with difficulties, as a number of the data which it supplies contradict each other, while others are ruled out as anachronisms or as otherwise improbable. Where, *e. g.*, did Siddhasena come from ? Was he, as most of the Prabandhas would make posterity believe, the son of Devarshi, Vikramāditya's Purohita of Ujjain of Kātyāyana-Gotra, and of his wife Devaśrī[1], or was he the "Karṇāṭabhaṭṭa-Divākara", who had immigrated from the Dakshiṇāpatha, as other works state[2] ? Was, accordingly, Karṇāṭabhaṭṭa-Divākara his original name, which later, at his initiation, was changed to "Siddhasena Divākara", or was it Siddhasena, changed to "Kumudachandra" at his initiation and again to "Siddhasena Divākara" at his consecration as an Āchārya, or was "Siddhasena Divākara" an honorary title conferred on him by King Devapāla of Karmārapura[3]?

Was his sister's name Siddhaśrī, Siddhasarasvatī, or Bālasarasvatī, as those works state[4], contradicting one another ?

Was it the Mahākāla Temple where he met Vikramāditya and where his recitation worked the alleged miracle of the Jina statue, or was it the temple

1. *Prabhāvakacharita, Prabandhakośa,* Tapāchārya's *Kalyāṇamandira-stotra-ṭīkā, Samyaktvasaptatikā-vṛitti, Upadeśaprāsāda,* l. l.; some versions have the Prakrit equivalents of the above names.
2. *Vividhatīrthakalpa*; the particular version of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* to which Pt. Sanghavi and Pt. Doshi refer in their Introduction to *Sanmatitarka*, l. l.
3. The latter according to the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*.
4. The first name is given in the *Prabhāvakacharita*, the second in the *Prabandhakośa* and the *Upadeśaprāsāda*, and the third in the *Samyaktvasaptatikā-vṛitti*.

of Kudaṅgeśvara? Were this statue, the temple where it appeared and the place of pilgrimage into which the latter developed after its restitution to the Jainas sacred to Pārśvanātha or to Ādinātha[1]?

Was he a disciple of Vṛiddhavādin whose original name was Mukunda[2], or of Dharmāchārya[3]?

Anyhow, the date of Vṛiddhavādin, Dharmāchārya and Siddhasena himself is unanimously declared to be in the vicinity of the starting year of the Vikrama Saṁvat, and all three are explicitly stated to have been contemporary with Kālakāchārya, the famous Śakaguru[4]. But simultaneously Siddhasena is also stated to have been a descendant of Pādaliptasūri, author of the much praised Prakrit novel *Taraṅgavatī* and founder of Pālitāna, the same Pādalipta who is mentioned as coevel with Nāgārjuna (the latter flourishing in the time of Kanishka), with Nāgahastin (who, according to the *Nandisūtra*, was the 22nd Yugapradhāna and whose predecessor Āryarakshita, the 21st, is stated to have lived 620 after Vīra, as has been shown above), and with Ārya Khapuṭa (known to have died in Vikrama Saṁvat 484)[5]!

1. Vide my article referred to above, where these problems have been dealt with in detail.
2. So all the Prabandhas, the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, Dharmasāgaragaṇi's *Tapāgachchha-Paṭṭāvali-sūtra*, the *Kharataragachchha-Sūri-Paramparā-Praśasti*, the *Kalyāṇamandirastotra-ṭīkā*, l. l.
3. So Dharmaghoshasūri's *Dusamākāla-samaṇasaṁgha-thayaṁ*, l. l.
4. Thus all the Prabandhas and Kathānakas as well as the Paṭṭāvalis referred to. The only point of difference, *viz.*, the fact that the contemporaneous pontiff, Ārya Siṁhagiri, is in some sources declared to have been the 13th, in others the 12th, and in a third group the 15th after Mahāvīra, is unessential here.
5. Re Pādalipta and Nāgārjuna vide K. P. Jayaswal: *The Murunda Dynasty and the Date of Pādalipta* in *Malaviya Commemoration Volume.* Re Nāgahastin vide Muni Kalyāṇavijaya, l.l. Pp. 125 ff.; he is supposed to have died 676 years after Mahāvīra. Re Ārya Khapuṭa vide *Prabhāvakacharita*, P. 43, and Muni Kalyāṇavijaya, l.l. P. 105, Note.

The *Prabhāvakacharita* moreover relates that this same Pādalipta lived at the court of King Kṛishṇa of Mānakhetapura[1], *i. e.*, Malkhed, the capital of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, though the latter was founded, according to present assumptions[2], by King Amoghavarsha (815-877 A. D.), or though in any case the earliest Kṛishṇarājạ who could have ruled there, even if Malkhed is assumed to have existed before, would be Kṛishṇa I who died between 772 and 775 A. D.[3] !

What to say, moreover, re Siddhasena's stay at Chitrakūṭa, related in several sources[4], in view of the fact that this place was founded as late as Saṁ. 609[5] ?

And what about his being coeval with Kālidāsa, Vararuchi, Bhartṛihari, as told in some of the Prabandhas[6], in agreement with the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* which adds Varāhamihira, Amarasiṁha and other literary personalities now generally assumed to have flourished centuries after the beginning of the Vikrama era ?

Besides, the bewildered reader might also ask why there is no unanimity re the important question of the origin of the Vikrama Saṁvat itself, which, according to some texts, was started in commemoration of Vikrama's freeing the earth from debt[7], according to

1. l.l. Pp. 36 and 39.
2. Vide Altekar: *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times* (Poona, 1934), P. 46 f.
3. Vide Altekar, l.l., P. 45.
4. *Prabhāvakacharita, Prabandhakośa, Samyaktvasaptatikā-vṛitti, Upadeśaprāsāda.*
5. Vide *Paṭṭāvalīsamuchchaya*, l.l. P. 202.
6. *Prabandhachintāmaṇi, Purātana Prabandha-saṁgraha.*
7. *Prabhāvakacharita*, l.l. P. 25, St. 90 f. and P. 49, St. 71 f.; *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, l.l. Pp. 88 and 39; *Śatruñjayamāhātmya* l.l.

others in remembrance of his death[1], according to a third group to immortalize his accession to the throne[2], and according to one more opinion from the date of his birth[3], while nowhere at all in Jaina literature it is found connected with a victory over the Śakas directly.

Even regarding the very starting point of the Vikrama Saṁvat, counted in years of the Vīra era, there is no agreement, though the discrepancies are inconsiderable[4].

A certain amount of anachronisms and other inconsistencies might certainly be conceded to the literature referred to, without denying that it may contain some kernel of historical truth. The task, however, to peel off all secondary matter, and neatly to reveal this kernel, seems hopeless in view of the inadequacy of the expedients available so far.

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1. *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, l.l. P. 10; *Himavanta-Therāvalī* quoted by Muni Kalyāṇavijaya, l.l. Pp. 117 ff.; a number of references in old Digambara texts are given in the Introduction to *Shaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, Vol. I, by H. Jaina (Amraoti, 1939), P. (34), Note 2.
2. Vide the Gāthās quoted by Muni Kalyāṇavijaya, l.l. P. 177.
3. This opinion I have seen represented so far by a single passage only, which Pandit Hiralal, Siddhānta-Śāstrī, Ujjain, found in a MS of the *Śrī-Vasunandi-Śrāvakāchāra* of the Digambara Library of Indore (Fol.94) and which I herewith render with the Śāstrīji's permission :

   सत्तरि चउसदजुत्तो जिणकाले विक्कमो हवेइ जम्मो।
   अट्ठ वरिस बाललीला सोलस वासे भमिए देसे ॥
   रस पण वासे रज्जं कुणंति मिच्छोपदेशसंजुत्तो।
   चालीस वरिस जिणवरधम्मं पालीय सुरपयं लहियं ॥

   "After 470 years of the Jina-era, Vikrama's birth took place, 8 years lasted his childhood, 16 years he roamed about in the country, 56 years he ruled as an unbeliever, 40 years he lived as a follower of the noble Jaina religion, and then went to Heaven." Accordingly, Vikrama would have reached an age of 120 years !
4. Muni Kalyāṇavijaya, l.l., and *Shaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, Introduction, l.l.

4. OTHER EXPEDIENTS FOR A DEFINITION OF SIDDHASENA'S TIME

These expedients mostly consist in passages of literary works containing either citations from Siddhasena's works, or references to them or to the author as such. Much valuable material of this type has been collected and valuated by Pt. S. Sanghavi and Pt. B. Doshi in their Introduction to the *Sanmatitarka*[1], as well as by Pt. N. Premi[2] and others[3]. Still on studying it, one cannot help the impression that even in its totality it is but a feeble structure on which to rest the full weight of Siddhasena's chronology, in view of the fact that the time of most of the earlier authors who mention the logician-poet or his works is itself uncertain as yet.

Leaving aside as irrelevant for the problem under consideration all references posterior to 850 A. D., the following would be the material available.

(1) Jinasena ("Bhagavajjinasena"), *Ādipurāṇa* (composed approximately 840 A. D.)[4], where the "Poet Siddhasena" is extolled as a "knife-blade (to cut down) false notions" and "a lion (to tear to pieces) the herds of elephants consisting in disputants, his mane being composed of the stand-points of Jaina Logic (*naya*)".

(2) Vīrasena, *Dhavalā* (*Shaṭkhaṇḍāgama-ṭīkā*, composed 826 A. D.), where seven stanzas of Siddhasena's *Sanmatitarka* are quoted, the work itself being referred to as "*Sammaisutta*"[5].

1. Vide supra.
2. *Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa*, Bombay, 1942.
3. M. D. Desai, l.l.
4. Premi, l.l. Pp. 421, 512 and 536. This Jinasena was a disciple of the Vīrasena mentioned below under No. 2.
5. The *Shaṭkhaṇḍāgama* (Amraoti, 1939), Pp. 12 ff., 80 and 91, as well as P. (53) of the learned Introduction by H. Jain.

(3) Jinasena, *Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa* (composed 783 A. D.), where Siddhasena's verses in general ("sūktayaḥ") are mentioned[1].

(4) Haribhadrasūri, *Pañchavastuka* (composed between 650 and 777 A. D.)[2], Stanzas 1047-1048, where Siddhasena is referred to as "Āchārya Siddhasena, the Omniscient one in the lore of the Scriptures (Śrutakevalin), whose fame is established in his *Sanmatitarka* and whose name "Divākara" is based on the fact that he resembles the sun (*divākara*) with regard to this night of the Duḥshamā period"[3].

In his *Anekārthajayapatākā*, this same Haribhadrasūri speaks of a Vṛitti to *Sanmatitarka* composed by Mallavādin[4].

(5) Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara, ***Viśesha-Chūrṇi*** to the ***Niśītha-Sūtra*** (composed in 676 A. D.) with three separate references as under[5] :

(*a*) mentioning the *Sanmatitarka* ("Sammati") as a "work fit to enrich faith and knowledge";

(*b*) speaking of the same ("Sammadi") as of a "work fit to enrich religious faith";

(*c*) saying that Siddhasenāchārya, by miraculous powers which he had acquired from studying the *Yoniprābhṛitaka* and other works, had produced artificial horses.

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1. Premi, l.l. Pp. 420 ff. and 536. This Jinasena was a disciple of Kīrtisena and different from the Jinasena of Item No. 1.
2. Vide Haribhadrasūri, *Anekārthajayapatākā*, ed. by H. R. Kapadia (G. O. S. No. 88), Introduction, P. XXVI f.; *Śrī-Pañchavastuka-Granthaḥ* (Devachandra-Lālabhāi-Jainapustakoddhāra No. 69, 1927), P. 156; *Sanmatitarka*, Introduction Pp. 1 ff.
3. *I. e.*, the present 5th sub-period of the running Avasarpiṇī or world period of Degeneration which Jaina dogmatic assumes.
4. Vide N. 2 above; re Mallavādin vide infra, Item 8; *Sanmatitarka*, l. l. P. 10.
5. *Sanmatitarka*, P. 3, Note 2.

In the *Daśa-Chūrṇi*, ascribed to the same Jinadāsa, a passage refers to Siddhasenāchārya's method of interpreting one and the same Sūtra in various ways[1].

(6) Jinabhadragaṇi, *Viśeshāvaśyaka-Bhāshya* (composed in 611 A. D.), discussing the main doctrines of Siddhasena[2].

(7) Śivakoṭi, *Ratnamālā* (of doubtful date), mentioning as previous to Samantabhadra[3] a "Bhaṭṭāraka Siddhasena" among the sages whose blessings are invoked and thus corroborating the Śvetāmbara Paṭṭāvalīs in that point[4].

(8) Mallavādin, Commentary on the *Sanmatitarka* testified by Haribhadrasūri (vide supra, Item No. 4). The work itself is not preserved. From the fact that Mallavādin also wrote annotations to Dharmottara's Commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu*, he is assumed to belong to the 5th century of the Vikrama era[5].

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1. *Sanmatitarka*, P. 3 f.
2. This important item is quoted from a letter of Pt. S. Sanghavi dated 21st February 1944: it is hoped that the details will soon be made generally known. Vide also the now antiquated reference in *Sanmatitarka*, Pp. 16 ff.
3. According to Pt. J. Mukhtar, *Svāmī Samantabhadra* (Jaina Grantha Ratnākara Kāryālaya, Bombay, 1925), P. 196, Samantabhadra would have flourished during the first five centuries of the Vikrama era.
4. Re Śivakoṭi vide *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā* ed. by A. N. Upadhye (Singhi Jain Series No. 17), Bombay, 1943, Introduction P. 53, as well as N. Premi, l. l. P. 27 f.: both scholars doubt the identity of this Śivakoṭi with the author of the *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā*, so that his date would remain uncertain.

The following Paṭṭāvalīs mention Samantabhadra as later than Siddhasena: Dharmasāgaragaṇi, *Tapāgachchha-Paṭṭāvalī-sūtra*, l. l. P. 47, Ravivardhanagaṇi, *Paṭṭāvalīsāroddhāra*, l. l. P. 151; Anonymous *Paṭṭāvalī*, l.l. P. 167; *Kharataragachchha-Paṭṭāvalī* No. 2, l. l. P. 19, etc.

5. M. D. Desai, l.l. Pp. 134 ff.; *Sanmatitarka*, l.l. P. 10.

(9) The earliest reference re Siddhasena so far traced is that in Pūjyapāda's (Devanandin's) *Jainendra-Vyākaraṇa* (5; 1; 7)) of approximately 450 A. D. (more accurately: the beginning of the 6th Vikrama century)[1]. This reference consists merely of the Sūtra *"vetteḥ Siddhasenasya"*, preceded and followed by similar Sūtras which refer to Bhūtabali, Prabhāchandra, Samantabhadra, and other ancient Jaina authors. In view of the undeniable chronological as well as spiritual proximity of the latter to Siddhasena, it can safely be assumed that the passage refers to him, though, as Pt. Mukhtar and Pt. Premi point out, its exact interpretation would presuppose researches into the linguistic peculiarities of Siddhasena's works[2].

(10) To these Jaina references may be added the above referred to passage of Varāhamihira's *Bṛihajjātaka*, where an astronomer author Siddhasena is mentioned. Varāhamihira was probably alive in Śaka Saṁvat 427= A. D. 505, if not a century prior[3].

Though Haribhadrasūri's and Jinadāsagaṇi's way of referring to Siddhasena indicates that the latter was in their eyes a person of remote age[4], still the above literature does not allow of further conclusions re Siddhasena's time beyond the fixation of his *terminus ante quem* for about 450 A. D.

1. Premi, l. l. P. 117; *Sanmatitarka*, l.l. P. 10 f.; J. Mukhtar, l. l. Pp. 250 ff.
2. Recently, H. D. Velankar, *Jinaratnakośa*, Poona 1944, P. 146, has also expressed the opinion that the names referred to are probably those of "well-known Jaina authors who used the particular grammatical forms, and not necessarily of old grammarians".
3. S. K. Dikshit, *Chandragupta II Sāhasāṅka, alias Vikramāditya, and Nine Jewels* (*Indian Culture*, VI., Pp. 191 ff. and 377 ff.), interprets the pertinent chronogram of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* as Śaka 327=405A.D., which has been refuted by K. M. K. Sarma in his article *The Jyotirvidābharaṇa and the Nine Jewels* (*The Poona Orientalist*, IV, Pp. 205 ff.).
4. Vide *Sanmatitarka*, Introduction Pp. 2 and 6.

Those references, culled as they are from Digambara (Items Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 9) and Śvetāmbara works (Items Nos. 4, 5, 6, 8), illustrate the fact alluded to before that Siddhasena is acclaimed as an authority by both the sects, similar to Umāsvāti (or "Umāsvāmī") and Samantabhadra, so much so that the problem to which sect he belonged remained long unsolved. It was only internal evidence which enabled the editors of the *Sanmatitarka* to decide that he "cannot have been a Digambara"[1].

In the meantime, the inscription on a Jina statue recently found in the Chandraprabha Temple of Jaisalmer has come to their support. It reads as follows[2] :—

(१) श्रीनागेंद्रकुले
(२) श्रीसिद्धसेनदिवा (–)
(३) कराचार्यगच्छे अ(–)
(४) म्माछुप्ताभ्यां कारिता
(५) संवत १०८६

This legend also shows that Siddhasena belonged to the Nāgendra-Kula. As, according to the Paṭṭāvalīs, this Nāgendra-Kula was founded on Vajrasena's death 620 years after Mahāvīra, *i. e.* in 93 A. D., along with the Chandra-, Nirvṛiti-, and Vidyādhara-Kulas[3], it is clear that he could not have belonged to the Vidyādhara-Kula. If, therefore, the Prabandhas declare Siddhasena to have belonged to the "Vidyādhara-Vara-Āmnāya"[4],

1. Vide *Sanmatitarka*, Introduction P. 159.
2. Vide Sarabhai Manilal Navab, "Siddhasena Divākara Āchārya Gachchha sambandhī ek Ullekh" in *Jaina Satya Prakāśa*, 7th year, 1942, P. 433.
3. Dharmasāgaragaṇi, *Tapāgachchha-Paṭṭāvalī-sūtra*, 1. 1. P. 48; Anonymous *Paṭṭāvalī*, 1.1. P. 166; *Kharataragachchha-Paṭṭāvalī* No. 2, 1. 1. P. 18, etc.
4. *Prabhāvakacharita*, 1. 1. P. 54.

to the "Vidyādhara-Vaṁśa"[1], to the "Vidyādharendra-Gachchha[2]; or to the "Vidyādhara-Gachchha" respectively, all these references might point to the "Vidyādharī Śākhā" (founded centuries earlier by Vidyādhara Gopāla), as inferred by Pts. Sanghavi and Doshi[3], on the basis of other premises.

To return to the question of Siddhasena's date, H. Jacobi and afterwards P. L. Vaidya had previously tried to fix the same with the help of internal evidence. Tracing, *e. g.*, the term "*bhrānta*" which Siddhasena uses to the Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti, they inferred that Siddhasena must have lived after Dharmakīrti and thus placed him in the second half of the 7th century A. D. This theory was, however, proved to be untenable by Pts. Sanghavi and Doshi.[4] Another argument adduced in favour of a later date by Pt. Mukhtar[5] and based on a stanza which Siddhasena's *Sanmatitarka* appears to share with Samantabhadra's *Śrāvakāchāra* was likewise refuted by them.

On the basis of this material (excluding the above Items No. 2, details of 6, 7, and 10), the editors of the *Sanmatitarka* came to the conclusion that Siddhasena "most probably flourished in the fifth century of the Vikrama era", *i. e.* in the "Gupta Period"[6]. In his Foreword to the English translation, it is true, Dalsukh Malvania had expressed the opinion that some Buddhist books published recently promised to "lead us to fix the date in question in the sixth or the seventh century

1. *Ibid.*, l. l. P. 61.
2. *Samyaktvasaptatikā-vṛitti*, l.l., and *Upadeśaprāsāda*, l. l.
3. *Sanmatitarka*, Introduction P. 42.
4. Introduction to *Sanmatitarka*, l. l. Pp. 11 ff.
5. l. l. P. 15.
6. l. l. P. 17.

A. D."[1] In obvious supersession, however, Pt. Sanghavi has again confirmed his previous view, saying[2] that in the light of fresh researches re the time of the composition of Jinabhadragaṇi's *Viśeshāvaśyaka-Bhāshya*, in which Siddhasena's doctrines are discussed (vide above, Item No. 6), he now believes Siddhasena to have flourished in parts of the 5th and 6th centuries of the Vikrama era, which comes to the 5th century A. D.

Against this fixing of Siddhasena's time, however, the objection can be raised that, properly speaking, it confines itself to the *terminus ante quem* which, it is true, stands beyond doubt, while, on the other hand, the fixing of a *terminus a quo* cannot be said to have been achieved. Nor does it seem likely that it could be achieved with the method hitherto resorted to, *viz.*, by drawing conclusions from the dates of heterodox works which happen to contain technical terms or doctrines criticized by Siddhasena. For in view of the vast literature, which, though testified to have existed, is no longer available, it must be admitted that our knowledge of early Indian philosophy is relatively limited. It is, therefore, unsafe to state on the basis of the chance-remains available whether, in an individual case, a term or a doctrine appears in a certain work for the first time, or whether it represents one of the later links in the chain of Guru-paramparā lost to our view.

Thus, the question of Siddhasena's *terminus a quo* must be admitted to be still open.

5. THE GUṆAVACHANADVĀTRIṀŚIKĀ

It seems, however, that for its solution an expedient offers itself which has not been utilized so far by

1. I. I. P. IV.
2. In his personal letter referred to already : P. 229, Note 2.

the scholars who have dealt with Siddhasena's chronology : I mean the direct evidence which the poet himself so eloquently gives in one of his works[1].

This work is the "*Guṇavachanadvātriṁśikā*", the eleventh of those 21, or, under inclusion of the "*Nyāyāvatāra*", 22 Dvātriṁśikās which have survived out of Siddhasena's famous 32 Dvātriṁśikās testified to have once existed[2]. These Dvātriṁśikās, an appreciation of which is given in the Introduction to *Sanmatitarka*,[3] are all composed in high-flown Sanskrit and in various classical metres. All, with the exception of the *Guṇavachanadvātriṁśikā*, address themselves to Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṅkara. A great part of them are in fact hymns in praise of Mahāvīra. They mostly contain refutations of heterodox philosophical systems or expositions of certain aspects of Jaina Philosophy, while some deal with the rules of disputation and controversy. In the middle of these purely spiritual or philosophical hymns stands the *Guṇavachanadvātriṁśikā*, an isolated example of secular panegyrical poetry, which, however, shares the other characteristics of its surroundings, including their polemic nature.

In this Dvātriṁśikā, a royal patron is addressed, who is revealed as such a unique personality, standing out in bold relief against a back-ground of warfare, empire-building and ingenious rule that, with the help of contemporaneous literature, even a modern reader can

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1. At present, the following works of Siddhasena Divākara are available : (*a*) 21 of his "Dvātriṁśad-dvātriṁśikā", (*b*) Nyāyāvatāra, (*c*) Sanmatitarka, (*d*) Kalyāṇamandirastotra : vide Introduction to *Sanmatitarka*, l. l.
2. Vide *e. g. Prabhāvakacharita*, l.l. P. 59, St. 142; *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, l. l. P. 88; *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Version D, l. l. P. 7; *Prabandhakośa*, l. l. P. 18.
3. l. l. Pp. 156 ff.

guess who he was and thus infer when Siddhasena lived. In view of its historical importance and also for its own poetic merits, I render the poem here, critically emended on the basis of the printed edition[1] with the help of the two MSS which I was able to obtain[2].

The understanding of this poem is made somewhat difficult by the fact that behind the inspired eulogy with its graceful poetic figures hides itself a smart attack on the system of Vaiśeshika Philosophy[3] achieved with the help of occasional paranomasia. Thus the word "guṇa", the *leitmotiv*, as it were, of the whole poem, is sometimes used in its conventional meaning of "virtue", "merit", "excellent quality", sometimes as a logical *terminus technicus* meaning "quality" in contradistinction to *dravya*, "substance", while in some cases it is to

1. "Śrī-Siddhasena-Divākara-kṛita-granthamālā (*Ekaviṁśati-Dvātriṁśikā, Nyāyāvatāra, Sanmatisūtra* Mūla)", Śrī-Jaina-dharma-Prasāraka Sabhā, Bhavnagar, Saṁvat 1965, P. 15 f. ("Bh").

2. (*a*) "*Dvātriṁśad-dvātriṁśikā*", MS No. 32 of 1880/81 of the Government MSS Library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona ("P"), undated and without colophon. It contains the first 20 Dvātriṁśikās, including the poem under discussion which occupies Fols. 51 a—57 a and ends with the sub-colophon—"गुणवचनद्वात्रिंशिका समाप्ता ॥छ॥". A transcript I obtained through the courtesy of the Curator, Mr. P. K. Gode.

   (*b*) A MS, without signature or number, of the Vijayadharma-Lakshmī-Jñānamandira of Agra, Belanganj ("A"), which contains the first 21 Dvātriṁśikās, and was made available to me through the kindness of my Guru on the field of Jaināgama and Old Gujarātī studies, Muni Vidyāvijaya. Its colophon runs as follows: "॥ मिति आषाढ वदी १ भौमवासरे श्रीसंवत् १९६१ हस्ताक्षरेण पंडित बालाजी वैद्यस्य ॥" The poem under discussion has the sub-colophon: "गुणवचनद्वात्रिंशिका एकादशोऽध्याय: समाप्ता ॥".

3. Vide Stanzas 25 and 28. Here I must acknowledge my obligation to Pt. Hiralal, Siddhānta-Śāstrī, Ujjain, who, when I discussed the difficult 28th stanza with him, first recognized the allusions to Vaiśeshika Philosophy which it contains.

be understood as conveying both the meanings simultaneously. Other words too are used with a similar *double entendre*, as the text itself will make clear. Though I am not sure whether I have in every case been able to understand the meaning or meanings which the poet wanted to convey, still I add, with some hesitation, a translation, in order to facilitate the ensuing discussion. The text seems so full of allusions, among them such to contemporaneous persons and events, that it will perhaps never yield all its secrets to the modern reader, far remote as he is from the golden age of Siddhasena and his brilliant patron.

Here follows the text :

गुणवच्चनद्वात्रिंशिका

समानपुरुषस्य तावदपवादयन् कीदृशः
किमेव तु महात्मनामपरतन्त्रधीचक्षुषाम् ।
अपास्य विनयस्मृती भुवि यशः स्वयं कुर्वता
त्वयातिगुणवत्सलेन गुरवः परं व्यंसिताः ॥१॥

श्रीराश्रितेषु विनयाभ्युदयः सुतेषु
बुद्धिर्नयेषु रिपुवासगृहेषु तेजः ।
वक्तुं यथायमुदितप्रतिभो जनस्ते
कीर्तिं तथा वदतु तावदिहेति कश्चित् ॥२॥

एकां दिशं व्रजति यद् गतिमद् गतं च
तत्रस्थमेव च विभाति दिगन्तरेषु ।
यातं कथं दशदिगन्तविभक्तमूर्ति
युज्येत वक्तुमुत वा न गतं यशस्ते ॥३॥

सत्यं गुणेषु पुरुषस्य मनोरथोऽपि
श्लाघ्यः सतां ननु यथा व्यसनं तथैतत् ।
यत्पश्यतः समुदितैरबलेत्युपास्ता
कीर्तिस्तथा श्रुतिसुखानि वनानि याता ॥४॥

St. 1. Pṛithvī.

St. 2. Vasantatilakā.

St. 3. Vasantatilakā.—L. 4 : र्यु– Bh, A; र्युद्येत P.

St. 4. Vasantatilakā.—L. 3 : –लोव्यु– Bh; L. 4:—मुखानि Bh.

एतद् भो बृहदुच्यते हसतु मा कामं जनो दक्षिणः
स्वार्थारम्भपटुः परार्थविमुखो लज्जानपेक्षो भवान् ।
योऽन्यक्लेशसमर्जितान्यपि यशांस्युत्सार्य लक्ष्मीपथा
कीर्त्यैकार्णववर्षिणापि यशसा नाद्यापि संतुष्यसे ॥५॥

चाटुप्रीतेन मुक्ता यदियमगणिता दीयते राजलक्ष्मी-
रन्योन्येभ्यो नृपेभ्यस्त्वदुरसि नृपते यापि विश्रम्भलीना ।
मा भूदेष प्रसङ्गो निरनुनयमतेरस्य मय्यप्यतस्ते
कीर्तिस्तेनाप्रमेया न विनयचकिता सागरानप्यतीता ॥६॥

अवश्यं कर्तव्यः श्रियमभिलषता पक्षपातो गुणेषु
प्रसन्नायां तस्यां कथमिव च न ते लालनीया भवेयुः ।
किमेषां वृत्तान्तं न वहसि नृपते लालनीया त्वदाज्ञा
महेन्द्रादीनां यद्गुणपरितुलनादुर्विनीता गुणास्ते ॥७॥

अन्येषां पार्थिवानां भ्रमति दश दिशः कीर्तिरिन्दुप्रभाभा
त्वत्कीर्तेर्नास्ति शक्तिः पदमपि चलितुं किं भयात्सौकुमार्यात् ।
आ ज्ञातं नैतदेवं श्रुतिपथचकिता तेन गच्छत्यजस्रं
कीर्तिस्तेषां नृपाणां तव तु नरपते नास्ति कीर्तेरयातम् ॥८॥

अन्येऽप्यस्मिन्नरपतिकुले पार्थिवा भूतपूर्वा-
स्तैरप्येवं प्रणतसुमुखैरुद्धृता राजवंशाः ।
न त्वेवं तैर्गुरुपरिभवः स्पृष्टपूर्वो यथायं
श्रीस्ते राजन्नुरसि रमते सत्यभामासपत्नी ॥९॥

अगतिविधुरैर्लक्ष्मीं दृष्ट्वा चिरस्य सहोषितां
यदि किल परैरेकीभूतैर्गुणैस्त्वमुपाश्रितः ।
इति गुणजितं लोकं मत्वा नरेन्द्र सुरायसे
वदतु गुणवान् बुद्ध्यादीनां गुणः कतमस्तव ॥१०॥

St. 5. Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—L. 1: —द्गोवृ—P, A; दप्रिण: A; L. 2: स्वार्थरम्भपदुः P; लब्ध्वा P; "नो भवान् ॥ स्वार्थरंभपटुः परार्थविमुखो लज्जानपे—" A; L. 3: —समर्थि— P; L. 4: —ष्यते A.

St. 6. Sragdharā.—L. 2: —रान्यो— P; L. 3: —देषं P; मध्यप्य-- P.

St. 7. Śobhā. —L. 1: —लखता P; लखेता A; L. 3: वहिसि P.

St. 8. Sragdharā.—L. 2: —त्सोकु— P; L. 3; अन्यातं P, A; L. 4: —त्कीर्स्ते— A; नणते A; कीर्ति _ A.

St. 9. Mandākrāntā. —L. 2: —द्वृता— A; L. 3: —भव— P, A; L. 4: —सिमते P, A.

St. 10. Hariṇī. —L. 1: लक्ष्मी P, A; दृष्णा A; L. 3: गुणे P.

गन्धद्विपो मधुकरानिव पङ्कजेभ्यो
दानेन यो रिपुगणान् हरसि प्रवीरान्।
चित्रं किमत्र यदि तस्य तवैव राज-
न्नाज्ञां वहन्ति वसुधाधिपमौलिमालाः ॥११॥

एकेयं वसुधा बहूनि दिवसान्यासीद् बहूनां प्रिया
वस्यान्योन्यसुखाः कथं नरपते ते भद्रशीला नृपाः।
ईर्ष्यामत्सरितेन साद्य भवतैवात्माङ्कमारोपिता
शेषैस्त्वत्परितोषभावितगुणैर्गोपालवत्पाल्यते ॥१२॥

गृहाध्यक्षाः सिंहाः प्रमदवनचरा द्वीपिशार्दूलपोताः
कराग्रैः सिच्यन्ते वनगजकलभैर्दीर्घिकातीरवृक्षाः।
पुरद्वाररक्षा दिशि दिशि महिषा यूथगुल्माग्रशूरा
रुषानुध्यातानामतिललितमिदं जायते विद्विषां ते ॥१३॥

निर्मूलोच्छिन्नमूला भुजपरिघपरिस्पन्ददृप्तैर्नरेन्द्रैः
संक्षिप्तश्रीविताना मृगपतिपतिभिः शत्रुदेशाः क्रियन्ते।
किं त्वेतद्राजवृत्तं स्वरुचिपरिचयः शक्तिसंपन्नतेयं
भङ्क्त्वा यच्छत्रुवंशानुचितशतगुणान् राष्ट्रलक्ष्म्या करोषि ॥१४॥

सर्वेऽप्येकमुखा गुणा गुणपतिं मानं विना निर्गुणा
इत्येवं गुणवत्सलैर्नृपतिभिर्मानः परिष्वज्यते।
नान्यश्चैष तवापि किं च भवता लब्धास्पदस्तेष्वसौ
मत्तेनेव गजेन कोमलतरुर्निर्मूलमुत्खन्यते ॥१५॥

St. 11. Vasantatilakā. —L. 3: कमत्र P.

St. 12. Śārdūlavikrīḍita. —L. 2: वश्यान्योन्य— would be preferable! —सुखा A; L. 3: भवतैचा— P.

St. 13. Śobhā.—L. 1: गुहा—Bh; गृहाध्यताः A; L. 2: कारा— P; वनगतकलत्रै-दी— A; L. 3: —शूराः A; L. 4: —लतिलमि— P; जयते Bh, P, A.

St. 14. Sragdharā. —L. 1: निम्— P; —स्तला P; परिध— P; —हस्तै— A; L. 2: शक्र— P, A; L. 4: कत्रं—P, A.

St. 15. Śārdūlavikrīḍita. —L. 1: सर्वोऽ A; L. 2: परित्यज्यते Bh, P, A, corrected as per an oral suggestion of Dr. H. R. Diwekar, Controlling Officer, Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain. L. 3: —श्चैव Bh; लब्ध्वा— A; L. 4: गतेन A.

यत्प्राप्नोति यशस्तव क्षितिपते भ्रूभेदमुत्पादयन्
    किं तत्त्वच्चरणोपसन्नमुकुटः प्राप्नोति कश्चिन्नृपः ।
इत्येवं कुरुते स वल्लभयशास्त्वच्छासनातिक्रमं
    दर्पात्सूचितसन्मुखो न हि मृगः सिंहस्य न ख्याप्यते ॥१६॥

प्रसादयति निम्नगाः कलुषिताम्भसः प्रावृषा
    पुनर्नवसुखं करोति कुमुदैः सरः संगमम् ।
विघाटयति दिङ्मुखान्यवपुनाति चन्द्रप्रभां
    तथापि च दुरात्मनां शरदरोचका त्वद्द्विषाम् ॥१७॥

न वेद्मि कथमप्ययं सुररहस्यभेदः कृत-
    स्त्वया युधि हतः परं पदमुपैति विष्णोर्यथा ।
अतः प्रणयसंसृतामविगणय्य लक्ष्मीमसौ
    करोति तव सायकक्षममुरः सिषित्सुर्नृपः ॥१८॥

अन्योन्यावेक्षया स्त्री भवति गुणवती प्रायशो विप्लुता वा
    लोकप्रत्यक्षमेतत्क्षितिविषमतया चञ्चला श्रीर्यथासीत् ।
सैवान्यप्रीतिदानात्तव भुजवलयान्तःपुरप्राप्तमाना-
    मुर्वीं दृष्ट्वा यथावत्सलघु सुचरिता हारसख्यं करोति ॥१९॥

प्रसूतानां वृद्धिः परिणमति निःसंशयफला
    पुरावादश्चैव स्थितिरियमजेयेति नियमः ।
जगद्वृत्तान्तेऽस्मिन् विवदति तवेयं नरपते
    कथं वृद्धा च श्रीर्न च परुषितो यौवनगुणः ॥२०॥

St. 16. Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—L. 1: —भ्रूँ— P; L. 3: त्वच्चा— A, P, Bh; L. 4: दर्पास्तर्वित— P, दृर्पास्तर्वित— A, दर्पासूचित— Bh; व्याप्यते P.

St. 17. Pṛithvī.— L. 2:—मुखं P; L. 3: —रमु—A; L. 4:—कस्तद्द्विषाम् Bh, P, कस्तद्वि A.

St. 18. Pṛithvī.—L. 4: सायक; Bh; शिखि— A;—र्नृप Bh.

St. 19. Sragdharā.—L. 1:—न्यावक्ष— P, A; प्रायसो P,A; विष्णुता B ; L. 2: लोके P; वञ्चला A;—यथा— A; L. 4: उर्वी A; दयाव — Bh; .ु . ि[illegible] - P; —सङ्ख्यं A,—संख्यं Bh.

St. 20. Śikhariṇī.—L.1: निःशंश— A;—कला Bh; L. 3: —स्मिन्न— A; L. 4: कथ A; व श्री— P, A; व परु— A.

अन्तर्गूढसहस्रलोचनधरं भ्रूभेदवज्रायुधं
कस्त्वा मानुषविग्रहं हरिरिति ज्ञातुं समर्थो नरः ।
यद्येते मघवञ्जगद्धिततरास्त्वा वल्लभाः स्वामिन–
स्त्वद्भूदेशपटुप्रकीर्णसलिला न ख्यापयेयुर्घनाः ॥२१॥

महीपालोऽसीति स्तुतिवचनमेतन्न गुणजं
महीपालः खिन्नामवनिमुरसा धारयति यः ।
यदा तावद् गर्भे त्वमथ सकलश्रीर्वसुमती
किमीयायुष्मंस्ते नवशिवमिमां पश्यति महीम् ॥२२॥

शतेष्वेकः शूरो यदि भवति कश्चिन्नयपटु–
स्तथा दीर्घापेक्षी रिपुविजयनिःसाध्वसशरः ।
तदेतत्संपूर्णं द्वितयमपि येनाद्यपुरुषे
श्रुतं वा दृष्टं वा स वदतु यदि त्वा न वदति ॥२३॥

अयनविषमा भानोर्दीप्तिर्दिनक्षयपेलवा
परिभवसुखं मत्तैर्मत्तैर्धनैश्च विलुप्यते ।
सततसकला निर्व्यासङ्गं समाश्रितशीतला
तव नरपते दीप्तिः साम्यं तया कथमेष्यति ॥२४॥

को नामैष करोति नाशयति वा भाग्येष्वधीनं जगत्
स्वातन्त्र्ये कथमीश्वरस्य न वशः स्रष्टुं विशिष्टाः प्रजाः ।
लब्धं वक्तृयशः सभास्विति चिरं तापोऽद्य तेजस्विना–
मिच्छामात्रसुखं यथा तव जगत्स्यादीश्वरोऽपीदृशः ॥२५॥

St. 21. Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—L. 1: —लोचनं A;—ज्ञायु— A; L. 2: कस्त्वां P; L. 3: —गधित— P; बल्ल —A;—भःस्वा— Bh, P, A; L. 4: भूट्टे— A.

St. 22. Śikhariṇī.—L. 1: स्तु— A; L. 3: त्वमध P;—मति— Bh; L. 4: —ष्माणा —A, P, Bh.

St. 23. Śikhariṇī.—L. 2: —सपरः— Bh.

St. 24. Hariṇī.—L. 1: —पेलनं A; L. 2: first मत्तै— missing in P, A; मस्तव —A; र्धनैश्च P; L. 3: निर्ष्वा— P, निवा— A; L. 4: सव A; —प्तिस्सा —P, A; तथा P.

St. 25. Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—L. 2: श्रष्टुं P, A; L. 3: चक्तृ— P; सभां—A, सभास्थि— P; L. 4: जगस्या— P; ऽ missing P, A.

गण्डेष्वेव समाप्यते विवदतां यद्वारणानां मदो
यद्वा भूमिषु यन्मनोरथशतैस्तुष्यन्ति तेजस्विनः ।
यत्कान्तावदनेषु पत्ररचनासङ्गश्च ते मन्त्रिणां
तत्सर्वं द्विषतां मनोऽनुगतया कीर्त्यापराद्धं तव ॥२६॥

क्रमोपगतमप्यपास्य युगभागधेयं कले-
रपर्वणि य एष ते कृतयुगावतारः कृतः ।
भवेदपि महेश्वरस्त्रिभुवनेश्वरो वाच्युतो
विधातुरपि नूनमद्य जगदुद्भवे संशयः ॥२७॥

गुणो नाम द्रव्यं भवति गुणतश्च प्रभवति
गुणापेक्षं कर्माप्यनुनयमनारम्भविषमम् ।
विभु स्यात् किं द्रव्यं गुणजमुत वान्यः पदविधि-
र्यशो दिक्पर्यन्तं तव किमिति शक्यं गमयितुम् ॥२८॥

THE DVĀTRIMŚIKĀ DEALING WITH "QUALITIES"

(1) What kind of a man is he who gives offence by setting aside good breeding and tradition in front of an ordinary person? (Not content with such behaviour,) you have set them aside in front of exalted persons of independent intellect and sight, as by your overgreat fondness for "Qualities" you keep creating Renown over the world all by yourself, thus badly cheating those to whom respect is due (*i. e.*, bards etc. whose privilege it is to spread peoples' fame)!

(2) My intellect allows me to state that your royal wealth is with those who approach you for shelter, the result of your good breeding in your sons, your judge-

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St. 26. Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—L. 3: पत्त— A; —ङ्गच्छते P; L. 4: मनोनु— A; —द्धत्तव P.

St. 27. Pṛithvī.—L. 3: दसि म— P, A; L. 4: त्तनम— P.

St. 28. Śikhariṇī.—L. 2: कर्म्मप्य — A; —यमारंभ — P; —विषयं Bh; L. 3: विभु: Bh, A; —विधे— P, A; L. 4: दिशो दि —P.

ment in your maxims (or, logical stand-points)[1] and your ambition in the living-apartments of your enemies. I challenge anybody to declare in the same way where your Fame is to be found (which is difficult, as shown in the following stanza)!

(3) Possessed of motion, your Renown wanders in one direction, and, after having moved there, and even while staying there, shines forth in the other directions! What is it thus appropriate to state, that it has moved or that it has not moved, its form being spread over all the ten directions of the world?[2]

(4) A person's mere desire for "Qualities" is most decidedly praiseworthy in the eyes of good people. It is, however, doubtful whether this is also the case with this actual passion which you have for them: for all of them have manifested themselves simultaneously in you and, understanding your Fame to be a helpless woman, they have overwhelmed her before your very eyes, so that she went into the wildernesses where hearing is easy!

(5) Listen! I proclaim it loudly! An intelligent person may laugh at me as he pleases! You are keen on enterprises serving your own purpose, averse to the interest of others and regardless of shame, as even now you are not satisfied as yet with your Renown, whose path is that of Lakshmī (*i. e.*, which is acquired by liberality) and which is showering down (on you) a

1. "Naya", one of the fundamental terms of Jaina Logic, with which Siddhasena has dealt in detail in his *Sanmatitarka* (I. 22 ff.; Pp. 26 ff. of the English edition of Pts. Sanghavi and Doshi, Bombay, 1939), showing that real truth can only be arrived at by seeing a thing from various stand-points and drawing conclusions from the aggregate, true to the Jaina doctrine of *Anekānta-vāda* or "Relativity of Truth".
2. This passage recalls *Sanmatitarka* III. 29 (l. l. P. 140), where, explaining the *Anekānta-vāda*, the author declares an object to be in motion only with reference to the direction in which it moves and at rest with reference to the other directions.

veritable deluge of Fame,[1] sweeping aside the Renown of others, though the latter was won (by them) with trouble !

(6) Being abandoned by you in your fondness for pleasant words, though she was reclining trustingly on your breast, this uncounted royal Fortune (Rāja-Lakshmī) is given away by you to various princes. Seeing this, your Fame got frightened, lest you, of inconsiderate mind as you are, might behave towards her in the same way : therefore she has become immeasurable[2] and transcends even the oceans, unrestrained by modesty !

(7) He who covets Fortune (Śrī) must necessarily be particular to Qualities; but after she has become favourable, they need not be indulged at all any longer. How is it that you do not conform with this way of treating them, O King ? (You have won over Śrī to such an extent that) Mahendra and the others fondly obey your order. (Still you go on indulging your Qualities so excessively that) measuring themselves with the Qualities of the former (and exulting in their own superiority), they have got out of control !

(8) The Fame of the other rulers roams about in the ten directions, similar to the light of the moon. Your Fame, however, is not able to move even a step : is it because she is afraid, or is she too delicate ? Oh, I

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1. Obviously Siddhasena differentiates here between *yaśas* (rendered by "Renown") and *kīrti* (rendered by "Fame"), like Viśvanātha Kavirāja in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* : *yaśas* being acquired by learning etc. and *kīrti* by the sword, according to the explanation of the commentator Rāmacharaṇa Tarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭāchārya (N. S. P. Edition of 1931, P. 437 f.). The above passage seems to imply that the fame of the great liberality of Siddhasena's patron is the basis of his general fame.

2. Or, "unprovable" in the logical sense.

know! It is not like that! The Fame of those kings walks incessantly because she is alarmed at the (length of the) path of hearing (which still lies before her), while for your Fame (which is already spread all over the world) no space is left which she has not already covered (and where she could put down her foot)!

(9) In this line of kings, there were other rulers, too, in the past who graciously stooped to those bowing before them and who uplifted royal dynasties in this very way. Yet never before (was kindness carried so far by any of them that) they would have suffered a gross humiliation like this present one (consisting in the fact that) Śrī is playing at your breast, O King, (though she is) Satyabhāmā's co-wife[1] (and out of courtesy, you refrain from asking her to go away, though her indiscreet behaviour must expose you to undesirable criticism)!

(10) Having seen Lakshmī, their companion of old, staying near you and being bereft (of her company) owing to her unwillingness to go (away from you), the good Qualities of the other (princes) have in unison attached themselves to you. If thus, thinking that you have conquered the world by good Qualities, you behave like a god, O Indra among men, a person of (the requisite) Qualities (*viz.*, courage and truthfulness) should state which of those Qualities (by which you conquered the world), including intellect, are in fact yours (and which belong to the other princes)!

1. This obviously refers to Śrī's avatāra as Rukmiṇī. It is not impossible that Satyabhāmā may cover the name of the royal patron's chief queen! This is why I hesitate to accept the ingenious suggestion of Dr. H. R. Diwekar with whom I had the privilege to discuss some points of this poem and who thinks that "Satyabhāmāsapatnī" may be corrupted out of "satyam āyāsayantī", "actually troubling you (by her officiousness)", which makes excellent sense indeed.

(11) As a scent-elephant lures the bees away from the lotuses by his rut-fluid, so you win over the brave troops[1] of your enemies by your liberality: what wonder that rows of diadems worn by overlords of the earth carry only your order, O King ?

(12) This Earth, though only one, was for many days the beloved of many. How kind-hearted those princes must have been, O King, thus sharing their happiness with one another! Only you, selfish with jealousy, have now taken her on your lap (and claim her) all for yourself, while the other (princes), in whom your satisfaction produces good Qualities (*viz.* self-restraint, chastity and selflessness), only guard her like cow-herds !

(13) This very strange thing may happen to your enemies whom you think of with annoyance: lions become their household-controllers, panther and tiger cubs walk about in their pleasure-groves, wild elephants' calves water with their trunks the trees at the borders of their oblong garden-lakes, and buffaloes, heroes as it were, at the head of their troops represented by their herds, function as guards at their city gates in all directions !

(14) Kings, proud of the swelling (muscles) of their arms which resemble iron-bars, behave like overlords of lords of beasts in utterly (pun: to the very roots) destroying the capital cities (pun: thickets) of the countries of their enemies and in cutting down the expansion (pun: creepers) of the latters' royal wealth (pun: lotuses). Such kingly procedure betrays individual liking. An outcome of real strength is what you are practising, when, after defeating inimical royal

1. The word "gaṇa" is decidedly not used in the political sense here.

dynasties, you equip them with a royal wealth which is the hundred-fold of that to which they were accustomed.

(15) All the Qualities have one overlord, and are void of Quality without this their chief, *viz.*, Pride.[1] Keeping this in mind, kings who are fond of Qualities embrace Pride alone, and no other (Quality). What, however, is he (the other kings' Pride) to you ? Though he has found shelter with those (princes), you eradicate him with his very roots as a mad elephant (eradicates) a sapling !

(16) Can any king whose royal diadem keeps near your feet (owing to his constantly bowing to you) acquire the same renown as is gained by the one who makes you frown, O Lord of the Earth ? (Knowing this to be unlikely) he who is fond of renown breaks your order : for a deer which boldly indicates its presence and confronts the lion cannot escape the latter's notice.

(17) The Autumn purifies the rivers whose water became turbid during the rainy season, it brings about the reunion of the lake with the lotuses, thus causing fresh joy, it opens the (whole) expanse of the sky and cleanses the lustre of the moon (Chandra) : yet with those mean persons, your enemies, this (season) is not popular (as it is the season of warfare, and they fear to be defeated by you) !

(18) I wonder how in the world this divine secret got disclosed, (but it is a fact that) since he whom you kill in battle reaches the highest step of Vishṇu, a king

1. Cp. Umāsvāti, *Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra* V. 40 : "dravyāśrayā nirguṇā guṇāḥ" (Edition of Devchand Lalbhai Jain Pustakoddhār Fund Series No. 67, 1926, P. 435), as well as Kaṇāda, ***Vaiśeshika-Darśana*, I.** 1.16 : "dravyāśrayyaguṇavān.........guṇalakshaṇam".

who desires final beatitude makes his chest ready for your arrow, not heeding Lakshmī who lovingly attends him !

(19) It depends on the reciprocal care (of husband and wife for each other) whether a woman becomes virtuous or licentious. This fact is before the eyes of the world. For in the past, so long as you were indifferent to the Earth, Śrī was unsteady. When however you gave your love to the other, and she saw the Earth (her co-wife) respected in the harem of your encircling arms, this same Śrī became as well-behaved as she ought to be and readily makes intimacy with the necklace (on your breast).

(20) It is an ancient saying that whosoever is born grows and ages with doubtless result, and this state of things is unavoidable, such is the law (of nature). With this course of the world, however, this your Śrī, O King, is at variance : for how is it that though she is old and full-grown, yet the Quality of youthfulness has not become impaired in her case ?

(21) Since you keep your thousand eyes hidden within, use the frown instead of the thunderbolt, and possess the body of a human being, who could know you to be "Hari", if, O Maghavan, those heavy clouds, beneficent to the Earth and beloved of the Lord, splashing water in plenty on the ground of your territories, were not to proclaim you as such ?

(22) To say that you are the "Protector of the Earth" is not a mere panegyrical phrase, but it is based on the respective Quality : a "Protector of the Earth" being he who lends the support of his breast to the troubled Earth. For when you were in (your mother's) womb, the Earth with all her wealth (was divided

among so many princes that it would have been difficult to state) whose she was (*i. e.*, she was then troubled indeed, while) now, since she is yours, new prosperity looks on this (same) Earth (due to your protection).

(23) (If it is possible that) the one hero out of a hundred persons is (simultaneously also) judicious in his maxims (or, logical stand-points), and if it is possible that he who is able to aim his arrows boldly, causing the enemies' defeat, is also at the same time of far-sighted wisdom, then he should speak up who has heard of or seen in its completeness this duality (of Qualities) in the "Ancestor", unless he were to point to you.

(24) The lustre of the Sun is unequal in the two parts of the year, weak at the end of the day, and his joy in defeating (everything alive on the earth by his heat) is marred by mad, mad clouds : how can it serve as a comparison with your lustre, O King, which is always in full display and cooling for all who approach you, without distinction ?

(25) Who indeed is he who creates or annihilates a world dependent on destinies ? If there is an all-powerful God, was it not in his might to produce beings of a higher order[1] ? Now-a-days, whenever orator-renown is won, it is for a long time an occasion of grief to ambitious persons (who ardently desire to gain it, but are every time outshone by your superior rhetorical achievements). Just as the happiness of this your world (of disputants) exists in their desire only, the same is perhaps the case with God (*i. e.*, as the desire of those disputants for fame

1. This is an attack against the idea of Creationistic Causation (Ārambha-vāda) of the Vaiśeshika Philosophy : vide "*A Primer of Indian Logic* according to Annambhaṭṭa's *Tarkasaṁgraha*" by S. Kuppuswami Sastri, Madras, 1932, Part III, P. 109, which is directly opposed to the Jaina dogma of the eternity of the world and the absence of a Creator and an act of Creation : vide *Sanmatitarka*, l.l., III. 32 ff. and notes.

is frustrated by your superiority, just so God may be prevented from creating a world according to his desires by the law of Karman) !

(26) If the rut (pun : excitement) of your fighting elephants (pun : disputants opposing each other) spends itself on their temples (pun : in the *gaṇḍa*-type of dialogue), or if your ambitious (warriors,) (forced by long peace to stay inactive) in the country, have to content themselves with hundreds of desires (for battle), or if your ministers are interested only in the *patra-rachanā* (decorative design drawn with sandal paste, etc.; pun : composition of political documents, or : array of chariots etc. for war) on the faces of their beloveds : for all this your Fame alone must be made responsible who keeps haunting the minds of your enemies (so that they do not dare to engage in war with you, and peace remains in the land).

(27) Though it is still the turn of the era of Kali, you have shaken off its remaining portion, and have led in, without even allowing for the (traditional) break (between the two eras succeeding each other), this manifestation of the Kṛita Era ! (In view of this authority thus displayed by you, one might ask whether) the Lord of the Universe is really Maheśvara or Achyuta (or whether it is not rather you), and doubts may even be entertained now-a-days as to whether the world was indeed brought forth by the Creator.

(28) Is it possible to explain (under application of the principles of Vaiśeshika Logic) how your Renown has spread as far as to the cardinal points ?

(According to Vaiśeshika Logic, the above proposition would mean that conjunction (*saṁyoga*) has taken place between your Renown and the cardinal points.

Conjunction can take place between two substances (*dravya*) only[1]. The cardinal points (*diś*) do fall under the category of substance[2], it is true; but Renown, being a species of *śabda*, would be a quality[3]. Does therefore your Renown, though being a quality, play the part of a substance, or, in other words, is it to be assumed that in this case, though the difference between substance and quality as separate categories (*padārtha*) is one of the main axioms of Vaiśeshika Logic[4],) *quality becomes substance in fact*?

(If this is conceded for argument's sake, it leads to another embarrassment. For since Renown is produced by Qualities (in the conventional sense, such as liberality, valour, sagacity), it would have to be admitted that in this case) *substance is produced by quality*, (though Vaiśeshika Logic teaches that a substance can

1. Vide *Vaiśeshika-Darśana by Kaṇāda Muni* ed. by M. G. Bakre, Bombay, 1913, 7-2-16 (P. 282); also *A Primer of Indian Logic*, l.l., Part III, P. 65.

2. Kaṇāda, l.l., 1-1-5, P. 17; Annambhaṭṭa, l.l., Sūtra 3 a (Part II, P. 2).

3. Kaṇāda, l.l., 2-2-21 to 25, Pp. 113 ff.; Annambhaṭṭa, l.l., Sūtra 3 b.

4. Kaṇāda, l.l., 8-2-3 (P. 307); Annambhaṭṭa, l.l., Sūtra 2. Particularly instructive and useful for the understanding of Siddhasena's stratagems is the following annotation of the editor of the *Tarkasaṁgraha* (l.l. P. 15 of Part III) : "It may also be useful to remember here that the conception of substance (*dravya*) as the substratum of qualities and movements is the bed-rock of the realism of Nyāya; and one has only to show the hollowness of the Nyāya distinctions of substance (*dravya*), quality (*guṇa*) and movement (*karman* or *kriyā*), in order to knock off the bottom of the Nyāya realism." This is exactly what Siddhasena is doing to the Vaiśeshika system, with which the Naiyāyika system shares this doctrine. In opposition to this doctrine of the Naiyāyika-Vaiśeshika system of the absolute difference between *dravya* and *guṇa*, as well as that of the Sāṁkhya system of their absolute identity with each other, Siddhasena has, in his *Sanmatitarka* (l.l. III. 16 ff, Pp. 125 ff.), defended the Jaina doctrine of their being neither absolutely different nor absolutely identical, true to the principle of Anekānta-vāda.—Kaṇāda especially groups *dravya*, *guṇa*, and *karman* together as *artha*.

only be produced by a substance, but never by a quality[1]. Consequently your Renown cannot be defined as a substance !)

(Let it therefore be assumed to be a quality. As the conjunction (*saṁyoga*) of the latter with the cardinal points has taken place, and this presupposes that your Renown has performed the action of moving[2] there, it follows that the action of moving must have inhered in a quality. According to Vaiśeshika Logic, action can inhere in a substance only, but never in a quality[3]. Therefore) *an action inhering in a quality would likewise be objectionable* (*vishama*) *logically* (*anunayam*), *as it could have no initiative* (*ārambha*) (*i. e.*, it could not take place[4] (pun : it would be beginningless, *i. e.* eternal, though action is characterised in Vaiśeshika Logic as unstable[5].) Therefore your Renown cannot be a quality either !)

Could it perhaps be a pervasive substance ? (In that case, the objection would arise that the cardinal points with which its conjunction takes place are likewise pervasive substances; and according to Vaiśeshika Logic, conjunction cannot take place between two pervasive substances[6]. Besides, since Renown is) *produced by Qualities* (,it is a producible thing (*janya padārtha*), and, according to the Vaiśeshikas, producible things cannot be pervasive[7]. Therefore your Renown cannot be a pervasive substance either.

1. Kaṇāda 1-1-10 (1. I. P. 28).
2. Kaṇāda 1-1-30, P. 43.
3. Kaṇāda 5-2-22 to 24.
4. An allusion to the Ārambha-vāda of Vaiśeshika Philosophy : cp. also *Sanmatitarka*, Text Pp. 30 and 152 ff.
5. Kaṇāda 1-1-8, P. 25; also Annambhaṭṭa, Sūtra 3 c and III, Pp. 19 ff.
6. Kaṇāda 7-2-9, P. 275; Annambhaṭṭa III, Pp. 95, 125.
7. Kaṇāda 7-1-22, P. 261; Annambhaṭṭa III, P. 126.

Thus according to Vaiśeshika Logic, it would not be possible for your Renown to reach the cardinal points, though it is an established fact that it has done so.)

Or is there any further way of applying the terms ?

(If not, Vaiśeshika Logic has failed !)

What strikes the reader of the *Guṇavachanadvātriṁśikā* at first sight is the resemblance which it bears to Siddhasena Divākara's remaining creations. The *Sanmatitarka* and *Nyāyāvatāra* it recalls by the dogmatic and philosophical subjects which it directly or indirectly touches. Its relationship with the remaining Dvātriṁśikās and the *Kalyāṇamandirastotra* it betrays by similarities re style and diction, boldness of imagination, brilliance of wit, devotion to the Jaina faith, and, last but not least, the reluctance of the logician to abandon, even for a while, his beloved speciality, logic, in which he keeps indulging even under the influence of poetic inspiration. There he is seen playing with some logical term, which his poetic skill makes scintillate with unexpected meanings; again he is found advocating some logical theory, or dealing a quick feint at a heterodox opponent by a brilliant poetic figure, performing the miracle of making abstract logic blossom into concrete life.

Though a Jaina ascetic, the poet possesses insight into politics, diplomacy and court-life, and is full of humaneness and a humour which often elicits a smile even from the modern reader. Yet he is a devoted Jaina, and takes every occasion, no matter if he has to create it himself, to plead for the doctrines of his religion. This he does with conviction and fervour, yet without fanaticism, for his broad-mindedness allows him to utilize ideas of Hindu mythology whenever

desirable, and his perfect poetic manners prevent him from transgressing the limits of polite polemics and good taste, even when tackling an opponent.

Being a Jaina Sādhu, and as such plighted to absolute poverty and abstinence from worldly enjoyments, it can only have been the love for his faith and zeal for its aggrandizement which prompted him to compose this secular panegyric, making no secret of his intention to please a royal patron and gain his favour, for ends which can only have been pure and selfless.

And yet, his tone betrays that he sincerely loved and admired that royal patron for those unusual qualities of intellect and character on which he so eloquently dwells. Sometimes, as though feeling shy of showing his admiration too freely, he disguises eulogy by apparent chiding and teasing, in a form which strikes the reader by its boldness,—obviously the boldness of a confidant and favourite, to whom such liberty was willingly conceded. On the other hand, the poet seems perfectly sure of his success in paying this unusual patron the most subtle compliment that could be thought of, *viz.*, by weaving into nearly every line of this Dvātriṁśikā the implication that, as a matter of course, his patron is all the time following him into the depths of erudition which he displays, and is able to appreciate the intricacies of poetic and polemic skill to which he treats him.

6. WHEN WAS THE GUṆAVACHANADVĀTRIṀŚIKĀ COMPOSED ?

There can be no doubt that this royal patron must have been a man of outstanding personality, and a person of high position, in fact a ruler likely to have left the imprint of his genius on the history of his time. Yet as his name is not given, his whereabouts cannot

directly be ascertained. When scrutinizing the poem for indications re the time of its composition, and thus the period in history in which this mysterious patron lived, one feels inclined to ask whether contemporaneousness with Kālidāsa might not be inferred from a number of ideas and expressions which the Dvātriṁśikā has in common with the works of that poet.[1] If Kālidāsa belongs to the Gupta period, as is assumed now-a-days by the majority of scholars, this would fit in well with the fact that the poem under discussion also agrees in certain points of style and diction with the poetical Gupta Praśastis available so far, such as Harisheṇa's Allahabad Pillar Inscription, the Eraṇ Pillar Inscription, the Udayagiri Cave Inscription, the Meharaulī Inscription, the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription, and later imitations. There are, *e. g.*, the stereotyped ideas of the eulogized king's fame pervading the universe, or, personified, roaming over the earth[2], of the king himself perceived as a god (Indra)[3], or as gaining untold fame by his good qualities[4], or as conquering the world by the latter,

1. Thus for instance, St. 1 recalls "mūḍhaḥ parapratyayaneyabuddhiḥ" of *Mālavikāgnimitra* (N. S. P., 1924, P. 3); St. 4 d the passage "śrutau taskaratā sthitā" of *Raghuvaṁśa* I. 27 b; St. 9 b and 14 d the passage "āpādapadmapraṇatāḥ........utkhātapratiropitāḥ" of *Raghuvaṁśa* IV. 37; St 17 the passage "prasasādodayād ambhaḥ.. .... Raghor abhibhavāśaṅki chukshubhe dvishatām manaḥ" of *Raghuvaṁśa* IV. 21; St. 21 the passage "mahītalasparśanamātrabhinnam ṛiddham hi rājyam padam aindram āhuḥ" of *Raghuvaṁśa* II. 50.—A number of similarities between passages of other Dvātriṁśikās and such of Kālidāsa have been pointed out by the editors of the *Sanmatitarka*, l.l. Pp. 26 ff : some of them are more striking than those quoted here !

2. St. 3 and 8: cp. Eraṇ Pillar Inscription (D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1942, P. 261); St. 6: Kahāum Pillar Inscription (l.l., P.309); St. 1: Allahabad Pillar Inscription (l.l., P. 259), Para 30.

3. St. 10 and 21: cp. Allahabad Pillar Inscription (l.l., P. 259), Para 28; Kahāum Pillar Inscription (l.l., P. 309); St. 1: Bihār Pillar Inscription (l.l., P. 316).

4. St. 1, 4, 7, 10, 15, and 28: cp. Allahabad Pillar Inscription (l.l., P. 258), Para 25.

trespassing on the realm of the gods, as expressed in the following significant words :

"गुणजितं लोकं मत्वा नरेन्द्र सुरायसे" (St, 10)[1]

This passage, on the other hand, obviously cannot be separated from legends on Gupta coins like the following :

(a) राजाधिराजः पृथिवीमवित्वा दिवं जयत्यप्रतिवार्यवीर्यः
(Samudragupta)[2]

(b) अप्रतिरथो विजित्य क्षितिं सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति
(Samudragupta)[3]

(c) काचो गामवजित्य दिवं कर्मभिरुत्तमैर्जयति
(Kācha)[4]

(d) क्षितिमवजित्य सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति विक्रमादित्यः
(Chandragupta II)[5]

(e) गुणेशो महीतलं जयति कुमार (*sic* !)
(Kumāragupta I)[6]

(f) गामवजित्य सुचरितैः कुमारगुप्तो दिवं जयति
(Kumāragupta I)[7]

(८) जयति स्वभूमौ गुणराशि.............महेन्द्रकुमार (*sic* !)
(Kumāragupta I)[8]

The parallelism of the wording and idea of these legends with the pertinent passage of the Meharaulī Pillar Inscription has been pointed out by D. Sharma,[9]

1. St. 10: cp. Meharaulī Pillar Inscription (l. l., P. 267), St. 2 and 3.
2 Sircar, l.l., P. 267.
3. G H Ojha: *Prāchīna Mudrā* (Hindi Anuvāda), Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā, Saṁ. 1981, P. 159.
4. Sircar, l.l., P. 269,
5. Ojha, l.l., P. 166.
6. l.l., P. 174.
7. l.l., P. 174.
8. l.l., P. 178.
9. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Vol. I, P. 185 f.

who, on this basis, inferred their contemporaneousness.

The much discussed expression "*anudhyāta*," too, used by Siddhasena in St. 13, though in an ironical sense, sounds like an echo from Gupta inscriptions or their imitations[1] (and, for the matter of that, demonstrates *ad oculos* the fact that the root has retained its transitive meaning in this particular application[2]).

Another significant parallel between the *Guṇavachanadvātriṁśikā* and Gupta remains is the idea of the extremely wanton Śrī, who behaves towards Siddhasena's royal patron in the same capricious way as she does towards inscriptional Gupta rulers[3], and haunts the former's proximity just as fondly as she does that of the Gupta kings of those famous coins[4] on which she is so persistently depicted, taking her turn with the respective Paṭṭamahārājñī (St. 9, 10, 19, 20).

Even leaving details aside, one can scarcely resist the general impression that the whole Dvātriṁśikā appears like a poetic paraphrase of the stereotyped epithets attached to the names of Imperial Gupta rulers from Samudragupta onward in grants and other docu-

1. Allahabad Pillar Inscription (Sircar, I.I., P. 260), Udayagiri Cave Inscription (I.I., P. 271), Karamdāṇḍa Stone Liṅga Inscription (I.I., P. 282), Bhitarī Stone Pillar Inscription (I.I., P. 313), Bihār Stone Pillar Inscription (I.I., P. 318), Bhitarī Seal (I.I., P. 322), Guṇaighar Copper-plate Inscription (I.I., P. 331), etc.

2. Vide the recent discussions between D. C. Sircar. (*Indian Culture* IX (1942), Pp. 115 ff.), B. Ghosh (*Ibid*, Pp. 118 ff.), K. Chattopadhyaya (*Indian Historical Quarterly* XVIII (1942) P. 63f.), V.V.Mirashi (*Ibid* XX (1944), Pp. 288 ff.), among whom Dr. D. C. Sircar's and K. Chattopadhyaya's interpretation is borne out as correct by Siddhasena's passage.

3. Junāgaḍh Inscription (Sircar, P. 301), St. 5; Bhitarī Pillar Inscription (I.I., P. 314), St. 6.

4. Ojha, I.I., Pp. 158 ff.

ments[1], such as *aprativāryavīrya*, *sarvarājochchhettṛi*, *pṛithivyām apratiratha*, *chaturudadhisalilāsvāditayaśas*, *Dhanadavaruṇendrāntakasama*, *kṛitāntaparaśu*, *nyāyāgatānekagohiraṇyakoṭiprada*.

In view of these observations, coupled with the fact that the very policy of Siddhasena's patron, his tolerance, urbanity, liberality, love for learning and rhetoric and his personal proficiency therein, in short the whole atmosphere of cultural refinement surrounding this king, are typical features of the Gupta age, one cannot help asking whether Siddhasena's patron may not have been one of those great Gupta rulers of India's Golden Age.

7. WHO WAS SIDDHASENA'S PATRON ?

To decide this question, it recommends itself to visualise more closely the features which distinguish Siddhasena's patron in the light of the *Guṇavachanadvātriṁśikā*. They are as follows :

A. POSITION AND CAREER

(1) He was the scion of a dynasty of rulers and feudatory lords : St. 9.

(2) In the beginning of his reign, he was "indifferent to the Earth", *i. e.*, he did not undertake campaigns of conquest, and subsequently the prosperity of the country and the royal fortune were not stable : St. 19.

(3) At that time, the land was divided among many princes, who fought with one another for its possession, so that the right of property was uncertain and people were troubled. This condition had been prevailing since a considerable time : St. 12, 22.

1. Vide Sircar, l.l., P. 265, Note 4 and the following inscriptions.

(4) Siddhasena's patron then started a number of victorious campaigns against those princes and conquered their territories : St. 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 23.

(5) The defeated princes became his vassals, as, instead of humiliating or exploiting them according to the usual procedure, he restituted their principalities to them and even strengthened their position by financial help : St. 12, 14.

(6) Others of the neighbouring rulers he won over by diplomatic tactics with lavish liberality, so that they became his allies : St. 11.

(7) In this way, he created a vast empire under his undisputed control, counting crowned kings among his allies or vassals : St. 7, 10, 11, 12.

(8) Opposition or rebellion he suppressed with a strong hand, and thus made himself feared to such an extent that none of his vassals or neighbours dared to stir, and the eventual perpetrator of an insurrection made himself notorious : St. 12, 13, 15, 16, 17.

(9) By this policy, he led in a long period of peace and prosperity. During this period, the *Guṇavachana-dvātriṁśikā* was written.

(10) The prosperity of the empire was great: St. 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 19, 20, 21, 27.

(11) The splendour and wealth of the royal court were immense : St. 21.

(12) His fame was far-reaching : St. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 16. It extended even beyond the seas : St. 6.

(13) He encouraged and took active part in learned discussions on philosophical subjects : St. 25.

(14) He had sons, whose good breeding is praised: St. 2.

B. PERSONALITY

(15) He possessed many unusual good qualities, by which his fame was established: St. 4, 7, 10.

(16) The poet particularly praises his intellect, sagacity, independence of judgement and far-sightedness: St. 1, 2, 23.

(17) He was lavishly liberal: St. 5, 6, 11, 14.

(18) His manners were cultured: St. 2.

(19) He was keen on conquest, personally skilful at arms and brave in battle: St. 2, 18, 23.

(20) His great kind-heartedness, urbanity and politeness are repeatedly praised: St. 2, 9, 24.—They were so outspoken as to provoke the poet's sarcasm, as is evident from Stanza 9.

(21) He was so erudite and fond of learning that Siddhasena could hope to gain his favour by as intricately difficult a piece of poetry as the Dvātriṁśikā under discussion, which he must have been able to appreciate. Not only this, but his proficiency in philosophy must have been of such a high standard that he could personally defeat the learned and ambitious disputants of his assemblies, one of whom was the most famous of the Jaina logicians of all times: St. 25.

(22) He was a great orator: St. 25.

(23) The ideas of Hindu mythology which the poet resorts to repeatedly (vide his reference to Śrī-Lakshmī in St. 6, 9, 10, 19, 20, to the divine trinity of Śiva-Vishṇu-Brahman, or rather, in the poet's own words, to Maheśvara-Achyuta-Vidhātṛi in St. 27, to the

Vishṇu-pada in St. 18, and to the Kali and Kṛita Yugas in St. 27 : all ideas foreign to Jainism), applying them in the very middle of pronounced Jinistic notions, can only be understood and justified under the assumption that the Jaina poet addresses himself to a Hindu patron.

(24) That Siddhasena's patron, being a Hindu king, must have been distinguished by unusual broad-mindedness, religious tolerance and humaneness, can be inferred from the fact that he did not only allow the Jaina Sādhu to defend his heterodox faith and philosophy, but even to attack Hindu philosophy, and mock, with bold satire, at the most sacred idea cherished by the majority of Hindu Darśanas, *viz.*, that of a personal Almighty Creator : St. 25. It seems that, like Akbar the Great, this unusual monarch found pleasure in seeing God and the world viewed from all the various standpoints which the learned disputants of his assemblies must have severally represented and defended with eloquent ardour.

(25) At the time of the composition of the poem, the king seems to have been looking back on a long reign of peace and prosperity, following his victorious campaigns, and, consequently, he was in all probability of advanced age himself : St. 5, 20, 26, 27.

(26) His personality and achievements were high above the ordinary, making him appear as a kind of super-man, glorified by poetical apotheosis : St. 10, 21, 23.

When comparing these points with what is known so far re the history and personalities of the individual Gupta rulers, it seems that they could not refer to Chandragupta I, whose reign was neither distinguished by extensive campaigns and conquests in grand style,

nor by a long and glorious peace, nor by a fame which transcended the oceans, and of whom no extraordinary personal achievements or merits are reported[1].

Skandagupta might be thought of, especially since it is he whose deeds Somadeva sings in his *Kathāsaritsāgara*[2] under the names of Vishamaśīla and Vikramāditya and who would appear a hero worthy of the eulogies of a Siddhasena Divākara[3] ! One might believe the name of *Vishamaśīla* to be indirectly reflected in St. 12 of the *Guṇavachanadvātriṁśikā*, where the poet contrasts his patron with the other princes, characterizing the latter ironically as *bhadraśīla*. Besides, the title of Vikramāditya would well suit the tradition of the Jaina Prabandhas and Paṭṭāvalīs, which connect Siddhasena persistently with a Vikramāditya, and would also be in conformity with St. 24 of the Dvātriṁśikā, if taken as an indication that Siddhasena's patron did possess a title containing a synonym for "sun". Yet Skandagupta, too, must be ruled out on account of the shortness of his reign, the deterioration of the finances of the Gupta Empire which characterized his later years, and his having no sons worthy to succeed him[4].

Appellations like "Indra", "Mahendra", "Maghavan", which Siddhasena frequently applies to his patron, as well as the word "Chandra" or its synonym "Indu", if interpreted as paranomasia, might be looked upon as references to Kumāragupta I who, a

1. Vide V. A. Smith: *The Early History of India*, 4th Edition (Oxford, 1924), Pp. 295 ff.

2. Edition of the N. S. P., Vishamaśīla-Lambaka.

3. Vide the glorification of this distinguished Gupta ruler by Jayaśaṅkara Prasāda, *Skandagupta Vikramāditya*, and his remarks in the erudite "Pariśishṭa", particularly Pp. 19 ff.

4. Vide V. A. Smith, l. l., P. 328 f.

great conqueror and a ruler of many years standing, bore the title of "Mahendrāditya" and is also sometimes designated as "Chandra" on his coins. Besides, some of his coins bear the legend of "Vikramāditya", too. These arguments, however, are not sufficient to prove anything by their own strength. They are, on the contrary, invalidated by the fact that the political conditions which Siddhasena describes as having prevailed at the beginning of his patron's reign, *viz.*, the earth being troubled by incessant wars waged by numerous petty princes with one another and the prosperity of the land and the wealth of the king being unstable, do not apply to this ruler at all, who, from his ancestors, inherited a huge consolidated empire abounding in prosperity.

This latter argument obviously also excludes the later Gupta rulers, none of whom can be said to have accomplished the grand feat attributed by Siddhasena to his patron, *viz.*, of having created an empire out of a chaos of small principalities.

There is some temptation, though, to argue that perhaps Siddhasena might after all have exaggerated the deeds and merits of his patron, as is usual with authors of eulogies, and that the expression *Harir iti* might be a direct clue to the latter's name, which could easily have been "Harigupta", and refer to one of the later Guptas, known from a solitary copper coin[1] recently discussed by Āchārya Jinavijaya[2]. The temptation lies in the fact that Āchārya Jinavijaya has tried to identify this Harigupta of the coin with a Jainācharya Harigupta ("*Hariutta*"), who is mentioned in Uddyotanasūri's *Kuvalayamālā* as one of the author's spiritual ancestors

1. Vide J. Allen: *A Catalogue of Indian Coins,—Gupta Dynasties,* P. 152.
2. *Bhāratīya Vidyā,* II, 1941, P. 212 f.

and specified as belonging to the Gupta family and being the Guru of "*Torarāya*" of *Pavvaiya* (on the Chandrabhāgā River)[1]. This Śrāvaka king Harigupta, imagined to have renounced the world later in life and become Āchārya Harigupta, has already been assimilated by recent Jaina Historiography.[2] Still, his existence can scarcely be said to be sufficiently established, as (*a*) the pitcher with flowers depicted on the reverse of Harigupta's coin does not prove beyond doubt that Harigupta was a Jaina, (*b*) he may not have been a king at all, but something like a provincial Governor[3], and (*c*) even if he was a Śrāvaka king, he would not be likely to be identical with the Āchārya of the *Kuvalayamālā*, as Uddyotanasūri does not say anything about the latter's having been of royal rank: a feature which he would most naturally have mentioned, had there been any such foundation for such a statement. Again, even if the Harigupta of the coin could be proved to have been a Jaina king and identical with Āchārya Harigupta, still he could not be the object of Siddhasena's eulogy, because (*a*) as has already been pointed out, Siddhasena obviously addresses himself to a Hindu king, and (*b*) in view of the religious zeal and sincerity of conviction and feeling which hide themselves behind Siddhasena's satire and in view of the learned monk's station in life, the integrity of his person and purpose, as well as his responsible and representative position in the philosophical and religious literature of his time, he cannot be presumed to have exaggerated or distorted

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1. l.l., P. 84. This "Torarāya" is identified with the notorious Toramāṇa, who, in this way, likewise becomes a Śrāvaka.

2. The articles by Muni Nyāyavijaya and Muni Darśanavijaya in *Jaina Satya Prakāśa*, Dīpotsavī Aṅka, Vol. 7, Pp. 7 ff., as well as Pp. 145 and 151.

3. Vide R. N. Dandekar: *The History of the Guptas*, Poona, 1941, P. 148 f.

facts so grossly as to invent those unique deeds ascribed to his patron and thus to have falsified history to an extent unallowed even to a secular eulogist. Taking therefore Siddhasena's description as genuine *Vṛitteti-vṛitta*, his Dvātriṁśikā cannot possibly be addressed to some obscure Harigupta of the time of the decline and fall of the Gupta Empire.

Therefore the appellation "Hari" must be understood as a mere synonym for "Indra", used in the conventional sense[1].

Thus, the choice narrows itself down to the two greatest and most renowned of the Gupta rulers: Samudragupta and Chandragupta II: both great conquerors and ingenious rulers, who, after victorious campaigns, reigned over a vast and prosperous empire for long periods of glorious peace, both eulogized for personal valour, both patrons of poetry and learning, both munificent and of generally acknowledged broad-mindedness and tolerance[2], and both adorned with the title of "Vikramāditya". So far as Samudragupta is concerned, this latter fact (though, of course, the epithets "Parākrama" and "Vyāghraparākrama[3]," "Parākramāṅka[4] and "Vikramāṅka"[5] were known before as

1. The word "Hari" is found to be used in this very same sense by the author of the Vaḍnagar Fort Praśasti, in which King Kumārapāla of Gujarat is described as "Harir iti jñātaḥ prabhāvāj jane": vide Muni Darśanavijaya's article in *Jaina Satya Prakāśa*, 1.1., P. 159, Note.

2. For Samudragupta, vide the Allahabad and Eraṇ Pillar Inscriptions (Sircar, l.l., Pp. 254 ff.), for Chandragupta the Mathurā, Udayagiri and Meharaulī Inscriptions (l.l., Pp. 269 ff.), and for both V. A. Smith (l.l., Pp. 297 ff.), R.S. Tripathi, *Religious Toleration under the Imperial Guptas* (*I. H. Q.*, XV, Pp. 1 ff.), and R. N. Dandekar, l. l., Pp. 44 ff.

3. On coins: vide Ojha, l. l., Pp. 158 ff.

4. Vide the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, Sircar, l. l., P. 156, Para 17.

5. Vide the colophon of the preserved part of Samudragupta's *Krishṇa-charita*, as per the notice of "S. R. S." in *Indian Culture*, Vol. X P. 78 f.

applied to him) was ingeniously inferred by V. A. Smith long ago, but has actually been established only recently by the discovery of a coin of this ruler at Bamṇālā in Indore State bearing this very legend[1]. It is obvious that this discovery will necessitate a re-examination of the literary references to "Vikramāditya", a number of which might now have to be apportioned to the brilliant and accomplished Samudragupta, thus detracting from the glory of his son !

To decide whether either of these two rulers could have been addressed by Siddhasena Divākara, the following will have to be considered:

(1) According to recent researches[2], Samudragupta's empire was shaken by insurrections on the latter's death. On that occasion certain tribes, hitherto allied (Khaśas or Śakas : it is still disputed), started to menace the northern borders. Samudragupta's immediate successor, Rāmagupta, cowardly tried to purchase peace from them by surrendering his queen Dhruvadevī. Rāmagupta's brother Chandragupta, however, saved both queen and empire by a bold coup and took the reins of affairs in his own hand, becoming himself emperor and Dhruvadevī's husband. Even if the historical truth of these events, which have been inferred from

1. Vide V. A. Smith, l. l., P. 347, as well as the notice of D. B. Diskalkar in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. V, Part II, P. 136 f., for which reference I am indebted to Mr. S. L. Katre, my colleague at the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain.

2. A. S. Altekar, *A New Gupta King* (*JBORS*, XIV, Pp. 223 ff. and XV, P. 134); D. R. Bhandarkar, *New Light on the Early Gupta History* (*Malaviya Commemoration Volume*, 1932, Pp. 189 ff.); K. P. Jayaswal, *Chandra Gupta II and his Predecessors* (*JBORS*, XVIII, Pp. 17 ff.); V. V. Mirashi, *Further Light on Rāmagupta* (*I. A.* (1933), Pp. 201 ff.); N. N. Das Gupta, *Rāma Gupta* (*Indian Culture*, IV (1937), Pp. 216 ff.); Jagan Nath, *Some 'Observations on the Reign of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya*" (*NIA*, II (1940), Pp. 685 ff.).

later literature, might be questioned, in any case it is certain from epigraphic evidence that Chandragupta II did subdue a number of enemies and strengthened and enlarged the empire taken over by him.

And "there's the rub" : for the very fact that he actually did take over an empire, no matter how and in what condition, would not allow the following passage of the *Guṇavachanadvātriṁśikā* to be applied to him :

एकेयं वसुधा बहूनि दिवसान्यासीद् बहूनां प्रिया
वस्यान्योन्यसुखाः कथं नरपते ते भद्रशीला नृपाः।
ईर्ष्यामत्सरितेन साद्य भवतैवात्माङ्कमारोपिता
शेषैस्त्वत्परितोषभावितगुणैर्गोपालवत्पाल्यते ॥१२॥

This stanza clearly suggests that at the beginning of the reign of the patron there was no consolidated empire, nor had there been one before, that numerous small rival principalities, constantly at war with one another, occupied its place, and that it was he who created the empire by their unification.

Still more explicit is the following passage :

यदा तावद् गर्भे त्वमथ सकलश्रीर्वसुमती
किमीया...............................॥२२॥

which makes it clear that the pre-empire stage existed even at the time of the birth of the hero. It could not therefore refer to Chandragupta, at the time of whose birth his illustrious father Samudragupta must have been in the prime of his life and his glorious career of conquest in full progress, heralding, even at that stage, the fact that the earth "belonged" to him.

As it would, moreover, appear that Chandragupta had to fight from his very accession, not only this, but that he probably gained the throne only after successfully

fighting the Khaśas or Śakas, the following words, too, could not be applied to him :

...............क्षितिविषमतया चञ्चला श्रीर्यथासीत् ।

सैवान्यप्रीतिदानात्तव भुजवलयान्तःपुरप्राप्तमाना-
मुर्वीं दृष्ट्वा यथावत्सलघु सुचरिता हारसख्यं करोति ॥१९॥

For they state that in the beginning, when the hero was indifferent towards the Earth, *i. e.*, before he started on his campaigns of conquest, his prosperity was unstable. This could certainly not be said with regard to the heir to the proverbial wealth accumulated by Samudragupta during his many successful wars.

All these passages, however, excellently suit Samudragupta himself, who having inherited a small kingdom of limited resources developed it into the glorious Gupta Empire with its vast extension and fabulous wealth, and this by his own initiative and genius.

(2) Besides, notwithstanding Chandragupta II's achievements in war and peace, this prince does not seem to lend himself well as an object to the unrestrained praise and actual admiration of an austere and stern person like a Jaina Sādhu, and this not an ordinary Jaina Sādhu to boot, but an eminent and representative champion of truth like Siddhasena Divākara. For Chandragupta II, though he had saved the empire from threatening disintegration and earned praise for this deed[1], also met with disapproval re the moral aspect of his actions and acquired an odious reputation, which survived, side by side with his fame, for many

1. Vide Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, the stanza quoted by Jagan Nath, l.l., P. 689, Note 13; further references can be found in Pt. Bhagvad-datta's *Bhāratavarsha kā Itihāsa—Ādiyuga se Guptasāmrājya ke anta tak*, Lahore, 1940.

centuries. Thus in the Cambay and Sāngli Plates[1], his name finds itself quoted, to show off, by the contrast of his evil example, the merits of some later ruler. He is, in undisguised terms, accused of "cruelty towards his elder brother, adultery committed with his brother's wife and other evil deeds". The Sanjan Copper-Plates Grant[2] carries the accusations against him even further, by directly inculpating him with having murdered his brother, usurped throne and queen and acquired a false reputation for liberality by fraudulent transactions of enormous extent (literally: by causing "crores" to be written instead of "lakhs").

A reflection of this stain on Chandragupta's character may perhaps be seen in the fact that contemporaneous records, so far as available to-day, never praise this ruler for moral qualities, except that his Foreign Minister Vīrasena, who accompanied him on a campaign and, *en route*, dedicated a cave to Śiva, calls him, in the pertinent inscription, *Rājādhirājarshi*[3]. In fact, the way how, *e. g.*, in the Sānchī Stone Inscription[4] a whole bunch of epithets denoting excellent moral qualities is attached to the *Saṅgha*, while the king's name stands unadorned, is illustrative.

Samudragupta's records, in sharp contrast, are full of glowing testimonies to his admirable character, his great moral qualities, and his interest in serious questions of a religious or philosophical nature. Thus, Harisheṇa praises his self-control (*praśama*)[5] as well as the "over-

1. Jagan Nath, I. I., P. 686. This record was composed in 871 A. D.
2. I.I., P. 687. My interpretation of this stanza deviates from that of the author of the article under reference.
3. Udayagiri Cave Inscription, Sircar, I.I., P. 271.
4. Sircar, I.I., P. 273.
5. Sircar, I.I., P. 259, Para 30 and P. 256, Para 15.

flow of the multitudes of his good qualities, adorned by hundreds of noble deeds, which sweeps the fame of other princes down to the soles of their feet (sucharitaśatālaṁkṛitānekaguṇagaṇotsiktibhiś charaṇa-talapramṛishṭānyanarapatikīrti[1]), says that his mental serenity made him fit company for the wise (prājñānu-shaṅgochitasukhamanas[2]), that his heart was so soft that he could be won over by mere devotion and submission, and that he was full of mercy ('bhaktya-vanatimātragrāhyamṛiduhṛidaya' and 'anukampāvat'[3]), that he was so just as to be a cause of rise for the good and of ruin for the wicked (sādhvasādhūdayapralaya-hetu[4]), that his mind was continuously engaged in the uplift of the miserable, the poor, the unprotected and the afflicted (kṛipaṇadīnānāthāturajanoddharaṇamantra-dīkshābhyupagatamanas[5]), that many a wonderful self-less action done by him deserved to be praised for a long time (suchirastotavyānekādbhutodāracharita[6]), and that he was "a flaming embodiment of the spirit of public good (samiddhasya vigrahavato lokānugrahasya[7])". He also calls him the building of the wall of religion (dharmaprāchīrabandha[8]), a master of the true meanings of the scriptures (śāstratattvārthabhartṛi[9]), praises his learning which pierces the essential nature of things (vaidushyam tattvabhedi[10]) and refers to him as the only

1. I.I., P. 258, Para 25.
2. I.I., P. 255, Para 5.
3. I.I., P. 259, Para 25.
4. I.I.
5. I.I., P. 259, Para 26.
6. I.I., Para 27.
7. I.I., Para 26 : the translation of this passage is as given by D. B. Diskalkar, *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Part II, P. 47.
8. I.I., P. 256, Para 15.
9. I.I., P. 255, Para 5.
10. I.I., P. 256, Para 15.

object worthy of the contemplation of those who know to appreciate excellent qualities and discernment (guṇamatividushām dhyānapātram ya ekaḥ[1]).

Thus there can be no doubt that in view of the moral qualities, too, which the *Guṇavachanadvātriṁśikā* refers to, Samudragupta is a suitable object of Siddhasena's eulogy.

(3) The impression that the *Guṇavachanadvātriṁśikā* might be addressed to Samudragupta is further strengthened by the fact that in other respects, too, Harishena's Praśasti, supplemented by the Eraṇ Pillar Inscription, ascribes to Samudragupta, with most striking concurrence, exactly the same characteristic features and deeds as Siddhasena praises in his patron, such as :

(*a*) Descent from dynasty of kings[2],=Point 1 (supra).

(*b*) Numerous principalities existing[3],=Point 3.

(*c*) Victorious campaigns led against the latter,[4] =Point 4.

(*d*) Defeated princes become vassals, their lands being restored to them[5],=Point 5.

(*e*) Alliances by diplomatic transactions with neighbours, some of them kings[6],=Point 6.

(*f*) Creation of consolidated empire[7],=Point 7.

1. l.l., P. 256, Para 16.
2. Allahabad Pillar Inscription, Sircar, l.l., P. 259, Para 28f., as well as following records.
3. l.l., throughout.
4. Do.
5. l.l., P. 258, Para 23 and P. 259, Para 26.
6. l.l., P. 258, Para 23 f.
7. l.l., throughout.

(*g*) Strict rule[1],=Point 8.

(*h*) Great prosperity[2],=Point 10.

(*i*) Fame transgressing the oceans[3],=Point 12.

(*j*) Love for learning and philosophy[4],=Point 13.

(*k*) Having sons[5],=Point 14.

(*l*) His excellent qualities, surpassing those of all other rulers, are the cause of his fame[6], =Point 15.

(*m*) Sagacity[7],=Point 16.

(*n*) Liberality[8],=Point 17.

(*o*) Skill at arms and valour[9],=Point 19.

(*p*) Outspoken kindness of heart[10],=Point 20.

(*q*) Profound erudition[11],=Point 21.

(*r*) Being a Hindu[12],=Point 23.

(*s*) Super-man[13],=Point 26.

If Harisheṇa (leaving aside the Eraṇ Pillar Inscription, as it is anyhow incomplete) does not mention the period of continued peace and prosperity to which

1. l.l., P. 258, Para 22 f.; P. 162, Para 24.
2. l.l., P. 259, Para 26, and following records.
3. l.l., P. 258, Para 24 (vide also P. 258, Para 25, P. 259, Para 30 and P. 261, Para 22).
4. l.l., P. 255, Para 5 f.; P. 256, Paras 15 ff.; P. 259, Para 26, etc.
5. Eraṇ Pillar Inscription, l.l., P. 161, Para 19.
6. Allahabad Pillar Inscription, l.l., P. 258, Para 25; also P. 161, Para 21 f.
7. l.l., P. 259, Para 27.
8. l.l., P. 259, Paras 25 and 26.
9. l.l., P. 256, Paras 11, 13 17, 18; P. 259, Paras 26 and 30 (Stanza 9); and P. 261, Paras 13, 16 and 23.
10. l.l., P. 258 f., Paras 25 and 26.
11. l.l., P. 255, Para 5 f.; P. 256, Para 15; P. 259, Para 27.
12. l.l., throughout.
13. l.l., P. 255, Para 9; P. 256, Para 16; P. 258, Paras 24 and 25; P. 259, Para 28.

Siddhasena so emphatically refers, this may be due to the fact that Harisheṇa's. Praśasti was probably composed at a time when Samudragupta's campaigns either had just come to an end or were still in progress (an assumption which is also corroborated by the much commented-upon absence of any allusion therein to the Aśvamedha performed by that ruler). Siddhasena, on the other hand, appears to have written his Dvātriṁśikā towards the end of the reign of that Emperor, as already suggested. (For him, as a Jaina Sādhu, the absence of any allusion to the Aśvamedha is only natural.)

The beautiful characterization of Samudragupta as "a lord, super-man, severe, ever vigilant, mindful about himself", found in the Buddhist *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[1], likewise covers a number of the characteristics of Siddhasena's patron[2].

(4) It may be argued that the above considerations are of too general a nature to allow of the definite conclusion that none but Samudragupta can be the object of the *Guṇavachanadvātriṁśikā.* To meet this objection, an additional argument can be adduced in support of that proposition. This is the fact that Siddhasena's poem seems to be interwoven with allusions to contemporaneous events and persons, disguised by paranomasia, and therefore difficult to recognize for a reader remote in time and circumstances, but probably easily understood and readily enjoyed by the circle in which the poet moved.

It has already been seen that the poem is full of *double entendre* and that many of its words are iridescent

1. R. N. Dandekar: *A History of the Guptas*, P. 67.

2. An idea of Samudragupta's personality can be formed from a perusal of Radha Kumud Mookerji's note *Character of Samudragupta from his Inscription and Coins* in *Indian Culture*, Vol IX, Pp. 177 ff.

with variegated meanings, challenging the reader's imagination to follow the poet into the intricacies of his fancy. When he, *e. g.*, uses the word "guṇa", he often leaves it to the reader to find out whether "virtues" are referred to, or the "attributes" of Logic, or both; or when he calls his hero's Fame "aprameya" (St. 6), he keeps him wondering whether this adjective is used in the conventional sense of "immeasurable", or the special one of "not to be proved" which it has as a logical term, or both; or when he speaks of the king's "naya", it may be simply "maxims", or the "stand-points" of Jaina Logic, or more likely both.

When proper nouns are concerned, the decision is even more difficult, as there is the danger of hitting beyond the mark and inferring meanings of which the poet never thought! How is, for instance, the modern reader to decide whether or not the word "Satyabhāmā" (St. 9) is meant to imply an allusion to the Empress Dattadevī, whose portrait appears on some of Samudragupta's coins, alternating with that of Śrī-Lakshmī whose co-wife she can be called with fullest justification ?[1]

How to decide whether or not the expression "Ādyapurusha" (St. 23), which may refer either to Vishṇu or to the first Tīrthaṅkara Ṛishabhanātha, simultaneously also implies an allusion to the "Ādirāja" of certain Gupta records, *i. e.*, to Ghaṭotkacha, the "Ancestor" of the Gupta Emperors ?[2]

It is still more uncertain whether or not King Hastivarman of Veṅgi, or perhaps Vyāghrarāja of Mahā-

1. Possibly it is an allusion to some passage of Samudragupta's *Kṛishṇacharita*, the pertinent part of which is not available : vide supra.

2. Vide the Poona and Rithpur Copper-plate Inscriptions of Prabhāvatī Guptā, Sircar, I.I., Pp. 412 and 415.

kāntāra whom Samudragupta defeated[1], or both, are in Siddhasena's mind, when he speaks of those "bhuja-parighaparispandadṛiptair narendraiḥ................ mṛigapatipatibhiḥ", contrasting their policy of barbaric destruction with his patron's wise practice of restitution and reconciliation (St. 14)!

Nor would it be safe to say that Vishṇugopa of Kāñchī hides himself behind the expression "gopālavat" (St. 12), used with such broad irony that this defeated adversary of Samudragupta's cannot escape from being recalled by the reader[2].

The same holds good for Maheśvara and Achyuta (St. 27), names which forcibly must have reminded the contemporary reader of Rudradeva and Achyuta, those two kings of Āryāvarta who, according to Harisheṇa,[3] were eradicated by Samudragupta: Achyuta being mentioned by the former even twice, as it appears that he was defeated by the Emperor's own arm in personal combat!

It cannot, however, be denied that the *Guṇa-vachanadvātriṁśikā* contains at least one clear and unambiguous reference to Samudragupta's history, *viz.*, the words "lālanīyā tvadājñā Mahendrādīnām yadguṇa-paritulanādurvinītā guṇās te" (St. 7). Obviously this passage would not be creditable to Siddhasena's poetic genius, were the word "Mahendra" merely to be taken in its conventional sense of "Indra-like ruler", as this meaning would be neutralized by the following "ādi" and thus become pointless and poetically insipid. It is therefore necessary to understand it as a proper name, in

1. Vide the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, Sircar, P. 256 f., Para 19 f.
2. Sircar, l. l.
3. Sircar, l. l., P. 256, Para 13 and P. 257, Para 21.

which function it can only refer to King Mahendra of Kosala, mentioned by Harisheṇa as "Kausalakamahendra", the first in the group of kings of Dakshiṇāpatha recorded to have been defeated by Samudragupta[1] during his southern campaign. Only if taken in this sense, the passage reads like true poetry, deprecatingly summing up Mahendra and those other princes as an inferior crowd, whose qualities are so negligible that Samudragupta's Qualities, measuring themselves with them, get out of control with exultation at their own superiority! The conventional meaning of "Mahendra" is not completely lost either, as now it puts a high-light of irony on the whole expression.

If it is admitted that all this evidence allows of the conclusion that Siddhasena did address his *Guṇavachanadvātriṁśikā* to Samudragupta, it is a question of minor importance whether or not the word "Chandra" or its synonyms occurring therein are meant to be taken as references to Prince Chandragupta, the later Emperor Chandragupta II. If, as has already been hinted at, the poem was written during the last years of Samudragupta's reign, Kumāra Chandragupta must then have been in the prime of his life, and his proverbial valour must have made him conspicuous even then in the military enterprises of his illustrious father. On the other hand, it is not improbable that they may refer to Samudragupta himself, who, according to V. A. Smith[2], "in his youth must have borne the titles of both Chandraprakāśa (—prabhāva) and Bālāditya or Parāditya."

Just as doubtful it is whether the comparison of the hero's splendour with that of the sun (St. 24) is

1. Sircar, P. 256, Para 19.
2. I. I., P. 347.

meant to imply an allusion to the title of Vikramāditya.

8. CONCLUSION

From the whole atmosphere which the *Guṇavachana-dvātriṁśikā*, supplemented by epigraphical records, depicts as surrounding the poet and his illustrious patron, one cannot help inferring that the above referred-to episodes which the Prabandhas and Kathānakas have handed down re Siddhasena and Vikrama do reflect a good amount of historical truth, with Siddhasena's "disciple" Vikrama safely identified as Samudragupta!

Thus the boldness, the profound erudition and independence of mental outlook which Siddhasena displays in his poem make it easy to understand how he could make to his co-religionists the unheard-of proposal to translate the Jaina Canon into Sanskrit, the honoured language of the Gupta Court, whose Golden Age was led in by his patron Samudragupta, known to have been a Sanskrit poet himself. On the other hand, the zeal for his religion which he betrays makes one understand how, excommunicated by way of expiation for this "offence", he made good by serving his beloved religion in his own way, *viz.*, by enlisting the interest of the greatest of the Gupta rulers for the Jaina Faith to such an extent that the Emperor, again true to the picture which both Siddhasena and Harisheṇa have given of his fairness, great-heartedness and generosity, restituted to the Jainas the Kudaṅgeśvara Temple, which had formerly been a Jaina temple[1], allowed them to erect Tīrthaṅkara temples where they pleased, and accorded substantial grants and other concessions to places of Jaina worship. And who knows to what extent that

1. Vide my article quoted above.

great monarch, merciful and philosophically inclined as he was, may have not been attracted by Jaina doctrines, for whom a more eloquent and enthusiastic exponent than Siddhasena can scarcely be imagined !

That other well-known episode of the "Four Ślokas" referred to above, representing poet and patron as bandying Sanskrit verses *à la impromptu,* likewise fits in well with the characteristics of both, supplied by the Dvātriṁśikā and epigraphical records.

The story, too, that Siddhasena temporarily became somewhat lax in his habits, dazzled by court-life and royal favour, and had to be brought back to the fold of rigid monastic discipline by his old Guru[1], may be a reflection of the honours which the poet must have enjoyed at the court of his patron, though, it is true, the Prabandhas do not connect this episode with Vikrama's name.

It is not unlikely either that Siddhasena, as the *Prabhāvakacharita* (l. l., P. 60, St. 164 ff.) relates, did visit King Dhanañjaya of Broach, if this king could be proved to be identical with King Dhanañjaya of Kusthalapura, who, according to Harisheṇa, was defeated by Samudragupta in the course of his southern campaign. This would, however, presuppose Kusthalapura, a mysterious name to epigraphists as yet, to be identical with Broach, and the latter to be counted as situated in the Dakshiṇāpatha : assertions which, however, it is not intended to advocate here.

If thus all the above observations combine in proclaiming that Siddhasena Divākara flourished during the reign of Samudragupta, and that most likely during

1. Vide *Prabhāvakacharita*, l.l., P. 56, St. 74 ff.; *Prabandhakośa*, l.l., P. 17, Para 25; *Samyaktvasaptatikā-vṛitti*, l.l.; *Upadeśaprāsāda*, l.l.

his later years, it can moreover be concluded that he must have lived down into the reign of Chandragupta II. For though Samudragupta, as has been pointed out before, is now included in the number of those rulers who bore the appellation of Vikramāditya, and though, therefore, it is yet to be decided which of the literary references to Vikramāditya, ascribed to Chandragupta, actually point to that ruler, and which to his brilliant father, still the fame of the "Śakāri" will probably remain on the shoulders of Chandragupta II. Therefore the nine gems, too, would remain connected with the latter, and it would appear that Siddhasena, though he addressed the *Guṇavachanadvātriṁśikā* to Samudragupta, was also conspicuous at the court of Chandragupta II as the Kshapaṇaka-Śrutasena mentioned in the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*. Later on, legend obviously mixed up the several features of the two Gupta "Vikramādityas", welding them into the figure of one single monarch, who, from a tolerant and philosophically inclined ruler, who favoured and patronized the famous Jaina logician and probably liked to hear Jaina Philosophy expounded along with the Six Hindu Darśanas, gradually became a Śrāvaka King in the light of Jaina Tradition.

Not only thus much, but this king seems gradually also to have become invested with the title of "Saṁvatsara-pravartaka", being made responsible for the introduction of the "Vikrama-Saṁvat". This presupposed the feat of projecting this "Vikramāditya", and with him his "Guru", back by several centuries, so as to enable their existence in 56 B. C., which (vide the second chapter of this paper) the Prabandhas and Paṭṭāvalīs report, fusing this already synthetic "Vikramāditya" with the assumed mysterious prototype of all the numerous "Vikramādityas", "Śakāris" and

"Saṁvatsara-pravartakas" of the ensuing ages, *viz.*, the genuine founder of the "Vikrama-Saṁvat", thus leaving philologists and historians, in Siddhasena's words, *param vyaṁsitāḥ* !

And yet, who can say whether Siddhasena's patron Samudragupta was not indeed a ' Saṁvatsara-pravartaka", only not with regard to the "Vikrama Era," but to the much discussed "Gupta Era[1]" ? Referring to the Nālandā and Gayā Copper-plates of Samudragupta, D. C. Sircar says: "If however it may be assumed that this charter and No. 5, infra, were forged to make up the loss of genuine charters of Samudragupta dated in year 5 and year 9, it should be suggested that the Gupta Era began from the 1st year of this king"[2]. As R. C. Majumdar has recently shown[3] that these charters are indeed most probably exact copies of spoilt originals, this latter assumption would be a fact. Therefore Stanza 27 of the *Guṇavachanadvātriṁśikā* might be taken as a most significant reflection of this important historical event !

In this paper, it has been attempted to disentangle, out of the jumble of the three heterogeneous "Vikramādityas" which the tradition of the Jainas presents, at least those two bearers of that title who functioned as the patrons of Siddhasena Divākara. It seems a thankless task to try to say anything new re the third one, the "Vikramāditya" *kat' exochen*, on the basis of the

1. Vide V. A. Smith, l.l., P. 296, as well as later theories sponsored by S. K. Dikshit in *Indian Culture*, VI (1940), Pp. 191 ff., Dhirendra Nath Mookerji in *Bhāratīya Vidyā* of 1945, P. 96, and M. V. Kibe in *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Vol. I (1944), Pp. 417 ff.

2. l. l., P. 263, Note.

3. *The Gayā and Nālandā Plates of Samudragupta* (*Indian Culture*, Vol. XI, Pp. 225 ff.).

expedients available so far, since, after deducting these two Gupta Vikramādityas, it is only a dreary skeleton what remains of the much discussed "Vikramāditya" of the Jainas, alleged contemporary of Kālakāchārya and dislodger of the "Sāhāṇusāhis" whom the latter Āchārya had piloted to Gardabhilla's capital Ujjayinī from far-off "Śakakula"[1]: it is not much more than a name, which, though sanctified by a hoary tradition, no scholarly acumen has been able to bring to life up-to this day ! It is just possible that excavations undertaken on the site of ancient Ujjayinī may some day perform the miracle : yet who would *a priori* guarantee even their success ?[2]

1. Vide W. Norman Brown, *The Story of Kālaka,* Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Oriental Series, Washington, 1933, Pp. 3 ff. and P. 56, Note 10.

2. I am sorry to state that MS No. 119 of Muniraj Shri Kantivijayaji's Bhandar at Chhani, which, according to the *Jinaratnakośa, s.* v. "Dvātriṁśad-dvātriṁśikā No. I", promises to contain a commentary to the whole of Siddhasena Divākara's *Dvātriṁśad-dvātriṁśikā* by Udayasāgara, contains in reality only a Ṭīkā to the 21st (or "Vardhamāna—)" Dvātriṁśikā, as I was informed on my request for the loan of this MS.—It is therefore a fact that so far no commentary to Siddhasena's remaining 20 Dvātriṁśikās, including the *Guṇavachanadvātriṁśikā,* is known to exist.

AVANTĪ IN ANCIENT INDIA

By

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The Avantīs were one of the most powerful of the Kshatriya clans in ancient India. They occupied the territory which lay north of the Vindhya mountains. They were one of the four chief monarchies in India when Buddhism arose and were later absorbed into the Moriyan empire[1]. They were an ancient people as the *Mahābhārata* points out. Their dual monarchs, Vinda and Anuvinda, led Duryodhana's army in the battle of Kurukshetra and really speaking the Avantīs made up one-fifth of the entire Kuru host[2]. They were great warriors accomplished in battles, of firm strength and prowess, and were two of the best chariot-warriors. They used to fight with maces, bearded darts, swords and long spears[3]. They figured very prominently in the course of the whole war and performed many glorious and heroic deeds. They rendered great and useful service to the Kaurava cause both by their individual prowess and generalship, as well as by the numerous army consisting of forces of all descriptions that they

1. *Psalms of the Brethren*, P. 107, N. 1.
2. *Mbh*, V. 19. 24.
3. *Ibid.*, V. 166.

led to battle. They supported Bhīshma in the early stage of the battle[1]. They led an attack against the mighty Arjuna[2]. They fought very bravely with the mighty Irāvat, son of Arjuna. They attacked Dhṛishṭadyumna, the Generalissimo of the Pāṇḍavas. They surrounded Arjuna and fought Bhīmasena.[3] Thus they fought bravely in the field until they laid down their lives at the hands of Arjuna according to some[4] or at the hands of Bhīma according to others[5].

According to the *Matsya-Purāṇa* (Ch. 43) the Avantīs originated from the Haihaya dynasty[6] of which Kārttavīryārjuna was the most glorious ruler. There were marital relations between the royal families of the Avantīs and the ruling dynasty of the Yadus. Rājyādhidevī, a Yadu princess, was married to the king of Avantī[7]. She gave birth to two sons, Vinda and Upavinda, who are most probably to be identified with the heroic Avantī princes, Vinda and Anuvinda, whose mighty deeds in the Kurukshetra battle are recorded in the *Mahābhārata*[8].

The celebrated grammarian Pāṇini refers to Avantī in one of his sūtras (IV. 1. 176).

It is interesting to note that the country of Avantī much of which is rich land had been colonised or conquered by Āryan tribes who came down the Indus Valley and turned east from the Gulf of Kutch. It was called Avantī as late as the second century A. D.

1. *Ibid.*, VI. 16; II. 17, etc.
2. *Ibid.*, VI. 59.
3. *Ibid.*, VI. 102 and 113.
4. *Ibid.*, VII. 99.
5. *Ibid.*, XI. 22.
6. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Pp. 102, 267.
7. *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, IV. 12; *Agni-Purāṇa*, Ch. 275.
8. *Ibid.*, IV. 14.

as we find in Rudradāman's inscription at Junāgarh, but from the 7th or 8th century onwards it was called Mālava[1].

Avantī was one of the most flourishing kingdoms of ancient India and one of the sixteen great territories (mahājanapadas) of the Jambudīpa. The country produced abundance of food and the people were wealthy and prosperous[2]. It was here that the Pālī language in which the books of the Hīnayāna Buddhists have been written was, according to some, probably a mixed form of speech and it was elaborated in Avantī or Gandhāra[3].

Avantī was a great centre of Buddhism. Several of the most earnest and zealous adherents of the Dhamma either were born or resided here, *e. g.*, Abhayakumāra[4], Isidāsī[5], Isidatta[6], Dhammapāla[7], Soṇakuṭikaṇṇa[8], and especially Mahākachchāyana[9].

Mahākachchāyana was born at Ujjayinī in the amily of the chaplain (purohita) of King Chaṇḍa Pajjota. He learnt the three Vedas and after his father's death he succeeded him to the chaplainship. He went to the Buddha who taught him the Norm with such effect that, at the end of the lesson, he with his attendants was established in arhantship with thorough grasp of letter and meaning. It was through

1. *Buddhist India*, P. 28.
2. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, IV, 252, 256, 261.
3. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, 282.
4. *Theragāthā Comm.* 39.
5. *Therīgāthā Comm.* 261-4.
6. *Theragāthā*, 120.
7. *Ibid.*, 204.
8. *Ibid.*, 369; *Udāna*, v. 6.
9. *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, III, P. 9; IV, 117; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, 23; V, 46; *Majjhima Nikāya*, III, 94, 223.

his effort that he succeeded in establishing Pajjota in the faith[1]. Mahākachchāyana himself being a native of Avantī worked with zeal for the diffusion of the new faith amongst his countrymen. The great success of his missionary activity, in his native province is somewhat explained by the fact of his initial success in converting the ruler of the country, Chaṇḍa Pajjota. He while dwelling at Avantī so successfully explained in detail the meaning of a stanza mainly dealing with *Kasiṇas* to an upāsikā named Kālī that she was very much satisfied with his explanation. He also explained to a householder of Avantī named Haliddikāni a stanza dealing with the question of *vedanā, rūpa, saññā and viññāna dhātus* and *saṁkhāra*, and the householder was very much satisfied. The same devout and inquisitive householder again approached him for the elucidation of some of the knotty points of the Buddhist doctrine and he made them clear to him[2]. Mahākachchāyana used to be present whenever any sermon was delivered by the Buddha on Dhamma. Therefore the bhikkhus used to keep a seat for him[3]. It is, therefore, clear that the followers of Buddhism in the western province of Avantī must have been very numerous and influential at the same time, showing that under the energetic ministration of the Thera Mahākachchāyana the new doctrine of peace and emancipation had spread far and wide over the province..

Mahāvīra, the great propounder of the Jaina faith, is said to have performed some of his penances in the country of Avantī. The capital of Avantī, Ujjayinī,

1. *Psalms of the Brethren*, 238-9.
2. *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, IV, Pp. 115-16.
3. *Dhammapada Commentary*, II, Pp. 176-77.

was also visited by him where he did penance in a cemetery when Rudra and his wife tried in vain to interrupt him[1].

One of the sacred places of the Liṅgāyat sect is situated in Avantī at Ujjayinī (Ujjenī) which is frequently visited by the Liṅgāyat itinerant ascetics[2].

The Pradyotas were kings of Avantī. King Chaṇḍa Pajjota (Chaṇḍa Pradyota) was a contemporary of the Buddha. In Buddha's time the king of Madhurā was styled Avantiputta showing that on his mother's side he was connected with the royal family of Ujjayinī[3]. Ujjayinī played an important part in the political history of India. Under the Pradyotas, it rose to a very high position and its power and prowess were feared even by the great emperors of Magadha. Ajātaśatru fortified his capital Rājagṛiha in expectation of an attack about to be made by King Pajjota of Ujjenī. A matrimonial alliance was established between the royal families of Kauśāmbī and Avantī. Pajjota, king of Avantī, grew angry and was determined to attack Udena, king of Kosambī, knowing that he (Udena) surpassed him in glory. Pajjota got an elephant made of wood and concealed in it sixty warriors. Knowing that Udena had a special liking for fine elephants, Pajjota had informed him by spies that a matchless and glorious elephant could be found in the frontier forest. Udena came to the forest and, in the pursuit of the prize, he became separated from his retinue and was made captive. While a captive he fell in love with Vāsuladattā, King Pajjota's daughter. Taking advantage of Pajjota's absence from his kingdom, he fled from his

1. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, P. 33.
2. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, 227.
3. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, P. 53,

kingdom with Vāsuladattā. Udena managed to reach his kingdom taking Vāsuladattā with him. He made her his queen[1]. In the 4th century B. C. Ujjenī became subject to Magadha. Aśoka, Chandragupta's grandson, was stationed at Ujjain as viceroy of the Avantī country[2]. Vikramāditya, the celebrated king of Ujjain, expelled the Scythians and thereafter established his power over the greater part of India. He restored the Hindu monarchy to its ancient splendour[3]. In later times some of the ruling families of Avantī made mark in Indian history. Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty dethroned Indrāyudha and installed in his place Chakrāyudha with the assent of the neighbouring northern powers of the Avantīs, the Bhojas and the Yavanas[4]. The Paramāra dynasty of Malwa (anciently known as Avantī) was founded by Upendra or Kṛishṇarāja early in the 9th century. Muñja who was famous for his learning and eloquence was not only a patron of poets but himself a poet of no mean reputation. Muñja's nephew, the famous Bhoja, ascended the throne of Dhārā which was in those days the capital of Malwa and ruled gloriously for more than forty years Until the beginning of the thirteenth century A. D. the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa lasted as a purely local power. In this century this dynasty was superseded by chiefs of the Tomara clan who were followed in their turn by the Chauhan kings from whom the crown passed to the Moslem kings in 1401 A. D.

Avantī became a great commercial centre. Here met the three routes, from the western coast with its sea-ports Surpāraka (Sopārā) and Bhṛigukachchha

1. Cf. *Buddhist India*, Pp. 4-7, and Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta*.
2. Smith, *Aśoka*, P. 235.
3. McCrindle, *Ancient India*, Pp. 154-55.
4. Smith, *Early History of India*, P. 398.

(Broach), from the Deccan and from Śrāvastī in Kośala (Oudh). The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea (Sec. 48) points out that from Ozene (Ujjain) was brought down to Barygaza commodities for local consumption or export to other parts of India, *e. g.*, onyx-stones, porcelain, fine muslins, mallow-tinted cotton, etc.

Avantī was also a great centre of learning. The Hindu astronomers reckoned their first meridian of longitude from Ujjayinī and the dramas of Kālidāsa were performed on the occasion of the Spring Festival before its Viceregal Court, *c.* 400 A. D.[1] Nine famous persons known as *Nava-Ratna* (nine gems) adorned the court of Vikramāditya, king of Ujjayinī.

Ujjayinī, the capital of Avantī which is situated on the Śiprā, a tributary of the Charmaṇvatī (Chambal), is the modern Ujjain in Gwalior in Central India. It was built by Achchutagāmī[2]. According to the *Āvantya-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* (Chap. 43), the great god Mahādeva after destroying the great demon called Tripura visited Avantipura, the capital of the Avantīs, which, in honour of the great victory obtained by the god, came to be known as Ujjayinī. This city was visited by the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, in the 7th century A. D. According to him, Ujjayinī was about 6,000 li in circuit. It was a populous city. There were several convents but they were mostly in ruins. There were many priests. The king belonged to the Brahmin caste. Not far from the city there was a stūpa[3].

The coins current in Ujjain have a special mark. On some of the rare coins the word *Ujeniya* is incised in Brāhmī characters of the 2nd century B. C. Generally

1. Rapson, *Ancient India*, P. 175.
2. *Dīpavaṁsa* (Oldenberg), P. 57.
3. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, 270.

on one side is found a man with a symbol of the sun and on the other is seen the sign of Ujjain. On some coins, a bull within a fence or the Bodhi tree or the Sumeru hill or the figure of the Goddess of Fortune is seen on one side. Some coins of Ujjain are quadrangular while others are round[1]. Square copper Moghul coins were struck in this city upto the time of Shāh Jāhān I[2]. The class of round coins found at Ujjain display a special symbol, the 'cross and balls' known as the Ujjain symbol[3].

1. R. D. Banerjee, *Prāchīna Mudrā*, P. 108.
2. Brown, *Coins of India*, P. 87.
3. *Ibid.*, P. 20.

KING VIKRAMĀDITYA AND VIKRAMA SAṂVAT

By

R. C. MAJUMDAR, Dacca

The era known today as Vikrama Saṁvat and traditionally associated with King Vikramāditya has just completed two thousand years. It is, therefore, a fit occasion for discussing its origin and the historical character of the great king after whom it is named.

The problem has engaged the attention of Indologists for a long time and wild views were entertained on the subject even by reputed scholars. A typical example of extreme scepticism is furnished by Fergusson. He held that a king Vikramāditya defeated the Hūṇas in the battle of Kahror in 544 A. D., and the era was started from that year to celebrate that victory; but in order to give the era an antiquated appearance, the Brāhmaṇas antedated it by 600 years or 10 complete sixty-year cycles.

This theory was adumbrated in 1880. Archaeological discoveries, since made, have proved beyond dispute that the era was in actual use long before 544 A. D., and no one now doubts that the era was actually started in 57 B. C. But the old view that there was no king called Vikramāditya in the first century B. C., and

the era of 57 B. C. had nothing to do with any such king, still holds the ground.[1] I propose therefore to deal separately with the two following questions :—

1. Was there a king Vikramāditya in the first century B. C. ?

2. If so, was the era of 57 B. C. founded by him ?

1. KING VIKRAMĀDITYA

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, writing in 1900,[2] observed : "The tradition about a Vikramāditya, who was *Śakāri* or enemy of the Śakas and drove them and other foreigners out of the country and patronized learning, is appropriately applicable only to Chandragupta II of all the princes who flourished before him and after and whose names have come down to us." The statement, which forms the basis of the views now almost universally accepted, conveys the impression that there is only a vague tradition or general statement that Vikramāditya defeated the Śakas, and hence any king with that name or title, who is known to have defeated the

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1. In a thesis submitted to the Calcutta University in 1912 I argued in favour of the old traditional view. A Bengali translation of the portion relating to Vikramāditya and the Vikrama era was published in a Bengali journal *Pratibhā* in 1913. Since then MM. H. P. Sastri (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, P. 319) and Sten Konow (*Ibid*, Vol. XIV, P. 294) have incidentally supported the old tradition, but without any detailed discussion. The present paper is mainly based on my thesis of 1912, with notice of additional facts and arguments since published.

With the exception of the two scholars mentioned above, almost all are definitely of opinion that there was no King Vikramâditya in the first century B. C. Dr. Fleet, for example, remarks : "Later research, however, has shown that there was no such king Vikramāditya and that that story (of his founding an era in 57 B. C.) is nothing but a myth, dating from the ninth or tenth century A. D. (*JRAS*, 1913, P. 997). Other writers, following him, have held that "it has been established that there was no Vikramâditya in the 1st century B. C." (*IHQ*, Vol. XI, P. 212).

2. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, P. 398.

Śakas, may be taken as the historical Vikramāditya round whom the traditions had grown up. In fact, however, the tradition is a long and complete story about King Vikramāditya, and it is necessary to state it at some length and discuss its historical character before formulating any opinion on his identification with any historical king.

The traditions about Vikramāditya fall into two distinct classes. The one comprises mere legends describing the supernatural powers and eminent qualities of his head and heart such as are found in *Vetālapañchaviṁśati* and *Dvātriṁśatputtalikā*. These have no historical value beyond proving that Vikramāditya was regarded as an ideal king long after his death. The other includes historical traditions which are contained partly in standard works of Jaina literature and partly in narratives connected with the history of Jaina religion. I shall take Merutuṅga's *Therāvalī* as a type of the first and Kālakāchārya's narrative as an example of the other.

Merutuṅga is a Jaina scholar of the 14th century. His work is written in the form of comments on some of the old *gāthās* containing historical and chronological data. The work is composed in Sanskrit, but Merutuṅga generally quotes *gāthās* or verses in modified *Māgadhī* as authority for his dates and statements, and explains them in Sanskrit prose. The substance of his historical[1] and chronological informations regarding the kingdom of Mālava may be stated as follows[1] :—

"Chandra Pradyota, king of Avanti, died on the same night as Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra. His son Pālaka reigned for 60 years. At that time the Nandas succeeded to the supreme power at Pāṭaliputra, and Ujjayinī

1. *Ibid*, Vol. IX, Pp. 147 ff.

fell into their hands. Nine Nandas following one another in succession reigned for 155 years. Then the Mauryas ruled for 108 years. After the Mauryas Pushpamitra ruled for 30 years. Then came Balamitra and Bhānumitra whose joint reign covered 60 years, and Nabhovāhana who ruled for 40 years. Then came the Gardabhilla dynasty which was in power for 152 years. Gardabhilla reigned for 13 years and was then expelled by the Śaka kings who ruled for 4 years. Vikramāditya, son of Gardabhilla, regained the kingdom of Ujjayinī, founded the Vikrama era and reigned for 60 years. His four successors ruled respectively for 40, 11, 14 and 10 years. Then the Śaka era commenced."

The foregoing statement may be summed up in the following chronological table :—

Mahāvīra died ..	.. 527 B. C.
Pālaka, acc. ..	.. 527 ,,
Nandas establish supremacy	.. 467 ,,
Mauryas establish supremacy	.. 312 ,,
Pushpamitra, acc. ..	.. 204 ,,
Balamitra, acc. ..	.. 174 ,,
Nabhovāhana, acc. ..	.. 114 ,,
Gardabhilla, acc. ..	.. 74 ,,
Gardabhilla expelled by the Śakas	61 ,,
Vikramāditya recovers Ujjayinī ..	57 ,,
Four successors of Vikramāditya	3-78 A. D.
Śaka era commences ..	.. 78 A. D.

There is nothing in this general chronological scheme which, on the face of it, appears to be absurd or even unworthy of belief. In point of details also Merutuṅga's account is in fair accordance with known historical facts. The statement that the Mauryas ruled for

108 years may be reconciled with the Purāṇic statement by supposing that the 30 years assigned to Pushyamitra represent the last 30 years of the nominal Maurya rule during which Pushyamitra was exercising the real authority. It is noteworthy that according to the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* Pushyamitra ruled for 60 years, while the other Purāṇas give it as 36. Here also the discrepancy may be reconciled by a similar supposition. But whatever may be the case, Merutuṅga's chronological scheme must be regarded, on the whole, as transmitting an old historical tradition, which, though not acceptable in all its details without further corroborative evidence, cannot be thrown out as worthless unless contradicted by positive testimony of reliable character. It may be added that the *gāthās* containing references to Vikramāditya are also found in many other works besides Merutuṅga's *Therāvalī*. Further, the great exploit of Vikramāditya, *viz.* the expulsion of the Śakas from Ujjayinī, is corroborated by the *Kālakāchāryakathā* which gives the story in fuller details. It may be summed up as follows[1] :—

"Kālakāchārya had a sister called Sarasvatī who joined the convent. King Gardabhilla of Ujjayinī was fascinated by her beauty and ravished her. Kālakāchārya, being enraged, went to the west of the Indus and lived with a Śāhi (Śaka) chief over whom he obtained great influence by means of his astrological knowledge. Gradually he came to learn that his patron and 95 other chiefs who lived in the same locality all obeyed a common overlord. Kālakāchārya persuaded his patron to

1. *Ibid*, Pp. 139 ff.; Peterson : *Third Report on Sanskrit MSS*, P. 32, and *Extracts*, P. 26. Sten Konow discusses the story and accepts it as a genuine historical tradition (*CII*, Vol. II, Pp. xxvi ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, P. 294). Jayaswal also relies on the story and cites an old version of it (*JBORS*, Vol. XVI, Pp. 233, 293). The Śāhi chiefs in the story are said to belong to Śagakula and their overlord is called Śāhānuśāhi.

invade the kingdom of Gardabhilla with the aid of his 95 fellow-chiefs, and himself joined the army that marched along Sindh and Gujarat, and besieged Ujjayinī. Ujjayinī fell and the Śakas established their supremacy in Mālava. After 17 years Vikramāditya, son of Gardabhilla, regained his kingdom by expelling the Śakas. Kālakāchārya, after defeating Gardabhilla and releasing his sister, went to the court of King Sātavāhana at Pratishṭhāna."

The above story is related in various works, and *gāthās* containing the incident have also been found. In some of them we get the additional information that "135 years after Vikrama having passed, again the Śakas expelled Vikramaputra (Vikrama's son or descendant) and conquered the kingdom."

We have tried to present the Vikramāditya tradition as briefly as possible without going into unnecessary minor details. One is perfectly justified in not accepting it as historical, so long as it is not corroborated by more positive evidence. But to regard Chandragupta II (or Skandagupta or Yaśodharman)[1] as the Vikramāditya of Indian tradition simply because he defeated the Śakas (or Hūṇas) and patronised learning (which belongs altogether to a different cycle of legends and is not mentioned in historical traditions) is a travesty of both history and tradition.

The Jaina traditions give a definite historical setting to King Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī. He flourished during the period following the dissolution of the Maurya

1. The identity with the three kings is upheld respectively by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (followed by almost all modern scholars), K. B. Pathak, and Hoernle. Jayaswal has advanced a new theory. "I have not", says he, "the least doubt that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was the Vikramāditya of the popular stories and the Jaina gāthās" (*JBORS*, Vol. XVI, P. 251).

empire when the Sātavāhana family was ruling in the Deccan and the Śakas were knocking at the gates of India, but, thanks to his valour and prowess, could not permanently establish themselves on this side of the Indus. Instead of holding up this or that king of a later date as the source of all these traditions, one should rather try to find out whether the main elements of this tradition, so consistently kept within this proper histori-cal setting, are opposed to any known facts of history or are confirmed by any independent evidence.

So far as the history of the period is known to us, the traditional account of Vikramāditya, as given above, does not militate against any known fact. On the other hand, the story of the Śaka invasion is borne out by the fact that Chashṭana, the first of a long line of Śaka Satraps ruling in Western India, had his capital at Ujjain and certainly flourished about the time when the Śakas are represented in the Jaina traditions to have finally conquered the kingdom of Mālava. That the Sātavāhanas were at that time ruling in the Deccan and the Śakas were for some time settled on the territory just beyond the Indus are also well-known facts of history.

As regards confirmation, the earliest reference to the traditional king Vikramāditya occurs in a verse[1] in Hāla's *Saptaśatī* which is generally referred to the first century A. D.[2]

1. V. 64 (Ed. Weber, No. 464).

2. According to Winternitz Hāla must have flourished in the first or second century A. D. and the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* was composed by him (*Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, Vol. III, P. 103). MM. H.P. Sastri says that "Hāla cannot be placed later than the first century A. D." (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, P. 320). Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, thinks that there are no adequate grounds for regarding Hāla as the author of *Gāthāsaptaśatī* and assigns this work to the sixth century A. D. (*R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, P. 189). This view has, however, found no supporter.

On the other hand, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's contention still remains true that his existence is not authenticated by any contemporary evidence. Such contemporary evidence could only be in the form of a coin or inscription. But in view of the paucity of such materials for this period their absence can hardly be regarded as a negative evidence of a decisive character. Even great and powerful kings like Chandragupta Maurya, Bindusāra and Pushyamitra, not to speak of earlier kings like Mahāpadma Nanda, have left no such archaeological evidence. It would, therefore, be unreasonable to reject an old historical tradition and assume the non-existence of a king Vikramāditya simply because his coins or inscriptions have not come to light. We should not, of course, definitely regard Vikramāditya as an historical person until more positive evidence is available, but it would be more reasonable to accept the existence of this king as a provisional hypothesis, like that of the many other kings whose names are known from the Purāṇas or Buddhist literature alone, than dogmatically to assert the contrary.

2. VIKRAMĀDITYA AND THE ERA OF 57 B. C.

If we accept the hypothesis that King Vikramāditya, expressly referred to in the old traditions as the founder of the era of 57 B. C., did really exist about that time, the natural inference would be that this era was either founded by him or commemorates his reign. But some scholars are of opinion that even apart from the debatable question whether there was a king Vikramāditya in the first century B. C. or not, the manner in which the era is referred to or expressed in epigraphic records precludes its association with that king. Dr. Kielhorn, one of the greatest authorities on Indian eras, concluded,

after a detailed examination of the question[1], that "the era was neither established by, nor designedly invented in memory of, a king Vikramāditya". His arguments may be summed up as follows :—

1. Had it been founded by a king Vikramāditya in 57 B. C., or had there existed any tradition to that effect, it would indeed be more than strange that no allusion should ever have been made to this for more than a thousand years afterwards.

2. Had it been invented in memory of some great king, the name of that king would surely have been prominently mentioned in the earliest dates and would not have been brought to our notice gradually, and, as it were, hesitatingly, when the era had already been in use for at least 500 years.

In support of these two arguments he refers respectively to the two following facts :—

1. A prince or a king Vikrama is for the first time spoken of in connection with the era in a poem composed in Vikrama Saṁvat 1050.

2. For the first five hundred years, the years of the era are simply referred to as *Saṁvat*. In the fifth century A. D. the era is for the first time called 'the era of the Mālavas', and in the eighth century A. D., 'the era of the Mālava Lord or Lords'. The earliest known instance of the word Vikrama occurring in a date we find in an inscription in which the year 898 is referred to 'the time called Vikrama'.

Further by analysing the first four hundred inscriptional dates in the Vikrama era he lays down the following result. That the first fifty dates contain only three

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vols. XIX (Pp. 20 ff., 166 ff., 354 ff.), XX (Pp. 124 ff., 397 ff.).

express references to the Vikrama era; the next fifty, 7 such references; the fifty dates after that, 14 references; and the last fifty, 17 such references. From this Dr. Kielhorn arrives at the conclusion that the connection of Vikrama with the era grew up gradually or was an innovation which took centuries to become generally adopted.

It is not, however, difficult to show that Dr. Kielhorn's conclusions are not warranted by his premises. For the peculiarities noted by him in regard to the Vikrama era are also true of the other eras in ancient India. Take, for example, the case of the Śaka era. The earliest inscription in which the name Śaka is used with the era of 78 A. D. is dated 500 of that era. In literature the use of the name Śaka with the era is carried back to Śaka 427 by the *Pañchasiddhāntikā.* So far as the epigraphic records are concerned, the dates of the era, for the first five hundred years, are simply referred to as *varsha.* After that came into use the terms, 'the era of the Śakas' and 'the era of Śaka King's coronation', corresponding to 'the era of the Mālavas' and 'the era of the Mālava Lord' in the case of the Vikrama Saṁvat. The name of the king who founded the era of 78 A. D. or in whose memory it was invented is not mentioned in a single instance in the numerous inscriptions dated in that era. Further, an analysis of the first hundred Śaka dates of the list given by Kielhorn gives the following result:—

(*a*) Reference to 'Śaka King' occurs only in 26 cases.

(*b*) The era is called Śālivāhana Śaka in 14 cases.

(*c*) The term Śaka alone is used with the era in the remaining 60 cases.

Thus here, too, the fact that a Śaka king founded the era is only gradually brought to our notice, even after it was mentioned at all.

The case of the Gupta era is also similar. I have analysed the first fifty dates in the Gupta era (ending in G. E. 221) contained in Bhandarkar's List in *Ep. Indica.* Out of these only 3 refer to the era as Gupta-kāla (or an equivalent expression), 37 refer to it simply as Saṁvat and the remaining 10 as *varsha* or *abda.* It may be argued that the term Gupta was not used with the era as these inscriptions contained references to a Gupta king. But the fact is that all the three inscriptions which call the era Gupta-kāla contain express reference to a Gupta king, while 23 inscriptions containing no reference either to any individual Gupta king or to Gupta sovereignty in a general way simply refer to the era as *Saṁvat* or *varsha.* As in the case of the Śaka era, not a single inscription dated in the Gupta era mentions the name of the king who founded the era; none does even refer to a Gupta king as the founder of the era. If, in spite of all these, it is permissible to hold that the Gupta and Śaka eras were respectively founded by or commemorate the accession of Chandragupta I and Kanishka (or any other king), the facts stated by Kielhorn can hardly justify the conclusion that the era of 57 B. C. was neither established by nor designedly invented in memory of a king Vikramāditya.

More recently, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has repeated the views of Dr. Kielhorn even in stronger language, and has urged that the sooner the old view (of Vikramāditya having founded the era of 57 B. C.) is consigned to oblivion, the better.[1] The only additional argument brought forward by him is that "all the earlier inscrip-

1. *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume,* Pp. 188 ff.

tions going back to the fifth century A. D. give an entirely different name for the era." This is based on the fact that five inscriptions, dated 282, 428, 461, 480 and 481, use the word *Kṛita* along with the year of the era. The meaning of the word has not yet been satisfactorily explained. According to MM. H. P. Sastri *Kṛita* was the name of the first year of a cycle of years[1] and Dr. Sten Konow has explained it on the basis of a seasonal calendar.[2] These views may not be correct, but the probability is not altogether excluded that *Kṛita* is a technical astronomical term of which the meaning is at present unknown. In any case, there are not sufficient grounds for taking *Kṛita* as the early name of the era.[3] Besides, so long as the meaning of this word is not clearly established, even such a name can hardly invalidate the theory of Vikramāditya having founded the era. For '*kṛita*' ordinarily means 'made', and it may well refer to the era which was first made, *i. e.*, established in India by King Vikramāditya. It may be noted in this connection that a duplicate of the inscription dated 282 does not contain the word *Kṛita*, and in two out of the remaining four instances the era is also associated with the Mālavas.

In his eagerness to disprove the connection of Vikramāditya with the era, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar even goes so far as to assert that the Mālavas had no special association with the era of 57 B. C., and their connection with it was only in regard to the system of

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, Pp. 319-20.
2. *CII*, Vol. II, P. lxxvi; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, P. 140.
3. Dr. Altekar thinks that the era was founded by a king named Kṛita and was named after him (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, P. 49), but this is a hypothesis which is not supported by any independent evidence. Dr. Altekar has brought to light three new (almost identical) inscriptions dated 295 in which the word '*Kṛitehi*' has been used along with the year.

reckoning the *tithis* and thereby the years also. But as Dr. Bhandarkar himself admits, the expressions used along with the years in inscriptions dated 461, 493 and 589 of the era undoubtedly mean that the era was "traditionally handed down by the Mālavas" and "according to the usage of the Mālavas". Dr. Kielhorn has also shown by an analysis of the inscriptions dated in that era that "the earliest known dates from V. 428 to V. 898 are all from eastern Rajputana which borders or is included in Mālava".[1] It is difficult to maintain, in the face of all these, that the Mālavas had nothing to do with the foundation of the era. Indeed, the very close and intimate association of the era with the Mālavas during the first 900 years, which is proved both by the expressions referred to above and by the geographical area where its use was confined, is a strong argument in support of the Jaina tradition that the era was founded by Vikramāditya, king of Mālava.

In this connection I would refer to a dictum of Dr. Oldenberg, which ought to be inscribed in letters of gold on the writing-table of every student of Indology. Referring to the controversies about the true epoch and origin of the Gupta era he remarked[2]:—

"The fundamental mistake which has vitiated several of the most detailed disquisitions about the Gupta chronology consists in their touching only incidentally upon the direct and very clear ancient tradition which we possess regarding it, instead of placing distinctly this tradition in the foreground and of systematically discussing the question whether any serious objection can be opposed to it."

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, P. 402.

2. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, P. 217.

The final solution of the problem of the Gupta era has proved the wisdom of the above view of Oldenberg. I have followed the principle recommended by Oldenberg in regard to Vikrama era, and have sought to establish the following conclusions :—

(1) That according to a very clear and ancient tradition, which bears the stamp of historical character, King Vikramāditya of Mālava founded the era, and it commemorates the expulsion, by him, of the Śakas who had captured his capital city Ujjayinī ; and

(2) That no definitely established historical fact is in conflict with the above tradition.

In conclusion, I hope that any one who discusses the question in an unbiassed spirit, and on the principle so well stated by Oldenberg, will accept the main elements of the Jaina tradition about Vikramāditya as a provisional hypothesis, until it is confirmed or demolished by more positive evidence. In any case, it is time that the hunting for the King Vikramāditya of tradition among the crowned heads of ancient India must definitely come to an end.

KALIDASA AS SEEN IN HIS WORKS

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That genius is purely a celestial gift was so deep-rooted a belief with Indians in the past that whenever they came across a man of phenomenal mind they invariably attributed his intellectual brilliance to divine favour. In order to emphasize this idea of theirs they invented stories in which they represented the man in question as a fool by birth but turning out a prodigy by a touch from heaven. Thus was our Pāṇini only a dullard, plodding wearily amidst laughter and contempt in the hermitage of Varsha, when one day as he threw himself, in frenzied despair, upon the mercy of the Lord of Kailāsa, there flashed upon his mind the entire Science of Language at the rumbling of the Lord's drum! So was our Tulasīdāsa only a passionate lover, but metamorphosed into a devout worshipper by a gentle reproof from his wife; and helped by a goblin to the beatific vision of God, he warbled out verses which shine like stars! So our Kālidāsa, too, has not fared better in the current legends about him.

Born of Brāhmaṇa parents but left an orphan at the age of six months, brought up as a foundling by a cowherd whose cattle he tended till he arrived at years of discretion, Kālidāsa attracted the notice of a certain minister by his sheer folly of hacking the very branch of a tree on which he sat. This minister had been asked by his sovereign to find a suitable match for his daughter who had rejected not only his son but also several other young suitors as being too inferior to her in learning. Naturally out of spite he was on the look-out for a youth who was handsome in looks but altogether blank in mind. As these two conditions were fulfilled in this clumsy woodcutter, he forthwith took him in hand, and having conspired with all the vindictive Paṇḍitas of the realm who had been worsted by the princess in disputations, and having instructed Kālidāsa not to open his lips on any account, he brought him into the presence of the king, attired in fine clothes and attended by admiring disciples, as a repository of all arts and sciences. The princess was told that on account of a vow Kālidāsa abstained from the use of words and debated through the medium of signs only. Therefore, to test him she first raised her forefinger, meaning thereby that there was only one homogeneous Entity in the Universe. By way of rejoinder Kālidāsa raised his two fingers, meaning thereby that if she injured one eye of his he would put out her both. Now the counterfeit disciples, fully supported by the court Paṇḍitas, raised a clamour that their Guru was perfectly right in maintaining that Matter and Spirit were two separate realities and not one evolving from the other. And before that captious and vociferous crowd, the princess was simply dumbfounded. She had to accept defeat and, being favourably impressed

by Kālidāsa's prepossessing appearance, accepted him also as her consort.

But on the day of their first meeting the fraud was discovered. Wild with rage and remorse, the princess spurned him out of her room as unfit even to be her torch-bearer. Stricken in conscience and ashamed of his life, Kālidāsa repaired to a sequestered temple and, looking upon himself as no better than a goat in intellect, offered himself as a sacrifice to the Goddess Kālī. And as he raised his dagger to put it into his bosom, the Goddess caught hold of his hand and breathed into him a portion of her own power. That very instant Kālidāsa the idiot became the idol of India!

Some time after, Kālidāsa sought an interview with the princess, which she condescendingly granted him. As his face seemed to beam with super-intelligence, she jestingly asked him if he could now pretend to some elegance in speech before he talked with her. As her question was worded thus: अस्ति कश्चिद्वाग्विशेषः ?, he took up each word of it separately and made it the beginning of his three famous works which he composed on the spur of the moment. Starting with अस्ति he began as follows: अस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजः। and finished his *Kumārasaṁbhava*. Then with कश्चित् he began his *Meghadūta* as follows: कश्चित्कान्ताविरहगुरुणा स्वाधिकारात्प्रमत्तः and finished it. Lastly with वाक् he began his *Raghuvaṁśa* as follows: वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये। and finished it. These unpremeditated verses, so rich in thought, sweet in diction and graceful in conceit, changed the attitude of the princess towards him completely. Her sullen pride gave way to sincere love. But as Kālidāsa owed his intellectual rebirth to her, he revered her as mother. Thereupon in a fit of rage and disappointment she cursed him to violent death

at the hands of a woman. As he had denied himself the joys of matrimonial life, he paid court to venal beauties and passed much of his time in their company. Once upon a time, it is said, when he had gone to Ceylon to meet his friend Kumāradāsa, the author of the *Jānakīharaṇa*, there, he happened to hear from the mouth of a courtezan that the king of that place had offered a big prize for the completion of a verse which began as follows : कमले कमलोत्पत्तिः श्रूयते न तु दृश्यते। 'The rise of a lotus from a lotus is heard of, but never seen.' Thereupon Kālidāsa composed the other half of the verse in no time and solved the riddle as follows : बाले तव मुखाम्भोजात्कथमिन्दीवरद्वयम् । 'Then, my dear, how is it that (I see) a pair of blue lotuses (springing) from the red lotus of your face ?' The greedy courtezan, coveting the prize offered by the king for her own self, murdered Kālidāsa, but, when questioned threateningly by Kumāradāsa on pain of death, she confessed her crime. The king was so much grieved at the tragic end of his distinguished guest that he threw himself upon the funeral pyre that was set ablaze for Kālidāsa. The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhushana has recorded that the place where our poet was cremated in Ceylon is shown to this day at the mouth of the Kirindī river in the southern part of the island called Māṭar.

Several anecdotes are prevalent in this country about our poet's amazing skill in the impromptu composition of verses to order at the court of his patron, King Vikramāditya. All these have been recorded by Ballāla in his *Bhojaprabandha* under the supposition that Kālidāsa was associated with the generous king Bhoja of Dhārā, who reigned in the eleventh century A. D. One specimen of extemporization may be recorded here.

KĀLIDĀSA AS SEEN IN HIS WORKS

Once upon a time a certain Paṇḍita came to the royal court and having uttered a line, containing only six synonyms of 'ocean',[1] challenged the learned men of the court to complete the stanza. Through sheer inability all hung down their heads in shame. The palm of victory was about to pass over to the new-comer, when out came the first three lines from the mouth of Kālidāsa :

> अम्बा कुप्यति तात मूर्ध्नि विधृता गङ्गेयमुत्सृज्यताम्
> विद्वन् षण्मुख संततं मयि रता तस्या गतिः का वद।
> कोपाटोपवशाद्विवृद्धवदनः प्रत्युत्तरं दत्तवान्
> अम्भोधिर्जलधिः पयोधिरुदधिर्वारांनिधिर्वारिधिः॥

"Once upon a time Kārttikeya said to his father, 'Papa ! Please shake off this Ganges whom you have given a place on your own head; for mother is awfully angry at it.' Śaṅkara said in reply, 'My learned boy, where could she go—she who is for ever affectionately devoted to me ?' Thereupon through vehemence of anger the six mouths of Kārttikeya opened all at once and simultaneously therefrom came out the word 'ocean', as the fittest place for her to go to."

Since all such anecdotes about Kālidāsa occur for the first time in the work of the Tibetan Bhikshu, Tārānātha, who belongs to the seventeenth century A. D., the natural conclusion is that all the marvellous stories came into being long after the death of Kālidāsa. This conclusion is further supported by the fact that there is not the slightest reference to the Goddess's boon or to divine inspiration in any of the laudatory verses written by Bāṇa, Abhinanda, Soḍḍhala and others about Kālidāsa. Nor can any reliance be placed upon the story relating to Kālidāsa's friendship with Kumāra-

1. अम्भोधिर्जलधिः पयोधिरुदधिर्वारांनिधिर्वारिधिः.

dāsa; for its first mention occurs in a Ceylonese work of the sixteenth century A. D. Moreover, as Kumāradāsa, according to Prof. Keith's conclusive evidence, lived somewhere between 700 A. D. to 750 A. D., Kālidāsa could hardly be his contemporary, much less a friend of his.

Since the current stories about Kālidāsa, as we have seen above, are obviously figments of imagination and as the poet himself has left no account of his life and times, we have to catch glimpses of his personal history from his own writing. Literature is, after all, an expression of personality; and since personal thoughts, feelings and points of view are the outcome of one's varied experience of life, it will not be injudicious to deduce the facts of Kālidāsa's life from his works. If care is taken not to overstrain certain points under reference, our deductions will certainly deserve more credence than the traditional accounts that are in circulation.

That Kālidāsa was born in a Brāhmaṇa family may now be accepted with certainty. Whenever his narrative turns upon the seers of Vedic hymns, spiritual heads of hermitages, sacrificial priests and Brāhmaṇa students either undergoing the rigorous discipline of their teachers or about to enter the world after the completion of their studies, his heart seems to glow with such fervour as comes from affinity alone, and it is this which vivifies the word-portraits that he has drawn of them. Moreover, in the *Śākuntala* we come across a verse[1] which he has composed in imitation of

1. अमी वेदिं परितः क्लृप्तधिष्ण्याः
समिद्वन्तः प्रान्तसंस्तीर्णदर्भाः।
अपघ्नन्तो दुरितं हव्यगन्धै-
र्वैतानास्त्वां वह्नयः पावयन्तु॥

a Ṛik metre; this may be taken as an additional proof of his Brāhmaṇic origin. Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasada Shastri takes him to be a Dasorā Brāhmaṇa on the supposition that he was a native of Mandasor. But Kālidāsa's references to Ujjain leave no doubt in the mind that he was more intimately associated with this city than with Mandasor; hence MM. Shastri's conjecture is open to dispute.

The language of Kālidāsa is so chaste and refined, his thought so pointed and deep, and his information so liberal and profound that it is certain he must have in his early days received education in a systematic manner and not merely gleaned it perfunctorily at random. From the accounts of Chinese pilgrims, as also from old Pālī works, we learn that in ancient times there were magnificent Universities at Taxila in the Punjab, at Nālandā in Magadha, at Valabhī in Kathiawar, and at Ujjain in Malwa, where erudite scholars pursued knowledge in all its branches, where students from all parts of India flocked to receive instruction in various arts and sciences, and where the Muse of poetry was not neglected but propitiated with a zest. Besides these far-famed Universities, which had been in existence for several centuries in the past, there were several centres of learning, scattered all over India and located in woodland retreats called hermitages. It is at one of these places that Kālidāsa must have prosecuted his studies. His vivid portrayal of daily life in the hermitage, whether of Kaṇva in the *Śākuntala*, or of Chyavana in the *Vikramorvaśīya*, or of Vasishṭha in the first canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, does not look like a hearsay report but bears the stamp of first-hand knowledge. We may reproduce here at some length the description of Vasishṭha's hermitage, as given by the poet, when King Dilīpa arrived there

with his wife towards the close of day. 'The place looked brisk with life, as the hermits who had gone to the neighbouring forest to collect sacred wood, Kuśa grass and edible fruits were now returning with their precious load; as their wives stood at the doors of the huts, feeding the young deer that thronged around them, straining their necks eagerly for a mouthful of corn and frisking about in grateful glee; as their daughters, having filled the basins round the tender plants, stood a little away so that the birds may confidently quench their thirst out of them; as the antelopes sat unconcernedly in the front court-yards, ruminating by the side of the wild rice piled up in heaps; as the sacrificial fires were now set ablaze to receive evening oblations and the air was redolent of the smoke of burnt offerings."[1] Having slept there on a bed of Kuśa grass, Dilīpa is said to have been awakened at early dawn by the sound of pupils conning their lessons in the Vedas.

In the fifth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, while narrating the episode of Kautsa, a disciple of Varatantu, Kālidāsa incidently[2] tells us that there were fourteen subjects of study which a pupil had to complete before he was permitted by his teacher to enter the world. Both Manu and Yājñavalkya have specified these subjects as follows:—the four Vedas, the six Auxiliary Parts thereof, the Principles of Vedic Interpretation, Logic deductive and inductive, Mythology and the Code of Laws. Besides these, a poet, according to Rājaśekhara[3], must familiarise himself with various Systems of Philosophy and several Schools of Religious Belief, Civics, Politics and Economics, Erotic Science and

1. *Raghu.*, Canto I, Verses 49-53. Also cf. Canto V, Verses 5-10.
2. वित्तस्य विद्यापरिसंख्यया मे कोटीश्चतस्रो दश चाहरेति।
3. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, Chapter 8.

Dramaturgy, Pearls and Gems, Manners and Customs of different places. That our poet was quite at home in all these subjects can be shown from the incidental and yet pointed references to them in his writings in the course of his narratives and descriptions, or in his dramatic dialogues, or in his similes and metaphors. Of course he never consciously strives to overwhelm the reader with the weight of his learning, as Māgha and others do, but his versatile knowledge spontaneously manifests itself in the variety of topics which he has treated in his works.

The following two verses indicate Kālidāsa's study of the Ṛigveda and its rhythmical stress :—"You are the source of those divine words which begin with the mystic syllable *OM*, which are pronounced in three different accents--acute, grave and circumflex, which enjoin the performance of sacrifice and hold forth the fruit of heaven."[1] "Then the sage approached the resplendent Rāma, with Sītā accompanied by her two sons, as one waits upon the refulgent Sun, with the Gāyatrī hymn pronounced with proper accentuation and linguistic purity."[2] The Horse-sacrifice, as laid down in the *Yajurveda*, is referred to in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* as performed by Pushyamitra who sent an expedition under his grandson for world-wide conquest. The hymns of the *Atharvaveda* are referred to in the *Raghuvaṁśa*[3] as efficacious in securing the safety of a kingdom. The plot of the *Vikramorvaśīya* seems to have been suggested to him from the *Ṛigveda* (X. 95) and the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (V. 1-2). Some of his similes, too, give evidence of his acquaintance with Brāhmaṇa works.

1. *Kumārasaṁbhava*, Canto II, Verse 12.
2. *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto XV, Verse 76.
3. *Ibid.*, Canto I, Verses 59 and 61.

"Like Dakshiṇā, the wife of Sacrifice, was Sudakshiṇā the wife of Dilīpa"[1] is an echo of a Brāhmaṇa passage. 'The Almighty dropped a portion of His potent energy in the waters and therefrom sprang the whole creation, animate and inanimate' and 'The Supreme Self revealed itself into Male and Female forms to set the world agoing'[2], these two ideas seem to have been borrowed from the Brāhmaṇas or from the *Manusmṛiti*. Our poet has a marked leaning towards the spiritual rather than the ritual side of religion. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* he says that the knowledge of the Self is the crowning glory of the Vedas. The description of Brahmadeva and Śiva in the *Kumārasaṁbhava* and of Vishṇu in the *Raghuvaṁśa* is indicative of his firm conviction, born of Upanishad studies, that there is one single homogeneity in apparent diversity[3]. The use of such technical words as *kshetra*, *kshetrajña* and *akshara*, of such similes as 'on account of the suspension of the internal vital airs, the ascetic shines like a lamp burning steadily in a place protected from the winds', of the idea of the Himālaya as embodying the magnificence of God in inanimate creation,[4] clearly evidences his deep study of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Witness also in this connection the description of the ocean in Canto XIII of the *Raghuvaṁśa*.

Besides the Vedānta, the poet's grasp of other Systems of Philosophy including the Yoga is obvious from the eulogistic address of the gods to Brahmadeva in the second canto of the *Kumārasaṁbhava* and from the

1. *Raghu.*, Canto I, Verse 31.
2. *Kumāra.*, Canto II, Verses 5 and 7.
3. *Ibid.*, Canto II, Verse 11; Canto III, Verse 15.
4. *Ibid.*, Cantos I, III, VI.

description of Śiva's meditative trance in the third canto of the same poem, containing such technical expressions of Yogic postures as *paryaṅkabandha*, *vīrāsana* and such tenets of Yogic philosophy as 'by the inward concentration of all faculties one sees Eternal Light within oneself'.

That our poet had studied the religious and secular Laws, as embodied in Gṛihyasūtras, Dharmasūtras and Smṛitis, is evident not only from the description of the wedding of Aja and Indumatī in the *Raghuvaṁśa* and of Śiva and Pārvatī in the *Kumārasaṁbhava* according to the ritual prescribed, but also from 'The queen followed the path of the cow as Smṛiti does the import of Śruti'[1], 'The wealth of a rich man who dies childless becomes the property of State',[2] 'Śiva on the day of his marriage slept on the bare ground'[3], 'His subjects did not even slightly swerve from the line of conduct laid down by Manu'.[4] His knowledge of the technical sides of Sanskrit Grammar is witnessed in such similes as 'Like general rules whose province of operation is shrunk by exceptions',[5] 'Like a substitute placed in the room of the original root',[6] and from the etymological explanations he has given of such names as Umā, Raghu, Aja, Chandra, Tapana, Śatakratu, etc. according to Pāṇinīya system.

Kālidāsa had clearly acquired great political wisdom derived mainly from the study of the Arthaśāstras and perfected by his varied experience of life in all its aspects. This is fully borne out by his employment of

1. *Raghu.*, Canto II, Verse 2.
2. *Śākuntala*, Act VI.
3. *Kumāra.*, Canto VII, Verse 94.
4. *Raghu.*, Canto I, Verse 17.
5. *Kumāra.*, Canto II, Verse 27.
6. *Raghu.*, Canto XII, Verse 58.

the technical terms of Political Science, such as *saptāṅga*, *yātavya*, *prakṛiti*, *praśamana*, *mūla*, *pratyanta* and *pārshṇi*, in his descriptions of the domestic and foreign policy of his heroes, their expeditions, conquests, alliances and methods of government. He has actually mentioned *Śukranīti* by name in the third canto of the *Kumārasaṁbhava*, and in the first act of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* he has quoted the saying of a political writer, namely, 'The enemy that has recently come to the throne and, therefore, has had no time to establish his sway firmly in the hearts of the subjects is as easy to displace as a newly planted tree which has not yet struck its roots deep'. The description of Raghu as *Dharmavijayī*, of the Suhmas as saving their lives by resorting to *Vaitasī vṛitti*,[1] of Atithi as observing strictly the time-table for the day and night which the writers on Polity have sketched out for the rulers of the earth,[2] of Agnimitra and Dushyanta as abiding by the decisions of their Amātya-parishad in conducting the government of their kingdom, of the capital of Purūravas as having a Nāgarika to maintain peace and order in it —all this points out the poet's knowledge of the Science of Politics.

Kālidāsa had also with equal diligence studied the Erotic Science. Kaṇva's advice to Śakuntalā (Act IV, Verse 81) mostly embodies the laconic instructions of Vātsyāyana to married women: श्वश्रूश्वशुरपरिचर्या तत्पारतन्त्र्यमनुत्तरवादिता । भोगेष्वनुत्सेकः । परिजने दाक्षिण्यम् । नायकापचारेषु किञ्चित्कलुषिता नात्यर्थं निवदेत् ॥—*Kāmasūtra*, Pp. 236-239. The delightful scene of the first meeting of Dushyanta with Śakuntalā and her two friends is only a dramatic elaboration of what Vātsyāyana says about

1. *Raghu.*, Canto IV, Verse 35.
2. *Ibid.*, Canto XVII, Verse 49.

the behaviour of a young, bashful woman in the presence of her lover: 'She should open the talk with him through the mouth of her bosom friend, but herself sit silent with her eyes turned downwards and a happy smile playing upon her lips. Should the friend go beyond the formal exchange of words, she should assume a look of displeasure. Should the friend say 'Thus she confided to me', she should vehemently protest. If the lover solicits a reply from her, she should either not open her lips at all, or in faint accents pretend ignorance of what is asked, and at the same time shoot a side-long glance at him with a significant smile to add poignancy to it.'[1] The scene of the meeting of Dushyanta and Śakuntalā in the first act of the *Śākuntala* is exactly on these lines. In the *Kāmasūtra* we have a fine description of men about the town called Nāgarakas who were young gallants—clever, polite and smart-looking, and always on the lookout for a beautiful face. The use of the word *Nāgaraka* in 'साधु, आर्य ! नागरकोऽसि । अन्य-संक्रान्तप्रेमाणो नागरका अधिकं दक्षिणा भवन्ति ।'[2] 'नागरकवृत्त्या शान्तयैनाम् ।'[3] is, according to the context, in conformity with Vātsyāyana's description.

To say that Kālidāsa, the celebrated dramatist, had thoroughly studied the Science of Dramaturgy is to make a superfluous assertion. In the third act of the *Vikramorvaśīya,* while describing the representation of Bharatamuni's *Lakshmīsvayaṁvara* in heaven by celestial nymphs, in the course of which the love-sick Urvaśī inadvertently committed an error of name and was in consequence cursed by the Muni, Kālidāsa has employed such technical terms as *saṁdhi, vṛitti, rasa* and

1. *Kāmasūtra,* Pp. 202 ff.
2. *Vikramorvaśīya,* Act V.
3. *Śākuntala,* Act V.

rāga. His knowledge of the various types of Dance, such as *chhalika, bhāvika, pañchāṅgābhinaya,* is exhibited in the first two acts of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* which are mainly concerned with the wrangling of two dancing masters and the competitive test of their two pupils in this art. He seems to be familiar with all kinds of musical instruments, which have been classified into four groups as follows :—

ततं वीणादिकं वाद्यम्
आनद्धं मुरजादिकम् ।
वंशादिकं तु सुषिरम्
कांस्यतालादिकं घनम् ॥

But he seems to have a special liking for *Vīṇā* (lute) and *Muraja* (tabor) which are popularly known as Satār and Mṛidaṅga respectively. God Śiva is said to have been awakened from his sleep by the auspicious songs of Kinnaras who produced sweet strains of music from the wires of their Vīṇā in harmony with the melodious modulations of their voice.[1] The Yaksha imagines his wife as wiping the tears off the strings of her Vīṇā to set them in tune before voicing forth her sorrows of separation in pathetic melody.[2] The word *mūrchhana* used here is a technical term. It is the *māyūrī mārjanā* of *mṛidaṅga* which is said to announce to all that Mālavikā's dance was about to begin.[3] In the city of Alakā the *mṛidaṅga* was played upon to keep time to the vocal and instrumental music. His appreciation of the masterly skill in playing on the tabor is expressed in 'So lightly and in so captivating a manner did his hands move on this instrument, with such absorption of self in the spirit of his art, that the dancing

1. *Kumārasambhava,* Canto IX, Verse 85.
2. *Meghadūta,* Verse 91.
3. *Mālavikāgnimitra,* Act I.

damsels were simply swept off their feet in a trance of delight, much to their own embarrassment afterwards.'[1] His keen susceptibility to music is apparent from the following observation: 'On hearing sweet sounds even a happy mortal grows restless with a yearning for—he knows not what! Perhaps he recollects but faintly, without the consciousness of previous experience, the impressions of friendly associations of past life.'[2] How his ear was sensitive to discord of sound can be judged from the following simile: 'As revolting to the mind as a lute played upon without setting the strings in proper tune.'[3]

Like Music, our poet valued Painting very highly and understood its technique to a nicety, as is evident from such similes as 'The several features of her body were now gradually brought into relief by the touch of youth as the different parts of a picture in outline take shape by degrees under the painter's brush'[4], and from the representation of his two royal heroes, Dushyanta and Purūravas, and of the Yaksha and his wife in the *Meghadūta*, as remarkably accomplished in this art. In this connection the Picture-board scene of the sixth act of the *Śākuntala* deserves special mention. Here besides the admiring compliments paid to the king by Vidūshaka and Sānumatī for his masterly delineation of sentiment in the lovely pose and features of Śakuntalā, as seen for the first time with her two friends in the woodland habitation of Kaṇva, the king deliberates like a connoisseur as to what would be the proper background for such a picture to set off its charms in entirety. He says: 'Let there be in front

1. *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto XIX, Verse 14.
2. *Śākuntala*, Act. V, Verse 2.
3. *Kumārasaṁbhava*, Canto I, Verse 45.
4. *Ibid.*, Canto I, Verse 32.

a rippling stream of river, flanked on either side with lowly hills and having couples of swans seated on its sandy expanse in unconcerned repose; and let there be a luxuriant tree behind, with a few bark garments fluttering on its branches, underneath which I should like to paint a hind rubbing her left eye languidly against the horn of an antelope.' He further says: 'In conformity with the exquisite delicacy, bashful modesty and sylvan life of my beloved, let this be the decoration —a Śirīsha flower so placed on her ear as to touch her cheek but lightly with its hanging filaments and a necklace of lotus-fibres so drawn over her breasts as to rival the transparency of the autumnal moon-beams.' When the picture is finished, not only Sānumatī, but even Dushyanta himself is so deluded by its exact fidelity to the original that he proceeds to punish the bee for harassing his beloved.

The poet's knowledge of Astrology and Astronomy is evident from the use of such technical terms as *jāmitra; uchcha-sthāna* and others.[1] 'While entering the penance-grove of Śiva, Cupid avoided the glance of the door-keeper as carefully as a monarch does the quarter lit up by Venus when starting on an expedition of conquest';[2] 'At an auspicious moment presided over by Mitra, when the Moon was in conjunction with the Uttarāphalgunī asterism, married women dressed the hair of Pārvatī';[3] 'Let us depart from this place before Irāvatī retraces her steps, like the planet Mars turning retrogressively in its revolution to shed malign influence';[4] 'What wonder is there if the twin

1. *Kumārasambhava*, Canto VII, Verse 1; *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto III, Verse 13.
2. *Kumārasambhava*, Canto III, Verse 43.
3. *Ibid.*, Canto VII, Verse 6.
4. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act III.

Viśākhā stars follow the new digit of the Moon';[1] 'Here comes the Royal Sage with Urvaśī and Chitralekhā, like the Moon with the two Viśākhā stars';[2]—all these statements clearly indicate not only the poet's knowledge of Astrology, but also his interest in personal observation of the starry heavens. 'The physicians declare that it tells upon one's health to transgress the usual time of dinner';[3] 'Here comes Mālavikā to bring solace to your mind smitten by love, like a piece of sugar-candy to one who is tipsy with drink';[4] 'The remedies calculated to save the life of those who are just bitten by a serpent are: to excise the part injected with poison, to cauterize it, or to scarify it so as to let the blood flow out freely';[5]—all these reflect the poet's reading of works on Medicine. His descriptions of battles and campaigns reveal his study of books on the Science of Warfare.

Whether Kālidāsa had travelled through the length and breadth of India or whether he depended upon the reports of traders and pilgrims is a moot point, but it is out of question that he possessed a full and accurate knowledge of the Geography of India. In the fourth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* which deals with Raghu's conquest of the kingdoms in the East, South, West and North of India and in the sixth canto of the same poem which describes the kings of various parts of India the mention of rivers and mountains, of places with their characteristic features, customs and products is factual, not fictitious. Pearl-fisheries, saffron plants, cardamom creepers, sandals and palms

1. *Śākuntala*, Act III.
2. *Vikramorvaśiya*, Act I.
3. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act II.
4. *Ibid.*, Act III.
5. *Ibid.*, Act IV, Verse 4.

of all kinds, grapes and vines have been described in connection with those parts of India where they are found to this day. His description of the cloud-messenger's way from Rāmagiri (modern Rāmṭek near Nagpur) to Alakā on the Kailāsa mountain is equally accurate.

Since Kālidāsa derived the material for his poems and plays from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the Purāṇas and current literature, his careful study of these needs only passing mention. The similarity of ideas and expression between him on one hand and Bhāsa on the other is so striking as to suggest that this celebrated man of letters, his predecessor, was a source of inspiration to him and his pioneer in the classical style of poetry, which he brought to perfection. He was not a slavish imitator; what he imbibed, he assimilated; what he made his own, he reproduced in his own way which is decidedly better both in matter and form.

What idea do we form of Kālidāsa the man from his writings? He was neither a recluse shunning society, nor a cynic hating mankind, nor a rake given to frivolous way of life, but a respectable citizen, a dutiful householder, a faithful husband, a loving father and a sincere friend. Otherwise, how could he voice forth with such pathetic tenderness and touching melody the sorrows of a lovely heart torn away temporarily or permanently from its life-long companion in weal and woe as he does in the *Meghadūta* and the *Raghuvaṁśa*? How could he say 'Blessed are those mortals who are soiled by the dust of their children's limbs,—the children which run to their lap with guileless smiles that reveal the lustre of their budding teeth,—the children that prattle forth delightful nothings in sweet and indistinct accents'?[1] How could he write of a wife as 'She was not

1. *Śākuntala*, Act VII.

only the queen of my household, but my best counsellor in need, my bosom friend to share the burden of my heart, my dearest pupil in fine arts';[1] or pay such compliments to women as 'The performance of religious duties is impossible without them',[2] 'They are indispensable to successful negotiations in marriage affairs'[3], 'Their word is law to men in the matter of the daughter's disposal'[4], 'Devoted wives never cross the wishes of their husbands'[5], 'Though they rival the lotus in delicacy, yet surpass the durability of gold in hardships'' ?

Being a shrewd observer of life in general and of human nature in particular, Kālidāsa had ample opportunities at the court of King Vikramāditya to witness the relations of rulers and subjects, masters and servants, officers and people, courtiers and their manners, processions and pageants. The results of his observation have been embodied not only in his elaborate descriptions of stately events, but also in his generalisations, such as, 'The attentions of lords towards their adherents fluctuate according to the purpose they have in view',[6] 'Clever people, biding their time patiently, prefer a request at the right moment and meet with a favourable response from the persons in authority'[7], 'Humble submission is the only remedy against the wrath of high-souled persons'.[8] Witness in this connection how, in the Fisherman's scene of the *Śākuntala*, the attitude of the constables and their officer changes towards their suspect in a moment from haughty in-

1. *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto VIII, Verse 37.
2. *Kumārasaṁbhava*, Canto VI, Verse 13.
3. *Loc. cit.*, Verse 32.
4. *Loc. cit.*, Verse 85.
5. *Loc. cit.*, Verse 86.
6. *Ibid.*, Canto III, Verse 1.
7. *Ibid.*, Canto VII, Verse 93.
8. *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto IV, Verse 64.

difference to covetuous flattery! Many such instances can be cited to prove that Kālidāsa had mixed freely with all grades of society and had explored, with a penetrating and yet sympathetic glance, the diversities of character and environment.

Though he was endowed by nature with a poetic vision of the highest order and enriched by study with countless treasures of knowledge, though his mental horizon far exceeded 'the circle bounding earth and skies', yet he never took on airs like Paṇḍita Jagannātha, nor like Bhavabhūti did he dispose of his contemporaries as too dull to comprehend his meaning. He simply appeals to the people of his time to judge him by his merits and not to despise him on the ground of modernity as a dabbler in verse! With exquisite humility he says in his introduction to the *Raghuvaṁśa*: 'Where on one hand is the dynasty that traced its descent from the Sun and where on the other hand is my intellect of limited range! Aspiring to encompass with such a mind the achievements of so illustrious a family, I feel as if I am attempting to cross the vast ocean with a ramshackle shaft.' To quote his own words in appreciation of his modesty, 'The trees bend their branches to the ground, when laden with fruit; the clouds hang low on the horizon, when filled with water; the good become humbler in spirit, the higher they rise in greatness.'

Such is, in brief, the picture of Kālidāsa, the man, that we get from a careful study of his works. On the occasion of the bimillennium anniversary of the era founded by his patron Vikramāditya it may not be out of place to express the hope that a correct understanding of his life and works would spread among the millions that honour his name!

CHANDRAGUPTA II VIKRAMĀDITYA

(C. 376-414 A. D.)

By

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, Lucknow

Chandragupta II Vikramāditya is a unique character in the annals of kingship. His predilection for assuming titles containing the word *Vikrama* suggests a strong ground for his identification with King Vikramāditya of tradition. As will be seen below, on his Chhatra Type of coins it is stated in its legends that "Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta, after conquering the Earth, conquers Heaven by his righteous deeds and calls himself Vikramāditya". On his Lion-slayer Type of coins, he assumes the title of *Siṁha-Vikrama*, while on the Horseman Type, the legend on the reverse is *Ajita-Vikramaḥ*. On his silver coins which were issued in his newly conquered territories of the Kshatrapa rulers in Western India, he purposely assumes the title of *Vikramāditya* to indicate his valour as a conqueror, and, on another variety of these coins, he coins a new title for himself, *viz.*, *Vikramāṅka*. Lastly, even on his copper coins, there occurs the title of *Vikramāditya*.

King Vikramāditya of tradition is associated with Nine Gems, or literary celebrities, who shed lustre on his Court. These Nine Gems are thus enumerated in a verse contained in the work called *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*:

Dhanvantari-Kshapaṇakāmarasiṁha-Śaṅku—
Vetālabhaṭṭa-Ghaṭakarpara-Kālidāsāḥ/

Khyāto Varāhamihiro nṛipateḥ sabhāyām
ratnāni vai Vararuchir nava Vikramasya//

Of these *Gems*, as will be seen below, only a poet of the name of Kālidāsa is associated in some later literary texts with King Chandragupta II. But it is by no means settled whether this Kālidāsa was the same as the famous poet.

The purpose of this paper is not to discuss the question of the identification of King Chandragupta II *Vikramāditya* of Gupta history with King *Vikramāditya* of tradition. Its purpose is only to present an objective study of all the facts that can be known from concrete, definite and dated sources, both epigraphic and numismatic, that are available for his reign. The presentation of his history is strictly limited to and conditioned by the evidence that is available in different sources bearing on his reign.

It is felt that an account of the reign of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya should be included in this Vikramāditya Volume.

Date: His dates may be deduced from a number of dated inscriptions discovered for his reign. The first of these is the Mathurā Pillar Inscription of G. E. 61= A. D. 380 (*EI*, XXI). The inscription has some significant words read by Dr. D. C. Sircar (*Select Inscriptions*, I, 270) as *'Mahārāja-Rājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptasya*

Vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare pañchame', showing that this inscription dated G. E. 61 (*saṁvatsare* ekashashṭe) was issued in the 5th year of the reign of Chandragupta II. His reign therefore commenced in G. E. 61 — 5=G. E. 56=A. D. 376. This inscription is important as mentioning the earliest date of the Gupta era which may be taken to be as defined by Alberuni in his statement that "the epoch of the Guptas falls 241 years later than the *Śaka-Kāla*", *i. e.*, in A. D. 78+241=319 (Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, II.7).

The second dated inscription of his reign is the Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Gupta year 82=A. D. 401, which was issued by his feudatory belonging to the Sanakānika family.

The third is the Sānchī Stone Inscription of Gupta year 93=A. D. 412 issued by Āmrakārdava who seems to have been a minister of Chandragupta II "to whose favour (prasāda) he owes the fulfilment of the object of his life (*āpyāyita-jīvita-sādhanaḥ*), and who was the hero of many a battle." (Fleet, No. 6).

The fourth inscription is the Gadhwa Stone Inscription of Gupta year 88=407 A. D. Parts of the inscription are lost including Chandragupta's name, but that it belonged to his reign may be taken for granted both from the date and from his titles *Paramabhāgavata* and *Mahārājādhirāja* still preserved.

The date of Chandragupta II may also be inferred from that of his silver coins which he had issued after his conquest of Surāshṭra and modelled on the coins of its previous rulers, the Kshatrapas. It will appear that the latest coins of the Western Kshatrapas are of the Śaka year 310=A. D. 388. The earliest date

of the Kshatrapa coins as restruck by Chandragupta II is 90 or 90+X=A. D. 409.

Name : Chandragupta II appears to have several names. The name 'Devarāja' is given to him in Sānchī Inscription (Fleet, No. 5). A Vākāṭaka inscription mentions Prabhāvatīguptā as the daughter of Devagupta and Kuberanāgā and describes Devagupta as *Mahārājādhirāja*, while the Ṛiddhapura Grants of Queen Prabhāvatīguptā mention her father's name as Chandragupta II. This shows that Devagupta is another name of Chandragupta. It also appears that Chandragupta had a third name, Devaśrī, as used on his Archer and Couch Types of coins.

Nomination : The Eraṇ Stone Inscription of Samudragupta (Fleet, No. 2) refers to 'the many sons and grandsons of Samudragupta, while the Mathurā Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II (Fleet, No. 4) states that he was chosen for the throne out of all his sons (*tat-parigṛihītena*) by Samudragupta. The same fact is repeated in the Bihār and Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscriptions of Skandagupta (Fleet, Nos. 12 and 13) where the phrase *tat-parigṛihīta* is used in respect of Chandragupta II. The repetition of this fact of Chandragupta II being deliberately preferred for the throne to all his sons by Samudragupta shows that it was an outstanding fact in Gupta history, and should, therefore, dispose of the theory based on certain later texts and traditions that the immediate successor of Samudragupta was another son of his, known as Rāmagupta. The inscriptions shut out the supposition that there was any other Gupta king between Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. Samudragupta, in fact, pays to his son the same compliment as was paid to him by his father who acclaimed him as the fittest of all his

kinsmen (*tulyakulaja*) to succeed him on the throne. These references rule out room for any other king lacking his predecessor's nomination for the throne.

Family : His mother, the wife of Samudragupta, is called *Dattā* in the Eraṇ Inscription and *Dattadevī* in the Mathurā Stone Inscription as also Bihār and Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscriptions of Skandagupta, with the title Mahādevī.

Chandragupta had at least two wives, named Dhruvadevī and Kuberanāgā. Dhruvadevī is mentioned in three Gupta inscriptions (Nos. 10, 12 and 13 of Fleet) in which she is described as Mahādevī and as the mother of the Prince Kumāragupta I. One of the seals found at Vaiśālī describes it to be of 'Mahādevī Dhruvasvāminī, queen of Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta II and mother of Mahārāja Govindagupta.' Dhruvasvāminī of this seal is no other than Dhruvadevī of the other inscriptions. As already stated, Queen Kuberanāgā is known as the mother of Chandragupta's daughter, Prabhāvatīguptā, and as born of a Nāga family (*Nāgakulotpannā*; see *JRASB*, 1924, P. 58).

This Vākāṭaka matrimonial alliance brought to Gupta family several offshoots and extended political influence. This will be clear from Vākāṭaka history.

Samudragupta, as already stated, had defeated the Vākāṭaka king Rudradeva, *i. e.*, Rudrasena I (344-48 A. D.)who had to cede to him the eastern part of Vākāṭaka territory (Bundelkhand), leaving room for its expansion towards the West. Vākāṭaka power was very much extended by the next king Pṛithivīsheṇa I by his conquests in Central India and the Deccan including Kuntala. This increase of Vākāṭaka power led Chandragupta to seek its alliance by marrying his

daughter to Rudrasena II, son of Pṛithivīsheṇa I. The result was that Vākāṭaka politics came under the influence of the Gupta empire. The change is indicated in certain literary texts and inscriptions. Pṛithivīsheṇa I had a long reign (upto *c.* 375 A. D.) but his son, Rudrasena II, the son-in-law of Chandragupta, had a short one followed by the regency of his daughter and its control by her father. As stated by the commentator of the Prākṛita Kāvya, *Setubandha*, Chandragupta's grandson, Pravarasena II, was in his court and composed that work which underwent revision at the hands of Kālidāsa at the instance of Vikramāditya. This tradition makes Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, Kālidāsa and Pravarasena II Vākāṭaka contemporaries. Again, Bhoja, in his *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa*, has a verse which is ascribed to Kālidāsa who is said to have made a report to the Gupta Emperor on the luxurious life at the court of the Lord of Kuntala who must have been his grandson, Pravarasena II. The embassy of Kālidāsa to the Kuntala court is also referred to as *Kuntaleśvara-dautya* in Kshemendra's *Auchityavichāra*. The Paṭṭan Plates of Pravarasena II also mention a Kālidāsa as the writer of that record. These references do not settle the point whether Kālidāsa they mention was the great poet, but they establish Gupta contact with Kuntala, which was brought on by the regency administration of Queen Prabhāvatīguptā seeking her father's intervention which was further increased under the inefficient rule of her son given to a life of luxury and poetical preoccupations.

Gupta contact with Kuntala is further attested by the Tālagunda Pillar Inscription which states that a Kadamba king of Vaijayantī in Kuntala (Kanarese Country) gave his daughters in marriage to Gupta and

other kings. It seems that the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman married his daughter to Kumāragupta (or to his son). Some mediaeval chiefs of Kuntala trace their lineage to Chandragupta. Several grants of the Western Gaṅgas indicate that Kākusthavarman is to be assigned to A. D. 435-475 (Daṇḍekar, *History of the Guptas*, Pp. 87-91; Raychaudhuri, *Political History*, P. 475, Notes).

Events : The most important event of his reign is his conquest of Western Malwa and Surāshṭra (Kathiawad) which were under the rule of Śaka satraps. It will appear from the Eraṇ Stone Inscription of Samudragupta that Eastern Malwa had already passed under the rule of the Guptas. Airikiṇa (Eraṇ) was the city situated in a sub-division of the modern Saugor District of C. P. and is described in the inscription as the city of Samudragupta's own enjoyment (*svabhoga-nagara*). Eastern Malwa must have been the base of Chandragupta's operations against the Śaka kingdom in Western India. The Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II which is not dated like the other inscription in the same cave describes how the King came to that place in Eastern Malwa in person in pursuit of his programme of world conquest (*Kṛitsna-pṛithvī-jayārthena*) and with him came his Minister (*Sachiva*) named Vīrasena Śāba hailing from the city of Pāṭaliputra. It is also stated that Chandragupta II who is described as the sage of a sovereign (*rājarshi*) appointed Vīrasena as his Minister for Peace and War. The Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Gupta year 82=401 A. D. indicates how the chief of Sanakānika tribe (near Bhilsa) was acknowledging Chandragupta II as his liege lord. The Sānchī Inscription of Gupta year 93=412 A. D. also shows how Chandragupta's authority was very well

established in that region administered by his officer called Āmrakārdava known for his victories in many battles. These inscriptions show the steps in the advance of Gupta power towards the West. This advance was materially aided by Chandragupta's alliance with the Vākāṭaka king whose geographical position could affect movements to its north against the Śaka satrapies of Gujarat and Surāshṭra.

The actual conquest of these Śaka territories is proved only by coins. As has been already stated, the latest coins of the Western Kshatrapas are not later than A. D. 388, while the earliest coins of Chandragupta II in this region are not earlier than A. D. 409. It was thus by a protracted war of about twenty years that Gupta power was extended upto the Western Sea. Although Chandragupta II modelled his coinage, which was in silver, on that of the Kshatrapas, he was careful to impress upon it marks of his conquest. The obverse of the coins does not show any change. It still shows the King's head with traces of Greek inscription still appearing as before with date behind, but on the reverse the place of the Chaitya is taken by the specific Gupta emblem of Garuḍa, along with the Gupta legend, *Paramabhāgavata*.

There is also a piece of literary evidence pointing to the victory of Chandragupta II against the Śaka king in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*, where it is stated how Chandragupta in the disguise of a woman coveted by the lustful Śaka king *was killed by him* on the spot at his own capital.

Ministers : Chandragupta had a number of able Ministers who are thus mentioned in his inscriptions :

(1) A Chief (*Mahārāja*) of the Sanakānika family who served (*pādānudhyāta*) Chandragupta as his overlord

(*Mahārājādhirāja*) as stated in the Udayagiri Vaishṇava Cave Inscription of 82. He must have been one of the governors in charge of parts of Eastern Malwa conquered by Samudragupta and visited by Chandragupta as the place of preparation for his expedition towards the West.

(2) Āmrakārdava, hailing from Sukuli-Deśa and associated with the Mahāvihāra of Kākanādaboṭa (old name of Sānchī) to which he gave an endowment out of his abundance he owed to the patronage (*prasāda*) of the King whom he loyally served by fighting and winning his many battles, as stated in the Sānchī Stone Inscription of year 93.

(3) Śāba Vīrasena, hailing from Pāṭaliputra, who was Chandragupta's Minister for Peace and War (*Sandhi-Vigraha*) by hereditary right (*anvaya-prāpta-sāchivyo*) and thus accompanied the King on his far-reaching military expeditions, as stated in a second Udayagiri Śaiva Cave Inscription.

(4) Śikharasvāmī who is described as a Councillor (*Mantrī*) of Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta II, with the title of *Kumārāmātya*, in an inscription on a stone liṅga found at Karamdāṇḍā in the Fyzabad District of the Gupta year 117=A. D. 436 and belonging to the reign of Kumāragupta I (*EI*, X, 71-72).

(5) Mahārāja Śrī Govindagupta, a son of Emperor Chandragupta II, who appears to have been the Governor of the Province called Tīrabhukti, with its headquarters at Vaiśālī, from the seal issued by him and discovered by Bloch at Basarh (*ASR*, 1903-4, Pp. 101-20). It appears that Govindagupta is also mentioned in the newly discovered Mandasor Inscription of the

Mālava-Vikrama year 524 (*ASI*, Annual Report, 1922-23, P. 187; *EI*, App. No. 7).

Administrative Officers : The excavations carried out at Basarh (ancient Vaiśālī) by Bloch brought to light numerous clay seals which were issued by Prince Govindagupta, the various officials of his administration and the prominent citizens and communities of his Province. They mention the following officials : (1) *Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa*, Chief of the Prince's Ministers. He is given the curious title of *Yuvarāja*, a title that is repeated on another seal and coupled with another significant title, *Bhaṭṭāraka*, as the Chief of the Prince's Ministers; (2) *Balādhikaraṇa*, the Head of the Army, who also bears the titles of *Yuvarāja* and *Bhaṭṭāraka*; (3) *Raṇabhāṇḍādhikaraṇa*, Chief of the Military Exchequer; (4) *Daṇḍapāśādhikaraṇa*, the Chief of the Police; (5) *Vinayaśūra*, Chief Censor; (6) *Mahāpratihāra*, Chief Chamberlain; (7) Talavara (uncertain); (8) *Mahā-daṇḍa-nāyaka*, Chief Justice; (9) *Vinaya-sthiti-sthāpaka*, Minister for Law and Order; (10) *Bhaṭāśvapati*, Head of the Infantry and Cavalry; (11) *Uparika*, Governor of the Province, as in *Tīrabhukti-uparika-adhikaraṇa*. It may be noted that the terms *Śrī-paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādīya* and *Yuvarāja-pādīya* as used on these seals for the officer called *Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa* indicate the Chief Minister in waiting on the King and the Crown Prince respectively.

The Chief Executive Officer of the Municipal Office of Vaiśālī is called *Vaiśālī-adhishṭhāna-adhikaraṇa*. The city of Udānakūpa was governed by the Committee or Municipality called *Parishad*. The Monastery (Vihāra) of Kākanādaboṭa was governed by the *Ārya-Saṅgha*, and also an Assembly of Five called *Pañcha-Maṇḍalī* (Fleet, No. 5).

Guilds: A large number of these seals was issued by the *Nigamas* or Guilds of different classes of economic interests. These were of Bankers (*Śreshṭhīs*, modern Seṭhs), Traders (*Sārthavāhas*) and Merchants (*Kulikas*). These Guilds functioned like Chambers of Commerce of modern times. Many seals were issued jointly by these three classes of Guilds as shown in their legend, *Śreshṭhī-Sārthavāha-Kulika-Nigama*, or by two, as in the legend *Śreshṭhī-Kulika-Nigama*. The Merchants' Guilds bear an appropriate symbol, a money-chest (My *Local Government in Ancient India* (Oxford), Pp. 111-113).

Some of these corporations operated as Bank of those days. The *Ārya-Saṅgha* in charge of the *Śrī-Mahāvihāra* of Kākanādaboṭa receives a donation in cash of 25 *dīnāras* to be kept in permanent deposit with the *Saṅgha* with the stipulation that the money will be held by it as a trust-fund, out of the interest of which provision will be made for feeding daily 5 Bhikshus and for burning a lamp in the *Ratnagṛiha* (probably the *Stūpa* as the abode of the three *Ratnas* or Jewels, *viz.*, the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha) in the great *Vihāra*, 'as long as the moon and the sun exist' (Fleet, No. 5). The Saṅgha is here thus functioning as a bank of deposit and also as a trustee holding in safe custody and in perpetuity a fund in aid of the beneficiaries fixed by the donor, while keeping the corpus of the donation intact. A similar transaction is indicated in the Gadhwa Stone Inscription of Gupta year 88 (Fleet, No. 7).

Administrative Divisions: The Empire was divided into convenient administrative units. The largest unit was the Province called *Deśa*, *e. g.*, Sukuli-Deśa (Fleet, No. 5). The Province was also called a

Bhukti, e. g., Tīra-Bhukti in a Basarh Seal Inscription. A Province again was made up of Divisions which were called *Pradeśas* or *Vishayas, e. g.*, Airikiṇa-Pradeśa (Fleet No. 2).

Religion : The Gupta Empire treated all religions equally. The principal religions of the times were Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Buddhism. Permanent benefactions in support of each of these religions were encouraged by the State. The Gupta Emperors themselves were orthodox Hindus. Chandragupta II takes the title of *Paramabhāgavata* which is a Vaishṇava title (Fleet, No. 4). No. 5 of Fleet refers to the grant by a prominent minister of Chandragupta II of a village, or an allotment of land, called Īśvaravāsaka, and a sum of money to the community of Buddhist monks called *Ārya-Saṅgha* belonging to the great *Vihāra* at Kākanādabota (Sānchī). As the donor was a Buddhist, he does not apply to Chandragupta his usual epithet of *Paramabhāgavata*, 'the sincerest devotee of Vishṇu'. One of the Udayagiri Caves bears an inscription of another minister of Chandragupta II who was a devout Śaiva. It records that the cave was excavated as a temple of God Śambhu or Śiva (Fleet, No. 6). It also naturally omits as irrelevant the mention of the King as a *Paramabhāgavata.* The other Udayagiri Cave which bears the dated inscription of Gupta year 82 appears to be a Vaishṇava cave (Fleet, P. 23) from its sculptures representing the figures of (1) the four-armed Vishṇu with his two wives and (2) a twelve-armed goddess who might be Lakshmī. The Gadhwa Stone Inscription of Gupta year 88 repeats the title of *Paramabhāgavata* for Chandragupta II because it is a Brāhmaṇical inscription. The inscription is very much mutilated, but the fragments that remain record two gifts of ten

dīnāras each as contributions in aid of a Brāhmaṇical institution, a perpetual alms-house or a charitable hall (*sadā-sattra*) for its Brāhmaṇa residents. This gift shows that the religious sense of the people encouraged endowments of social service as a form of worshipping God through service of man.

The Mathurā Pillar Inscription of A. D. 380 testifies to an offshoot of Śaivism, the sect of Māheśvaras, flourishing at Mathurā under the teacher named Uditāchārya. In the inscription, he mentions his preceding teachers as Bhāgavatas and names them as Upamita, Kapila, Parāśara, from whom he is thus fourth in descent (*Bhagavat-Parāśarāt chaturthena*). He also describes himself as being tenth in descent from Bhāgavata Kuśika, who was thus the founder of this particular Śaiva sect, that of the Māheśvaras. It will appear that this Kuśika is mentioned in the *Vāyu-* and *Liṅga-Purāṇas* as the first disciple of the great Lakulī described as the last incarnation of Śiva Maheśvara. Lakulī had four disciples each of whom was the founder of a Pāśupāta sect.

The inscription further states that Āchārya Udita, for the sake of addition to his own religious credit (*sva-puṇya-āpyāyana-nimittam*), and also for the glory (*Kīrti*) of his teachers (*gurus*), set up in the 'Shrine of Teachers' (*Guru-āyatane*) what are called Upamiteśvara and Kapileśvara. The term *Īśvara* as used here is taken to indicate that what were installed (*pratishṭhāpita*) were *Liṅgas*, together with the images or statues of the teachers. A *Liṅga* was set up in the name of each teacher and the fact that it was set up in the *Guru-āyatana* shows that the Liṅgas were accompanied by the statues. Bhāsa's drama called *Pratimā-Nāṭaka* mentions a royal gallery of portrait-statues called *deva-kula*, and this

Guru-āyatana was perhaps also planned as a *pratimā-gṛiha*, a house of teachers' statues. The inscription reads : 'Upamiteśvara-Kapileśvarau Gurv-āyatane guru........' The missing words after *guru*, showing space for at least five letters, may be taken to be *guru-pratimā-yutau*, as suggested by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*EI*, XXI, P. 5). Āchārya Udita repeats that this monument is not meant for his own fame (*naitat khyātyartham*) but for the attention of the Māheśvaras (*vijñaptiḥ*) and the admonition of the *āchāryas* that they should consider it as their own property (*āchāryāṇām parigraham*) and, without any reservation (*viśaṅkam*), worship it with offerings (*pūjā-puraskāram*) and maintain it with gifts (*parigraha-pāripālyam*). It may be noted that the expression *'Devakula-sabhā-vihāra'* occurs in the Mandasor Stone Inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman (No. 18 of Fleet).

Apart from the inscriptions, the coins of Chandragupta II indicate his personal religion of Vaishṇavism. It is indicated by the legend *parama-bhāgavata* appearing in his gold coins of the Horseman Type. The same title also appears on his silver coins which were meant for circulation in his newly conquered territory, which was under the rule of the Western Kshatrapas, and were modelled on their coins. As conqueror, he had to observe as much as possible the manners and customs of the conquered country, and especially the characteristics of the currency to which it was used. Thus on the obverse of his new-struck coins, he kept up the conventional head which had done duty for centuries as a portrait of the reigning satrap, but their reverse he utilized to indicate his conquest and the change in its sovereignty. Even on the obverse, Gupta conquest

is indicated by replacing the Śaka era by the Gupta era. The reverse, however, introduces a specific feature of Gupta coinage. Garuḍa, the bird of Vishṇu, the deity of Chandragupta II, takes the place of the Kshatrapa *Chaitya.*

The copper coins of Chandragupta II declare his religion of Vaishṇavism by having the figure of Garuḍa on the reverse.

Centres: The capital of the empire was Pāṭaliputra called Pushpa in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. His campaigns and conquests show that Chandragupta II was also associated with the city of Eastern Malwa, Vidiśā, while, as we have seen, some of the chiefs of the Kanarese Country claiming connexion with him describe him as 'the Lord of Ujjayinī, the foremost of cities (*Ujjayinīpuravarādhīśvara*) as well as of Pāṭaliputra. His association with Ujjayinī also follows his supposed identification with the Śakāri Vikramāditya of tradition. It may also be noted that Vasubandhu's biographer Paramārtha describes Ayodhyā as the capital of a Vikramāditya. Paramārtha (A. D. 500-569) was a Brāhmaṇa of Ujjayinī who spent some time in Magadha and was in China between A. D. 546-69. He states that Vasubandhu, a Brāhmaṇa of Purushapura (Peshawar), came to Ayodhyā on the invitation of Bālāditya, son of Vikramāditya, who first placed Bālāditya under his tuition as a patron of Buddhism. If this Vikramāditya is identified with Chandragupta II, Ayodhyā is to be taken as one of the chief cities of his empire. The identification depends on the date of Vasubandhu. We have already seen how Vaiśālī was also an important city of the empire.

Coins: Like his father, Chandragupta II issued various types of coins in accordance with the needs of a

large empire. They were (1) Archer, (2) Couch, (3) Chhatra, (4) Lion-slayer, (5) Horseman. All these types also show varieties in features.

Archer Type

This type is the commonest of his coins and shows great variety. The first variety is that of the reverse showing either *Throne* or *Lotus* as the seat of the Goddess, while within each class there are minor varieties depending on the position of the *Bow* and of the name *Chandra* on the obverse.

Throne Reverse

This variety shows on obverse "King standing left, nimbate, as on Archer Type of Samudragupta, holding *bow* in left hand and *arrow* in right; *Garuḍa* standard bound with fillet on left; *Chandra* under left arm around the legend *Deva-Śrī-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*."

It shows on reverse "Lakshmī, seated facing, nimbate, on throne with high back, as on similar coins of Samudragupta, holding *cornucopiae* in left hand and fillet in right; her feet rest on *lotus*; border of dots; on right *Śrī-Vikramaḥ*". There is a variety showing Goddess seated on throne *without back*, and holding lotus in left hand, instead of cornucopiae, and is thus more Indianised.

Lotus Reverse

This variety shows on obverse the King drawing an arrow from a quiver standing at his feet on left and on reverse "Goddess, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus and fillet in outstretched left and right hands respectively."

Other varieties of this class show (1) "King left holding arrow in right hand" as in Throne Reverse class, (2) *Crescent* above standard on obverse, (3) Wheel (Vishṇu's *Chakra*) above standard on obverse, (4) "King standing right wearing waist cloth and ornaments only, holding bow in left and arrow in right hand;" (5) King standing to left with bow in right hand but leaning his left arm on his hip without holding an arrow, a very rare variety.

It is to be noted that Varieties (2) and (3) are marked by heavy weight and debased metal while Variety (4) drops the conventional Kushan dress in favour of Indian waist cloth with sash.

Very probably the Throne class, by its features, was more in vogue in the northern, and the Lotus class in the central and eastern, provinces, where foreign features were not suitable.

Couch Type

The obverse shows "King wearing waist cloth and jewellery, seated, head to left on high-backed couch, holding flower in uplifted right hand, and resting left hand on edge of couch; legend, *Deva-Śrī-Mahārājādhirājasya Śrī-Chandraguptasya.*" The reverse shows "Goddess (Lakshmī) seated facing on throne without back, holding lotus in uplifted left hand, resting feet on lotus," as on some specimens of Archer Type; "on right the legend *Śrī-Vikramaḥ*". On the specimen at the Indian Museum, the legend on the obverse contains the additional word *Vikramādityasya* and beneath couch the word *rūpākṛiti*. The expression evidently refers to his physical and cultural qualifications. This type is rarely found and was issued early in the King's reign, as indicated by the throne reverse.

Chhatra Type

There are two main varieties of this type marked by a variety in the obverse legend. The first class shows on the obverse "King standing left, nimbate, casting incense on altar on left with right hand, while left rests on sword-hilt; behind him a dwarf attendant holds *Chhatra* (parasol) over him; legend *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*" as against the legend *Kshitim avajitya sucharitair divam jayati Vikramādityaḥ* occurring on the obverse of the other variety. The reverse shows "Goddess (Lakshmī) nimbate, standing left on lotus, holding fillet in right and lotus in left hand, and legend *Vikramādityaḥ*. In the other variety, the Goddess appears to rise from lotus (as *padmasaṁbhavā*). It also shows specimens containing representations of the Goddess in different positions or postures.

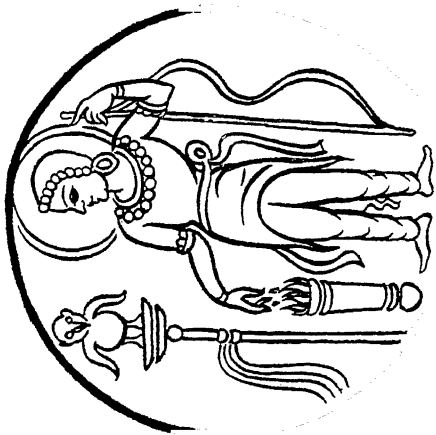
The meaning of the obverse legend is that "Vikramāditya, having conquered the earth, conquers heaven by his good deeds."

Lion-Slayer Type

This type is represented in a large variety of specimens showing on obverse the King hunting down lion in different positions and on reverse the appropriate Goddess Durgā Siṁha-Vāhinī seated on lion in different positions.

Class I shows on obverse "King standing right or left, wearing waist cloth with sash which floats behind him, turban or ornamental head-dress, and jewellery, shooting with bow at lion which falls backwards and trampling on lion with one foot."

PLATE I

Coins of Chandra-Gupta II : Archer (Lotus Reverse) Type

Obverse Reverse

Vide Pp. 338-339

Coins of Chandra Gupta II : Couch Type

Obverse

Reverse

Vide **P.** 339

Coins of Chandra Gupta II : Chhatra Type

Obverse   Reverse

Vide P. 340

Coins of Chandra Gupta II : Lion-slayer Type

Obverse

Reverse

Vide Pp. 340-341

The reverse shows "Goddess (Lakshmī-Ambikā) seated, nimbate, facing, on lion to left or right, holding fillet in outstretched right hand and cornucopiae in left on certain varieties; lotus on other varieties; border of dots; symbol on left."

The hunting scene on obverse is portrayed on coins in the following different ways :

1. King to left shooting lion as described above but *not* trampling on it.

2. King shooting lion which falls back from its spring.

3. King with left foot on back of lion which retreats with head turned back, shooting it with bow in left hand.

4. Lion on left retreating.

5. King standing right with left foot on lion which retreats with head turned snapping at the King as he strikes at it with sword in uplifted right hand.

Vincent Smith described these varieties as Lion-trampler, Combatant Lion, and Retreating Lion Types.

The reverse portrayal of the Goddess also shows some differences among coins, *e. g.*, (1) Goddess seated facing on lion which is walking to right; (2) Goddess seated to left astride of lion, with her left hand resting on lion's haunch; (3) Goddess seated facing, on lion couchant left, with head turned back.

Now as to legends, that on Class I on obverse reads in its full form as follows : *Narendrachandraḥ prathitaśriyā divam / Jayatyajeyo bhuvi siṁhavikramaḥ//* "The moon among kings, with far-spread fame, invincible on earth, conquers heaven, with the valour of a lion."

On Class II, the obverse has a different legend which may be constructed as follows : *Narendrasiṁha-Chandraguptaḥ pṛithivīm jitvā divam jayati*/ "Chandragupta, the lion among kings, having conquered the earth, conquers heaven."

On the reverse, the legend is generally *Śrī-Siṁhavikramaḥ*. On one variety, it is *Siṁhachandraḥ*.

We thus see that the sport of lion-hunting captured the King's imagination which suggested a variety of designs in its treatment by craftsmen who were set to reproduce all possible positions in which the royal hunter and his big game found themselves on different occasions of hunting. It is to be noted that, while Samudragupta was thinking of the tiger as his game, his son was more obsessed by the lion. There seems to be a deep reason for this difference between the father and son as to big game-hunting by each. As has been already stated, the Tiger Type of coins celebrates Samudragupta's conquest of the Gangetic Valley abounding to this day in forests breeding the royal Bengal Tiger. The Lion Type of coins issued by Chandragupta II has a similar regional significance and celebrates his conquest of regions which are the habitat of the Lion. It celebrates his conquest of the regions of Western Malwa and Surāshṭra or modern Kathiawad which is still the abode of lions to this day in India. Further, like the Tiger and Goddess Gaṅgā linked together, the Lion on the obverse has very naturally suggested for the reverse the Goddess Durgā with whom it is associated as Her sacred seat and *Vāhana* or vehicle. She rides on lion as the picture of Śakti, Invincible Might, invoked by Chandragupta II in his arduous adventure for the conquest of the Śaka satrapy of Surāshṭra. There is thus an underlying design and

purpose shaping Gupta coinage, giving to it a profound historical significance.

Horseman Type

This type is an important innovation of Chandragupta II and was continued extensively by his successor, Kumāragupta I.

The obverse shows "King riding on fully caparisoned horse to right or left; his dress includes waist cloth with long sashes which fly behind him, and jewellery (ear-rings, armlets, necklace, etc.); on some specimens he has a bow in left hand, on others he has sword at left side."

The reverse portrays "Goddess seated to left on wicker stool, holding fillet in outstretched right hand and lotus with leaves and roots behind her in left border of dots." This design marks its complete divergence from the Ardochso coinage and its purely Indian character.

The legend on the obverse is *Paramabhāgavata-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ* or *Bhāgavato*, and on the reverse *Ajitāvikramaḥ*.

The use of the new title *Bhāgavata* shows that the King is no longer the worshipper of Śakti, for he has already accomplished his programme of conquests. He can now devote himself to the tasks of Peace and leave the sword for the flute as worshipper of Vishṇu and His consort, Lakshmī, the Goddess of Peace and Plenty, consecrating himself as a *Bhāgavata* to the cult of Non-violence.

Silver Coins

While the above types of coins were in gold, Chandragupta II, after his conquest of the Western Kshatrapa Kingdom,

had to keep up its silver coinage, stamping on it some Gupta features. The obverse of these restruck silver coins shows the King's bust to right, as on Kshatrapa coins, with traces of Greek letters, and on left the word *Va* (*rshe*), and date, in Brāhmī numerals, in the Gupta in place of the Śaka era. The reverse shows a completely Gupta design, the figure of Vishṇu's bird, Garuḍa, standing facing with outspread wings, and the corresponding legend describing the King as a devotee of Vishṇu : *Parama-bhāgavata-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandragupta-Vikramāṅkasya.*

Copper Coins

Chandragupta II was also the first to issue copper coins of which the general type is King on Obverse, and Garuḍa on Reverse, with variations in the figuring of both. There is bust, three-quarters, or half-length of the King, with flowers in right hand, while Garuḍa is seen nimbate, standing facing with outspread wings, or with, or without, human arms, or standing on an altar, or holding a snake in his mouth, or merely holding it. There is also a Chhatra Type of these copper coins, showing King at altar, with a dwarf attendant holding *Chhatra* over him. There are also types omitting the King but keeping up the Garuḍa, with the obverse legend *Śrī-Chandra*-completed by the legend *Guptaḥ* on the reverse, or simply the name *Chandra* by itself, without the suffix *Gupta*, on some examples. On some specimens there is a variety replacing Garuḍa by a flower-vase, with flowers hanging down its sides.

Thus Chandragupta's numismatic innovations comprise the figures of Couch, Chhatra, Lion, Horse, and Garuḍa, and of Goddess Lakshmī on lotus in place

of the Throned Goddess (Ardochso), and also silver and copper coinage.

Titles: His coins give Chandragupta II the following titles: *Rūpākṛiti, Vikramāditya, Vikramāṅka, Siṁhavikrama, Narendrachandra* and *Paramabhāgavata* (which is also mentioned in his inscriptions).

Condition of the Country as seen by Fa-hien: It will appear that Chandragupta ruled over an empire which extended from the peninsula of Kathiawad in the West to Eastern Bengal, and from the Himālayas to the Narmadā. The efficiency of Gupta administration was demonstrated by the material and moral progress of the people, of which glimpses are given in the record of the travel undertaken in the country by the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hien, between the years A. D. 399-414, *i. e.*, in the time of Chandragupta II whose name, however, is not mentioned by him.

Fa-hien, however, was not the sole and solitary instance of this cultural intercourse between India and China. India for long had been looked up to by China as the seat of saving knowledge and highest wisdom which were eagerly and devoutly sought after by her best minds. These were found in Buddhism of which India was the cradle. Buddhism became known in China as early as the 3rd century B. C. Since then it created a stir in Chinese religious circles and a movement towards India for drinking in her wisdom at its very sources.

Fa-hien very keenly felt that the Buddhist "Disciplines" were very imperfectly known in China. In A. D. 399, he organised a joint mission with several Chinese scholars, Hui-ching, Tao-cheng, Hui-ying, Hui-wei and others to travel together to India to get at

these "Rules", in the face of the risks to which such overland journey to India was exposed in those days. On the way, this band of missionaries met others who had preceded them on the same errand. They were Chih-yen, Hui-chien, Seng-shao, Pao-yun, Seng-ching, and others.

The first country where they saw Buddhism being followed was *Shan-shan.* Here were "some 4,000 and more priests, all belonging to the Lesser Vehicle (Hīnayāna)". "The common people of these countries, as well as the Shamans, practise the religion of India," states Fa-hien.

Next, the party passed through several *Tartar* countries where also they found "all those who have 'left the family' (priests and novices) study Indian books and the Indian spoken language."

In the country of *Kara-shahr,* the Buddhist Hīnayāna monks numbered "over 4000."

After undergoing "hardships beyond all comparison" on their journey through uninhabited tracts, and across difficult rivers, the party came to the hospitable country of *Khotan* where the monks were mostly Mahāyāna and numbered "several tens of thousands". They were accommodated in a monastery known by the Indian name of *Gomatī,* where "at the sound of a gong, 3,000 monks assemble to eat." There were 14 such large monasteries in Khotan.

There was in the neighbourhood another monastery which was 250′ high, "overlaid with gold and silver" and took 80 years to build under the reigns of 3 kings.

The next seat of Buddhism was *Kashgar* where the pilgrims found the king "holding the *pañcha parishad*" for purposes of making offerings including "all kinds

of jewels such as Shamans require." There were here 1,000 Hīnayāna monks along with some sacred relics, the Buddha's spittoon and tooth.

From Kashgar, after crossing snowy ranges, the travellers came to Northern India and to a place called Darel where there were many Hīnayāna monks.

Next, they had to negotiate "a difficult, precipitous, and dangerous road," with the Indus flowing along the deepest gorge. Coming down 700 rock-steps they crossed the Indus by "a suspension bridge of ropes" and met monks who anxiously asked Fa-hien "if he knew when Buddhism first went eastward" to which Fa-hien answered: "Shamans from India began to bring the Sūtras and Disciplines across the river from the date of setting up the image of Maitreya Bodhisattva 300 years after Nirvāṇa."

After crossing the Indus, the pilgrims came to the country called *Udyāna* where Buddhism was "extremely flourishing," and the language used was that of "Central India or Middle Kingdom."

The next stage reached was *Gandhāra* followed by Takshaśilā and Peshawar where King Kanishka "built a pagoda over 400′ high with which no other could compare in grandeur and dignity."

This whole region was studded with monuments enshrining the relics of the Buddha or incidents of his life: his foot-print, the stone on which he dried his clothes, his alms-bowl, the spot where he cut off his flesh to ransom a dove, or his eyes, or his head, for a fellow-creature, or gave his body to feed a hungry tiger.

From here Fa-hien was left alone. His companions, Hui-ching, Hui-ta, Tao-cheng, Hui-ying, Pao-yun and Seng-ching, all went back to China.

Fa-hien next reached the country of Nagarahāra, with a shrine containing Buddha's skull-bone to which kings of neighbouring countries "regularly send envoys to make offerings." At the capital of Nagarahāra was a Buddha-tooth pagoda, as also a shrine holding Buddha's pewter-topped staff, and another, one of Buddha's robes, and the cave of Buddha's shadow, another pagoda 80′ high at the spot where the Buddha shaved his head and cut his nails.

Fa-hien and his two other companions now crossed the Little Snowy Mountains (Safed Koh) where Hui-ching died in cold, saying to Fa-hien : "I cannot recover; you had better go on while you can; do not let us all pass away here." Gently stroking the corpse, Fa-hien cried out in lamentation : "It is destiny : what is there to be done ?"

Crossing the range, the pilgrims arrived at the country of Afghanistan and found there about 3,000 monks of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Schools.

A similar number of monks they also found at Falana or Bannu whence travelling eastwards they again crossed the Indus and came to a country called *Bhida* in the Punjab where Buddhism was very flourishing.

Passing through the Punjab with its "many monasteries containing in all nearly 10,000 monks," the pilgrims came to Mandor or Mathurā and found about "20 monasteries with some 3,000 monks" along the banks of the Jumna.

To the south of Mathurā is "the country called the *Middle Kingdom* (of the Brāhmaṇas), where the people are prosperous and happy, without registration or official restrictions. Only those who till the King's land

have to pay so much on the profit they make. Those who want to go away, may go; those who want to stop, may stop. The King in his administration uses no corporal punishments; criminals are merely fined according to the gravity of their offences. Even for a second attempt at rebellion, the punishment is only the loss of the right hand. The men of the King's body-guard have all fixed salaries. Throughout the country no one kills any living thing, nor drinks wine, nor eats onions or garlic; but Chaṇḍālas are segregated. Chaṇḍāla is their name for foul men (lepers)."

"In this country they do not keep pigs or fowls, there are no dealings in cattle, no butchers' shops or distilleries in their market-places. As a medium of exchange, they use cowries. Only the Chaṇḍālas go hunting and deal in fish."

Since the time of the Buddha, "the kings, elders, and gentry built shrines and gave land, houses, gardens, with men and bullocks for cultivation. Binding title-deeds were written out, which subsequent kings did not dare disregard."

"Rooms, with beds and mattresses, food, and clothes, are provided for resident and travelling monks, without fail; and this is the same in all places."

"Pagodas are built in honour of Sāriputra, Mugalan and Ānanda, and also in honour of the Abhidharma, the Vinaya, and the Sūtras."

"Pious families organise subscriptions, to make offerings to monks, of various articles of clothing and things they need, after the annual retreat."

It may be noted that the Middle Kingdom was the stronghold of Brāhmaṇism and heart of the Gupta

Empire, where India's civilisation was seen at its best. The observations of Fa-hien show how the people were allowed by government considerable individual freedom not subject to vexatious interference from its officers in the shape of registration, or other restrictions; economic liberty with unfettered mobility of labour, so that agriculturists were not tied to holdings like serfs; and humane criminal law. The moral progress and public spirit of the people are shown in their liberal endowments of religion and educational institutions. These endowments took the form of permanent grants of lands, with full apparatus necessary for their cultivation by men and bullocks. This shows that these cultural institutions had to maintain efficient agricultural departments to make out of their landed properties, cultivated fields, as well as gardens or orchards, enough income to meet their expenditure. Monetary grants in aid of schools and colleges were unknown in those days. The ways of life were based on the cult of non-violence, with vegetarian diet, ruling out heating spices like onion or garlic, also distilleries, piggeries, and butcheries.

Fa-hien now visited the sacred places of Buddhism : *Sankisa* (Kapitha) where Aśoka built a shrine and a pillar 60′ high, with a *lion*-capital, with about 1,000 monks, and another six or seven hundred in a neighbouring monastery; *Śrāvastī* with its many monuments of Buddhism.

Here Fa-hien arrived with his only companion Tao-cheng. The monks asked Fa-hien : "From what country do you come ?" And when he replied, "From China", the monks sighed and said : "Good indeed ! Is it possible that foreigners can come so far as this in search of the Faith ? Even since the Faith has been transmitted by us monks from generation to genera-

tion, no Chinese adherents of our Doctrine have been known to arrive here."

Fa-hien saw at Śrāvastī the famous Jetavana Vihāra which he calls the Shrine of the Garden of Gold built by "Sudatta who spread out gold money to buy the ground."

He saw "all those spots where men of later ages have set up marks of remembrance."

"In this country there are 96 Schools of Heretics (non-Buddhists), each with its own disciples, who also beg their food but do not carry alms-bowls."

"They further seek salvation by building alongside of out-of-the-way roads houses of charity where shelter, with beds and food and drink, is offered to travellers and to wandering monks passing to and fro; but the time allowed for remaining is different in each case."

This is remarkable testimony to public philanthropy inspired by the spirit of social service, the religion which includes worship of God as embodied in humanity, Nara-Nārāyaṇa, and expressed itself in the establishment of *Dharmaśālās* open to all without distinction of caste or creed, to Hindus of all sects as well as to Buddhists, though the people were predominantly followers of Brāhmaṇical religions. It is also interesting to note that these ancient *Dharma-śālās* anticipate the rules of residence obtaining in their modern substitutes, limiting residence to short periods.

Fa-hien still found places associated with Devadatta, and previous Buddhas such as Kaśyapa, Krakuchhanda, or Kanakamuni.

He found Kapilavastu a wilderness, with its many Buddhist monuments "still in existence." "On the roads

wild elephants and lions are to be feared." He also visited Lumbinī, Rāmagrāma and Vaiśālī, and crossing the Ganges came to Pāṭaliputra in Magadha.

At Pāṭaliputra, formerly ruled by King Aśoka, "the King's palace, with its various halls, all built by spirits who piled up stones, constructed walls and gates, carved designs, engraved and inlaid, after no human fashion, is still in existence."

These remarks rather suggest that Pāṭaliputra did not occupy the same position of importance in the Gupta empire as it had in the Maurya empire.

Upto Pāṭaliputra, Fa-hien was accompanied by his companion, Tao-cheng, but now he, too, was to part from him. He was so much impressed by the spirituality of the Śramaṇas of Central India that he prayed that "from this time forth until I become a Buddha, may I never live again in an outer land." "He, therefore, remained and did not go back, but Fa-hien's object being to diffuse a knowledge of the Disciplines throughout the land of China, he ultimately went back alone."

Fa-hien found at Pāṭaliputra one Mahāyāna and another Hīnayāna monastery. The former had a Brahman Buddhist teacher named Raivata, "a strikingly enlightened man of much wisdom, there being nothing which he did not understand. All the country looked up to and relied upon this one man to diffuse widely the Faith in Buddha. It also had as its resident another famous Brahman teacher named Mañjuśrī who was "very much looked up to by the leading and religious mendicants throughout the kingdom."

Fa-hien has some interesting observations on the country of Magadha and its civilization. "Of all the countries of Central India, this has the largest cities and

towns. Its people are rich and thriving and emulate one another in practising charity of heart and duty to one's neighbour."

At their festivals, such as procession of images "in four-wheeled cars of five storeys," "the Brāhmaṇas came to invite the Buddhas and were thus quite catholic in their religious outlook."

As regards public philanthropy endowing social service, Fa-hien says : "The elders and gentry of these countries have instituted in their capitals *free hospitals*, and hither come all poor or helpless patients, orphans, widowers, and cripples. They are well taken care of, a doctor attends them, food and medicine being supplied according to their needs. They are all made quite comfortable, and when they are cured, they go away."

Fa-hien found an Aśoka Pillar bearing an inscription near his Pagoda (Stūpa) at Pāṭaliputra and another in its neighbourhood, with a lion-capital and inscription.

He next passed through Nālandā "where Sāriputra was born" and where was a pagoda of old still existing, and Rājagṛiha where he visited the numerous sacred spots of Buddhism including the Vulture Mountain where Fa-hien's "feelings overcame him," but he restrained his tears and said "Buddha formerly lived here and delivered the Śūraṅgama Sūtra. I, Fa-hien, born at a time too late to meet the Buddha, can only gaze upon his traces and his dwelling-places."

He next proceeded to Gayā and Bodh-Gayā, seeing all the Buddhist sacred places and monuments, and then retraced his steps towards Pāṭaliputra and arrived at Benares and its deer-forest where he found two monasteries with resident monks.

Now, he commenced his return journey home, coming back to Pāṭaliputra and "following the course of the Ganges down stream" came to Champā whence, proceeding farther, he arrived at the country of Tamluk "where there is a sea-port". He saw here 24 monasteries and stayed for 2 years, "copying out Sūtras and drawing pictures of images," and then "set sail on a large merchant vessel," reaching Ceylon after 14 days. He remained in Ceylon for 2 years and obtained copies of some sacred works in Sanskrit, copies of Disciplines, Āgamas, and selections from the Canon. Then he took passage on board a large merchant vessel on which there were over 200 souls, and astern of which there was a smaller vessel in tow, "in case of accident at sea and destruction of the big vessel." Such an accident did happen. After two days, they encountered a heavy gale which blew on for 13 days and nights and the vessel sprang a leak which was stopped up when they arrived alongside of an island. The passengers had to throw their bulky goods into the sea and Fa-hien fervently prayed that his books and images he was conveying to China might be spared and the labour of his life not lost.

They "went on for more than 90 days until they reached a country named *Java* where heresies and Brāhmaṇism were flourishing, while the Faith of the Buddha was in a very unsatisfactory condition."

Fa-hien remained in Java "for 5 months or so" and again shipped on board another large merchant vessel which also carried over 200 persons. They took with them provisions for 50 days.

They again encountered a heavy gale. The Brāhmaṇa passengers complained : "Having this Shaman on

board has been our undoing. We should leave him on an island. It is not right to endanger all our lives for one man." The bold attitude taken by another passenger in support of Fa-hien silenced them. In the meanwhile the Captain of the vessel lost his reckoning. "So they went on for 70 days until the provisions and water were nearly exhausted, and they had to use sea-water for cooking, dividing the fresh water so that each man got about 2 pints." Then, changing direction, they reached land after 12 days' sailing. The Prefect of the place, who was a Buddhist, on hearing that "a Shaman had arrived who had brought Sacred Books and Images with him in a ship, immediately proceeded with his retinue to the seashore to receive them."

Thus was completed Fa-hien's journey on which he thus commented : "Looking back upon what I went through, my heart throbs involuntarily, and sweat pours down. That in the dangers I encountered I did not spare my body was because I kept my object steadily in view."

It may be recalled that Fa-hien practically walked all the way from Central China, across the desert of Gobi, over the Hindu Kush, and through India down to the mouths of the Hooghly, where he took ship and returned to China by sea, after so many hair-breadth escapes, passing through nearly 30 different countries, spending 6 years on mere travelling, and another 6 years in stay and study in India.

The main object of his mission, which was to get copies of sacred works and images, was hard to fulfil under the system of education in India where study and teaching were carried on by the oral method and not on the basis of written literature which could be copied and carried as MSS. The subjects of study were not re-

duced to writing and instruction had to be received directly from the lips of the teacher uttering the words that had to be "heard, pondered over, and contemplated" as *Śruti*. All lesson and literature had to be heard. Thus, Fa-hien states that "in the various countries of Northern India, the Sacred Works were handed down orally from one Patriarch to another, there being no written volume which he could copy." It was only at one place that he found an exception, at the Mahāyāna Monastery at Pāṭaliputra where he found a copy of the Disciplines, "a further transcript of same running to 7000 stanzas as used by Sarvāstivādaḥ School, which also have been handed down orally from Patriarch to Patriarch without being committed to writing, extracts from the Abhidharma in about 6,000 stanzas, and a complete copy of a Sūtra in 2,500 stanzas, as well as a roll of the *Vaipulya-Parinirvāṇa-Sūtra* in 5,000 stanzas. Therefore, Fa-hien stopped here for 3 years, learning to write and speak Sanskrit (and Pāli ?) and copying out the Disciplines."

It will be apparent from Fa-hien's account of the civilisation of Northern India, in the time of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, who was then its paramount sovereign, that the moral and material progress achieved by the country in that age was ultimately due to the efficiency of Gupta administration. It bears out the truth of V. A. Smith's remark that "India was never governed better in the oriental manner than under Chandragupta II". As we have already seen, Fa-hien was more concerned with Buddhist India and the chief centres of its religion and learning, which even in those days spread beyond the bounds of India and were helping to build up a Greater India paying its homage to the supremacy of Indian thought

and following its culture in practice. Even the frontier province of Udyāna (modern Swat) counted as many as 500 monasteries peopled by Buddhist monks. The Punjab too was full of monasteries counting 10,000 resident Buddhist students. Mathurā city alone, which was a stronghold of Brāhmaṇism, contained as many as 20 monasteries with 3,000 monks. In the country now corresponding to modern U. P., the strength of Brāhmaṇism was represented by as many as 96 different Schools and Sects.

All this learning was represented and fostered by some of its greatest teachers. Some of these are mentioned by name by Fa-hien, as we have seen. Thus Pāṭaliputra was famous for its great Brahman Professor of Mahāyāna, named Rādhā Sāmi, "looked up to by all the kingdom and served even by the King." Another great teacher was the Brahman Buddhist teacher, named Mañjuśrī, "whom the Shamans of great virtue in the kingdom and the Mahāyāna Bhikshus honour and look up to."

We have already seen how the educational institutions in those days were maintained both by private philanthropy as well as royal munificence. These grants were made in kind and not in cash, grants of agricultural lands, gardens, orchards and houses to these monasteries. The grant of land was also accompanied by the provision of necessary labour both of men and bullocks. With regard to the gifts made by private individuals, it is stated that their neighbouring families supplied "the societies of these monks with an abundant sufficiency of what they require, so that there is no lack of them." It is also stated that at the proper season these families vie with one another in "sending round to the monks the liquid food which may be taken out of the ordinary

hours." Fa-hien also refers to "the annual tribute (from the harvests) paid to the monks and the gifts of clothes, and such other articles as the monks require for use."

It is to be specially noted, as already pointed out above, that the medium of instruction in higher learning was Sanskrit, which Fa-hien had accordingly to learn by staying for three years at the monastery at Pāṭaliputra. It is also interesting to note that memorial Stūpas were erected at monasteries in those days in honour of Teachers as well as Texts. Thus Stūpas were erected in memory of Sāriputra, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, and Ānanda, while similar monuments were also erected to give publicity to select Sacred Texts like *Abhidharma*, the *Vinaya*, and the *Sūtras*. Every monastery, whether Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna, was thus equipped with a sort of a chapel where their inmates offered the appropriate worship special for them.

Lastly, we have already seen how public philanthropy in Gupta India equipped the country with an abundance and variety of institutions for the promotion of public welfare. Among these Fa-hien mentions as having seen with his own eyes free hospitals, houses of charity, or Dharma-śālās, providing shelter, bed, food and drink for travellers, which were open to all, without distinction of caste or creed. At the same time, the State did not encourage the other institutions which militated against manners and morals, such as piggery, poultry-farm, butcher's shops, and distilleries. Even such heating spices as onion or garlic were ruled out from the national diet. In conclusion, we may say that the Gupta Empire was opening up avenues of intercourse with foreign countries, both towards the West and the East, by means of Indian shipping and navigation.

Fa-hien's record shows how brisk was the trade from the port of Tāmralipti with countries like Ceylon, Java, Siam, and China, while in the West India's sea-borne trade brought to the country in its wake abundance of Roman coins, especially in the South so that the Roman name for a coin, *viz.*, *denarius*, became incorporated into the vocabulary of Gupta numismatics.

VARĀHAMIHIRA

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Can there be an astrologer who does not know Varāhamihira ? If any there be, not an astrologer is he. The work of Varāhaṁihirāchārya is of extreme importance in the history of Indian Astrology. He has immortalised both the Indian Astrologer and Indian Astrology. He is the only one Paṇḍita who has written studied independent treatises on all the three aspects of Astrology, *viz.*, Siddhānta, Saṁhitā and Jātaka.

History of Indian Astrology is very ancient. It is known in the Indian literature from the very ancient books of the Vedas. The people of our country have been attracted by the science from such early times. There have been some very well versed astrologers who had studied all the three aspects of Astrology even before 2000 B. C. These astrologers had composed various treatises, but, unfortunately, all these are not known today.

Varāhamihira has composed the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, the *Laghujātaka*, the *Bṛihajjātaka*, the *Vivāhavṛindāvana*, the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, the *Yogayātrā*, the *Samāsa-*

saṁhitā and several other books, all of which are fortunately known today.

His first book is the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*. This is a book on the mathematical portion of Astrology. Astrology is in fact based on mathematics. There were five Siddhānta treatises in vogue before Varāha. He has mentioned them in his Siddhānta as :

पौलिशरोमकवाशिष्ठसौरपैतामहास्तु पञ्च सिद्धान्ताः ॥

Today these five Siddhāntas are no more available. The earliest known treatises on Astrological mathematics are the five books—*Sūryasiddhānta* and others. These are considered to be divine (अपौरुषेय). There are two kinds of these Pañcha-Siddhāntas. The Siddhāntas mentioned by Varāhamihira, as stated above, are not now available. They are therefore called the Ancient Siddhānta-Pañchaka. The five Siddhāntas, Saura and others, which are available now are known as the Modern Siddhānta-Pañchaka.

The *Pañchasiddhāntikā* is not available in this province, nor is it very familiar to the people. Dr. Bühler obtained some copies of this treatise from Kashmir. They are at present in the Government Library in the Deccan College at Poona. Dr. Thibaut published an edition of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* in 1889 from these copies. He has also given a commentary by Sudhakara Dvivedi. Of the treatises on Astrological mathematics, the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* of Varāhamihira differs considerably from the Modern *Siddhānta-Pañchaka* which is at present available. The Ancient *Sūryasiddhānta* and the Modern *Sūryasiddhānta* differ from each other with respect to वर्षमान and गतिमान. The *Sūryasiddhānta* which is available at present was some time back considered in this country to be the Ancient *Sūryasiddhānta* but the

late Mr. S. B. Dikshit, the well-known author of the *History of Indian Astrology*, pointed out this difference.

Varāhamihira reviewed the Ancient Siddhānta-Pañchaka. He states in the first chapter of his *Pañchasiddhāntikā* :

पौलिशति विस्फुटोऽसौ तस्यासन्नस्तु रोमकः प्रोक्तः ।
स्पष्टतरः सावित्रः परिशेषौ दूरविभ्रष्टौ ॥

This clearly shows that at the time of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* the *Pauliśasiddhānta* was much explicit. It could give visual proofs (दृक्प्रत्यय). The *Romaka* approached it. The *Vāśishṭha* and the *Paitāmaha* could give no such visual proofs. The *Saurasiddhānta* was the most explicit of all. The mathematics in the ancient Siddhānta treatises had gone obsolete (खिल). Varāhamihira composed a new treatise based on the principles of these treatises. (The late Mr. S. B. Dikshit states, as regards their order of seniority, that, of the Ancient Pañcha-Siddhāntas, the *Paitāmaha* is the oldest, then comes the *Vāśishṭha* followed by the other three.) The principles of the *Paitāmahasiddhānta* have been incorporated in the 12th chapter of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*. There are only five verses in this chapter. Thirteen verses are devoted to the *Vāśishṭhasiddhānta*. The *Paitāmaha* has adopted a considerable part of the *Romakasiddhānta* as also of the *Pauliśasiddhānta*. He has given a great predominance to the *Sūryasiddhānta*.

The *Pañchasiddhāntikā* has been based on the fundamental principles of all the five Ancient Siddhāntas and is so composed as to be able to give visual proof. A more detailed information regarding the Ancient Siddhānta-Pañchaka can be found in the late Mr. S. B. Dikshit's *History of Astrology*. The review and re-

search of Varāhamihira in Astrological mathematics has been of very great assistance to the subsequent authors of the treatises on such mathematics. The origin of the Modern Siddhānta-Pañchaka can be traced to the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*.

The treatises of Varāhamihira on Saṁhitā and Jātaka have almost Vedic divinity about them. The most important treatise in this province is the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*. The book is peculiar in every respect. It is composed with the view to provide a guide both for the Governing Institutions and the Public Activities in an independent self-governing nation. There are a hundred and six chapters in this treatise. It follows such system of prediction (फलादेश) as will be congenial to the individual as well as to the collective and national life of the people. Many people believe astrological predictions to be based on mere imagination which has never been experienced by anybody; but the way this science is expounded in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* at once gives a lie direct to this belief. It at once points out the hollowness of this belief. It describes how every human being can live successfully, elevate and develop his life in consonance with his individual self, the community and the nation. This clearly gives us the view-point of this science about human efforts and the way in which their co-ordination can be effected in communal life.

The treatise is important as the means to decide about the time and the effects of a number of subjects pertaining to the various activities in life. Varāhamihira has laid down as to how an astrologer who has well studied the science of Astrology should be. We can easily see that the astrologer possessed of these various qualities as laid down by him is bound to be a very important centre not only of the community but of the

entire nation and of the activities of the national life.

Varāha styles a person well-versed in Astrology as a "Daivajña". He describes a Daivajña in Chapter 2 of his *Brihatsaṁhitā* as :

अथातः सांवत्सरसूत्रं व्याख्यास्यामः । तत्र सांवत्सरोऽभिजातः प्रियदर्शनो विनीतवेषः सत्यवागनसूयकः समः सुसंहतोपचितगात्रसन्धिरविकलश्चारुकरचरणनखनयनचिबुकदशनश्रवणललाटभ्रूत्तमाङ्गो वपुष्मान् गम्भीरोदात्तघोषः। प्रायः शरीराकारानुवर्त्तिनो हि गुणाश्च दोषाश्च भवन्ति ॥१॥

And what qualities must he possess? Says Varāha :

तत्र गुणाः । शुचिर्दक्षः प्रगल्भो वाग्मी प्रतिभावान् देशकालवित्सात्त्विको न पर्षद्भीरुः सहाध्यायिभिरनभिभवनीयः कुशलोऽव्यसनी शान्तिपौष्टिकाभिचारस्नानविद्याभिज्ञो विबुधार्चनव्रतोपवासनिरतः स्वतन्त्राश्चर्योत्पादितज्ञानप्रभावः पृष्टाभिधाय्यन्यत्र दैवात्ययात् ग्रहगणितसंहिताहोराग्रन्थार्थवेत्ता ॥२॥

Thus an astrologer must be holy; clever and apt in his work; enlightened; an orator; speaking in consonance with the well established tenets of the science; who understands the national activities and the flow of times; of a well-disposed temperament; dauntless in assembly; cultured; free from any vice; possessed of astonishing powers by virtue of his knowledge of Astrological mathematics; able to answer any question that may be put to him; capable of suggesting remedies to avoid the evils that may arise in case of an upheaval; well-versed in the treatises on Astrological mathematics, Saṁhitā and Horā. He must know fully well such measures of time as युग, वर्ष, अयन, ऋतु, मास, पक्ष, अहोरात्र, प्रहर, मुहूर्त, घटिका, त्रुटि, and fractions of त्रुटि, as described in all the five Siddhāntas of Pauliśa, Romaka, Vāśishṭha, Saura and Pitāmaha as also the Zodiac Circle (राशिचक्र). He must also know the cycles of years according to सौर, सावन, नाक्षत्र and चान्द्र

calculations as also that according to the Pañcha-Siddhāntas.

As regards Horā, an astrologer must know the Zodiac Signs—Aries, Taurus, etc.; their nature, character and destiny; the planets and the effects of their direction, position, actions (चेष्टा), and the time as also their varieties; the metals and substances they rule; and such other things pertaining to them. He must also be conversant with the knowledge regarding conception, birth and other allied topics of marriage and other auspicious ceremonies and the proper time for them as also of आयुर्दाय, दशान्तर्दशा, द्विग्रहादियोग and भावफल. An astrologer must also know a number of other subjects such as the selection of elephants, horses, troops, ministers, scouts and kings; the ways of protecting armies and conquering forts; of getting victories and giving defeats. With this fund of knowledge, what an accomplished person the astrologer must be ! He is almost a prophet. Naturally enough, he held a position of high honour at the Royal Court in ancient times.

Astrology is a rational science. It is not based on mental slavery or unknown standards. It draws its conclusions from actual worldly incidents, their developments and consequential effects on life, which we experience. In fact all our scriptures are congenial to the activities of life. Man is a social being. The peculiarity of humanity is its struggle for the satisfactory fruition of life. To try to make our life complete and a success, and to achieve it, is the objective of humanity (पुरुषार्थ). Astrology is the means to achieve this objective. Like a benign friend, it clearly foretells us the opportune time for and the effects of a number of incidents and their developments in daily life, which man does not ordinarily consi

der, and thus safeguards the interest of humanity. This divine enlivening power of this science has been bestowed on it by the most valuable treatises of Varāhamihira. He has written these treatises, which very diligently review the development of human life and nature, with all its contradictions and progress in the past, consider its condition—static or dynamic—in the present, and, reconciling these two, draw a definite picture of its course in the future. After Varāhamihira there has been no author to write such treatises on such lines.

The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira is a piece of literary beauty. The composition of its verse is faultless. V rāha has wr.tten it after a careful study of a number of books and has taken its bibliography from various sources. Bhaṭṭotpala has written a very illuminating commentary on it. It is, in fact, a very comprehensive treatise. We get in it the names of 283 different parts of Bharatakhaṇḍa. The section of *Kūrmachakra* gives us the idea of the various developments in these parts and their effects on them. That is also called the Global (मेदिनीय) or National (राष्ट्रीय) Astrology. Varāhamihira travelled over a number of provinces of Bharatakhaṇḍa and proved his propositions. The first 13 chapters of his *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* describe the conduct of the planets (ग्रहचार). Their predictions are discussed from the point of view of the revolutions of the planets according to their characteristics. In the 16th chapter is given what articles and provinces are ruled over by each planet. The effects of the War of Planets is given in Chapter 17. The War of Planets is the same as the conjunction of planets. It gives what effects will ensue if planets of contradictory characteristics come together. Thereafter the combinations of the moon with other planets and their aus-

picious and inauspicious effects are described. The way of predicting the events of a year and the annual forecast in accordance with ग्रहवर्षफल and ग्रहशृङ्गाटक is given after this. The subsequent chapters upto the 23rd give the probabilities of rain and the forecast regarding it. Then come such topics as the दिग्दाहलक्षण, भूकम्प, उल्कालक्षण, परिवेषलक्षण, इन्द्रायुधलक्षण, गन्धर्वलक्षण, रजोलक्षण, निर्घातलक्षण, etc., which are very useful for working out the national and personal predictions. This is followed by agricultural topics, such as, how the crops would be, what prices would they fetch, etc., and the rules for judging the auspicious or inauspicious indications from the sight of the bird called 'Khañjana,' the breaking of a Śivaliṅga or of the image of a deity, as also of a chariot, or banner. After this we get an independent topic of national forecast called 'Mayūrachitraka'. The forecast regarding the king, the characteristics of the dress of the king, the prince, the minister, the crown, the sword, etc. are given hereafter and then comes the topic of physiognomy (अङ्गविद्या) which is a portion of. प्रश्नज्योतिष. He then tells us of the lores of architect; of building houses and towns, of water-finds and waters underground, of subjects concerning gardening, temples and the images of deities in temples. Then he gives the characteristics of a cow, a dog, a cock, a horse, an elephant, a man, the five super-men (पञ्चमहापुरुष), a woman, etc., as also of a hole in the garment, the Chāmara and the umbrella. Then come such important subjects pertaining to the occasions of particular joy in life, as सौभाग्यकरण, वाजीकरण, विलास, स्त्रीपुरुषसमागम, शय्यासन, etc. The inspections of the thunderbolt, of pearls and precious stones come next, as also the characteristics of the auspicious signs as a special topic, Finally he concludes, after dealing with the topics of नक्षत्रगुण,

राशिविभाग, तिथिगुणकरण, विवाहपटल, गोचरग्रहफलनिर्णय and नक्षत्र-पुरुषव्रत.

The field of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* is, as its name indicates, very vast. On every subject in it can be composed an independent treatise. Varāhamihira was extremely clever and a research scholar. He had studied not only the science of astrology as known in this country but also the ancient Greek astrology. No astrologer except Varāha has taken to the method of research with regard to astrology, nor has anyone adopted or developed it after him. There is no treatise in our country so complete as those of Varāhamihira as regards predictions.

Another treatise of Varāhamihira is the *Bṛihajjātaka*. In this treatise there is a discussion of individual countries regarding the fundamentals of their predictions. It gives an explicit and scientific exposition of casting a horoscope and working up the predictions therefrom.

Varāhamihira was a devotee of knowledge and a founder of science. By his sustained studies and research and definite thinking, he developed astrology, established new scientific propositions and in his treatises left them as a legacy for the future students of that science.

Indian astrology was only one-sided before Varāhamihira. He removed this one-sidedness and developed it to a pitch as to be sufficient for this multifarious life. Varāhamihira's work is constructive.

Scientific thought emerges out of rationalism, scientific research and new altered conditions. Old form of rationalism and the constituent fundamental propositions of a science have to be examined in the light

of new knowledge and by the standards of the altered conditions so as to generate a new rationalistic thought. The person who has the power of generating such a new rationalistic thought becomes the founder (आचार्य) of that science. Varāhamihira carried out an analytical research of the ancient Siddhānta-Pañchaka and Saṁhitās in the light of his self-acquired knowledge. He tested the standards thereof and converted those standards into new ones, by his own knowledge and independent thinking. Before him the science of astrology in this country was only in its infancy. He developed it, recast it in a form befitting the mediaeval ages and through his treatises put it before the public so as to be useful for the purposes of the diverse activities of life. The nourishment and expansion of human life depend upon worldly conditions. These worldly conditions are the resultants of Jñāna and Vijñāna. Man and this universe are worldly. Astrology naturally considers the relationship of the nature of cause and effect between the universe and man, harmonizes together the place of man in the universe, his ability, talent, lust for knowledge and capacity to work and points out to him the way whereby he can achieve complete success as regards his individual family, social and political life. Circumstances are also ever-changing. Unless man understands the cause and sequence of these alterations of the circumstances and knows beforehand the nature of these alterations in the future, he cannot fully use his capacity to work. 'Jyotis' is the power possessed of several properties which cause the alterations and developments in life. The science of astrology (ज्योतिःशास्त्र) is the science based on that knowledge whereby we know the extensive and effective fundamental propositions in the various stages of the modifications, गुणनिर्मिति

and फलपरिणति, of this power. In the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* and the *Bṛihajjātaka* the author has discussed these fundamental principles and has thus expounded this science.

There are 28 chapters in the *Bṛihajjātaka*. The book expounds that phase of the science which pertains to the advancement of a person's individual self. It describes the form, the degrees and the nature of the signs of the Zodiac; the time-controlling powers (कालपुरुष), their influence, the characteristics of their rule; the planets, their descriptions, effect, the certainty of the effect, and a variety of such other topics. It also gives the relation between the event of a person's birth and of the planets which regulate the rule of the time-controlling powers. It begins with the discussion of birth, cohabitation of man and woman which is the cause thereof, the child, and the method whereby we can get some certain forecast about its mental and physical development. It expounds such theories as inculcate in an intelligent man such a scientific way of thinking, based on mathematics, as will reveal to him strange and surprising knowledge about a number of diverse topics, such as, how in a person will develop his longevity, physical strength, power, ability and vigour; what obstacles will come up in the way of such development and in what manner; the well-being of the new-born babe, its parents and the family; the auspicious or the inauspicious effects on a family of a birth; the circumventing circumstances at the time of the birth; the birth of a single issue or of twins, etc. The science was not so shaped and moulded in such an authoritative and homogeneous manner before Varāhamihira.

Astrology is believed by many to be a mysterious science. In fact, far from being mysterious, it is

peculiarly a science based on actuality, deductions therefrom, and the conditions of life, and is proved by experience. It can be mastered by such persons only as are gifted with sharp intelligence, a quick grasp, consistent thought, a thorough knowledge of Psychology Economics, Astrological mathematics and such other important sciences, and of various other social, religious, political and other activities of life. Varāhamihira has rightly called such an astrologer a Daivajña. He needs a knowledge of every phase of life and must know how to use that knowledge. Varāhamihira was himself the best Daivajña and showed to humanity the surest way to be one. After Varāha the research and growth of this science was completely stunted. Particularly in Horary astrology, we get no critical books thereafter. During the last about seven or eight hundred years the only Horary science which has survived is only such as is necessary for the conservation of the religious functions. A few books have been written on मुहूर्तज्योतिष. Varāhamihirāchārya's son has written on प्रश्नजातक a treatise called *Shaṭpañchāśikā*, on which also Bhaṭṭotpala has written a commentary.

Indian astrology is blessed with a long line of very eminent scientific astrologers, beginning with Āryabhaṭa I. Āryabhaṭa I, Varāhamihira, Brahmagupta, Lalla, Padmanābha, Śrīdhara, Mahāvīra, Muñjala, Āryabhaṭa II, Pṛithūdakasvāmin, Bhaṭṭotpala, were all well-versed in Astrological mathematics. So were Vijayanandin, Śrīpativarman, Śatānanda, Bhāskarāchārya and Gaṇeśa-Daivajña. There were several other astrologers who were the contemporaries of these luminaries of astrology. All of them depended more particularly on Astrological mathematics. While he was like them well-versed in Astrological mathematics, Varāhamihira stands

out alone as the prop of Horary astrology. He did scientific research in astrology with respect to the various strange phenomena in nature, the various substances in the universe, their characteristics and utility in life, with an independent thought, his own personal experience and intuition. That is his special and exclusive contribution to astrology. His two treatises, *viz.*, the *Laghujātaka* and the *Bṛihajjātaka* are the Bible of Horary astrology and are indispensably studied by every astrologer who cares to make some way in फलज्योतिष. If this special work of his would have been carried on with the same zeal and assiduity which was shown by him, and the scientific research regarding the various strange phenomena in nature, the various substances in the universe, their characteristics and utility in life would have been carried on by his successors, Indian astrology would never have been surpassed by the astrological knowledge in the west.

Varāhamihira's work naturally attracted everybody. The famous astrological commentator Bhaṭṭotpala who lived about the Śaka year 888 has written very easy and illuminating gloss on his books *Yātrā*, *Bṛihajjātaka*, *Laghujātaka* and *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*. King Kalyāṇavarman prepared from his books a summary of the science, called *Sārāvali*, which is very useful for Horary astrology. Even foreigners were enamoured of his books. The Mohammedan scholar Alberuni who lived in the days of the Mahmood of Ghazni, in his famous book *Indica*, has written about Indian astrology and has expressed a very high opinion about the works of Varāhamihira. This *Indica* has been translated into English by Prof. Edwards of Berlin. Dr. Kern has translated the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* into English, which is printed in the 5th Volume of the *Journal of the Royal*

Asiatic Society. The books of Varāhamihira and his contribution to astrology deserve to be studied very critically. Even if the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* alone is so studied, that can make explicit a number of premises of the science of astrology.

Varāhamihira's books on Pilgrimage and Marriage are also of a peculiar significance. His treatise *Yātrā* describes Travels and the various obstacles and difficulties that arise in their course. His work *Yogayātrā* describes Wars and the Victories or Defeats, etc. The *Vivāhavṛindāvana* deals with Marriage. It is customary in our country to consider the Jātaka of the bride and the bridegroom. This is usually considered in view of **गण, नाडी, ग्रह, मैत्री, जातक, वश्य**, etc. Varāhamihira has adopted altogether an independent method. Reading the predictions of the married life of the couple from the point of view of the moment of the marriage, he determines the opportune time (**मुहूर्त**) for the marriage. Indian Horary astrology (**फलज्योतिष**) considers the topic of Muhūrta. 'Muhūrta' means 'the opportune moment'. To fix it up, the nature, the importance and the characteristics of the contemplated work have first to be considered. That is why we have separate Muhūrtas for setting on a journey, for the construction of a house, or for marriage. The Zodiac Signs are either **चर** or **स्थिर**, or both. Therefore it is a difficult and intelligent task to find out the best Muhūrta for any undertaking. Marriage is a very important event which brings about the fusion of the bride and the bridegroom in body, mind and family. It is absolutely essential to find out the most suitable Muhūrta for such an event. Varāhamihira in his *Vivāhavṛindāvana* considers the characteristics of the males and the females and pres-

cribes such a Muhūrta for marriage as will be the centre from which will radiate for the couple a life full of sound health, satisfactory progeny, glorious success and abundant wealth. He has thus rendered a unique service to society.

Such is Varāhamihirāchārya. He was born at Kāpitthaka near Ujjain. His father's name was Ādityadāsa who was a great devotee of the Sun. Varāhamihira was born by the blessing of Lord Apollo (the Sun). We get his life-sketch in the *Pratisargaparvan* of the *Bhavishya-Purāṇa*. At the end of the *Bṛihajjātaka* Varāha writes about himself in the उपसंहार :—

आदित्यदासतनयस्तदवाप्तबोधः कापित्थके सवितृलब्धवरप्रसादः ।
आवन्तिको मुनिमतान्यवलोक्य सम्यग्घोरां वराहमिहिरो रुचिरां चकार ॥

His contribution to astrology is indeed epoch-making. The history of astrology can well be divided into two distinct parts as (*i*) the Pre-Varāha period and (*ii*) the Post-Varāha period. The source of astrology, as has already been pointed out, can be traced to the Vedas which date as far back as 10,000 B. C. Take any Prapāṭhaka of any of the four Vedas and we find there some description of आकाश, चन्द्र, सूर्य, उषस्, सूर्यरश्मि, नक्षत्र and तारा, as also of the seasons, the months, the day and the night. The proposition that the Sun travels to the north and to the south of the Equator was known to the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*. The earliest book on astrology is the *Vedāṅgajyotisha* which is a part of the *Atharvaveda*. Then there are the Saṁhitās of Garga, Pārāśara, Nārada, and others. These are treatises which deal with the science of astrology generally, without considering it separately in its different branches. Says Varāhamihira :—

ज्योतिःशास्त्रमनेकभेदविषयं स्कन्धत्रयाधिष्ठितम्
तत्कात्स्न्योपनयस्य नाम मुनिभिः संकीर्त्यते संहिता ॥ (—बृहत्संहिता 1.8)

As, however, the science developed, it was naturally split into several specialised branches such as the Mathematical branch, the Horary branch, etc., and separate treatises were written on each of them separately. Varāhamihira very carefully and critically studied the development of the science which was reached till his time and, applying to it his independent thought, wrote several special treatises on its various branches. As Nārada says :—

सिद्धान्तसंहिताहोरारूपं स्कन्धत्रयात्मकम् ।
वेदस्य निर्मलं चक्षुः ज्योतिःशास्त्रमनुत्तमम् ॥ (—नारदसंहिता)

Varāhamihirāchārya is the only one Pandita who has written special treatises on all these three branches of astrology. The accuracy of the astrological predictions depends upon correctly gauging the positions of the planets, but the गति and स्थिति of the planets change in course of time. If the positions of the planets, as can be worked out from Astrological mathematics, tally with their positions as we can actually observe in the firmament, then alone that mathematics can give us reliable results. Where the two do not tally, the mathematical knowledge has to be revised after careful research and adopted to the actualities. Astrology is based on rationalism, experience and the knowledge of the actualities. Varāhamihira was a rationalistic researcher. He revised and systematised the knowledge of astrology which was then available and started a new epoch in the history of astrology. That is his special contribution to the science of astrology and that is why he held a high position in the court of Vikramāditya. Begging the words of Subhāshitakāra, we can well say of Varāhamihirāchārya :—

ज्योतिर्विदानां गणनाप्रसङ्गे वराहाचार्येण कनिष्ठिकाश्रिता ।
अद्यापि तत्तुल्यमुनेरभावात् 'अनामिका' सार्थवती बभूव ॥

THE MONUMENTS OF THE UDAYAGIRI HILL

By

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The Geographical Situation of the Hill.—The Udayagiri hill stands four and half miles north-west of the Bhilsa station on the N. E. Main Line of the G. I. P. Railway. At Bhilsa are the headquarters of the district of the same name in Gwalior State.[1] The precise position of the hill is 23°.6″ (Longitude) and 77°.8″ (Latitude).

A metalled road from the town of Bhilsa goes right upto the foot of the hill near its north-east end whence the individual caves are reached partly by a cart-track and partly by a foot-path.[2] There is a rest-house on the north-east top of the hill maintained by the State Archæological Department which can be used by travellers on payment of nominal fees.

The caves of Udayagiri (lit. 'mount sun-rise') are one of the several groups of ancient monuments that are situated within a radius of dozen miles about the modern town of Bhilsa. The Sanchi hill with its well-known Buddhist remains lies about four miles south-west

1. See the map (Plate I).
2. See the Site Plan (Plate II).

of the Udayagiri hill while the ancient city site of Vidiśā nearby the present hamlet of Besnagar, famous for the Heliodorus Pillar inscription, is only about two miles to its north-east.

The Ancient Character of the Region in which the Hill is Situated.—The region in which the hill is situated was in ancient times known as Daśārṇa. The name 'Dasaṇṇa' of a kingdom famous for its sharp-edged swords is mentioned in one of the early Buddhist canonical works and it is generally identified with the region about modern Bhilsa.[1] This Dasaṇṇa is undoubtedly the same as Daśārṇa of the Sanskrit works.[2] Kauṭilya refers to elephants from Daśārṇa as being of middle quality[3] and the Epics and the Purāṇas occasionally mention the tribe Daśārṇa frequently associating them with the other tribes such as the Mālavas, the Karūshas, the Mekhalas, etc., all of them inhabiting the regions near about the Vindhyas.[4] Kālidāsa[5] also refers to the country of Daśārṇa with Vidiśā as its chief town on the banks of the river Vetravatī (*i. e.*, the modern Betwa). The name Daśārṇa is still preserved in the modern name of the river Dashan which rises in the Bhopal territory and flowing through Bundelkhand empties into the river Betwa.[6] The rivers Betwa and the Bes, a tributary

1. Malalasekhara: *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, I, 1064; and Mehta: *Pre-Buddhist India*, 402. It is interesting to note here that in the course of excavations at Besnagar a genuine piece of steel was discovered and it has been found by expert opinion to be the first specimen "of really ancient date" and is thus of "unusual interest" especially because of its age. See *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1913-14, 204.
2. See N. De: *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient India* (2nd Ed.), 54.
3. *Arthaśāstra* (Eng. Trans. by Shamasastry), 49.
4. B. C. Law: *Tribes in Ancient India* (Bhandarkar Oriental Series, No. 4), 1943,—375-7.
5. Verses 25-6.
6. N. De: *Op. cit.*, 54.

of the former, are respectively the same as the Vetravatī[1] and the Vidiśā of the Epics and the Purāṇas.[2]

The Monuments of Udayagiri and the Ancient city of Vidiśā.—The existence of so many monuments in the neighbourhood of Bhilsa is not due to a mere chance; for nearby the modern town and at the junction of the rivers Bes and Betwa there once stood the famous and populous city of Vidiśā.[3] The story of these monuments in the surrounding of Bhilsa, including those at Sanchi, was intimately bound up with the fortunes of this great city on whose wealth and prosperity these monuments were largely dependent for their existence and support. "That the foundations of Vidiśā went back to a very remote age and that its population was a large one in the early centuries of Buddhism is abundantly clear from the extent of its well-defined site as well as from the depth of *debris* that had accumulated there before 2nd century B. C."[4] It was situated at the junction of the ancient trade routes, one running west to east from the busy sea-ports of the western littoral through Ujjayinī, Kauśāmbī and Kāśī to Pāṭaliputra, and the other south-west to north-east from the Andhra capital of Pratishṭhāna to Śrāvasti as well as to other cities in Kosala and Pañchāla.[5] Vidiśā thus enjoyed a good deal of economic progress due to its being an important key-position on the ancient trade routes and naturally the town grew into a big city ex-

1. *Ibid*, 30; and also B. C. Law: *Geographical Essays*, 117.
2. *Vāyu-Purāṇa* (Ānandāśrama Edition), 45. 80ff.; also B. C. Law: *Op. cit.*, 117.
3. The site of the city has been located near the modern village of Besh (or better known as Besnagar) where excavations were carried by Bhandarkar in 1913-14. For a complete report of these excavations see *An. Rep. ASI*, 1913-14, Pp.186 ff.
4. Marshall: *The Monuments of Sanchi*, I, 2.
5. Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India*, 103; and *Cambridge History of India*, I, 523.

tending from the Udayagiri hill in the west to the confluence of the two rivers in the east, to the northern fringe of the present town of Bhilsa in the south and to the spot where Cunningham dug up the Kalpadruma and the statue of Māyādevī in the north.[1] The Udayagiri hill must have originally formed the western defence line, while the deep rivers flanking its other three sides with their high banks provided a stray defence to the city with an ample supply of water thus assured. Vidiśā was still a prosperous and flourishing city in the days of the early Gupta emperors under whom it was the chief provincial capital of Mālava, but when Chandragupta II shifted the seat of this Viceroyalty to Ujjayinī[2] Vidiśā gradually faded into insignificance and we hear little of it later on. The caves of the Udayagiri hill are the fruits of the efforts of the citizens of Vidiśā in the last hey-days of her glorious history.

The Topography of the Hill and the Situation of the Caves.—The hill of Udayagiri is about one and half miles in length, its general direction being from south-west to north-east. Its greatest height is about 350 feet at the north-east end near which the caves Nos. 19 and 20[3] and the remains of an ancient Gupta

1. With regard to the extent of the site of the city see *An. Rep. ASI*, 1913-14, 186; cp. also *Kincaid: Rambles among Ruins in Central India* (*IA, XVII*), 348.
2. *C.A.S.I.*, Vol. X, 34.
3. Cunningham started his exploration of the hill from this side and proceeded northwards, and he numbered the caves serially in that direction (*i. e.*, from south to north). The Archaeological Department of the State has also followed the same direction in numbering the caves, though the number of caves has been doubled. Cunningham numbered the last cave at the north-east end as 10 while the Department has No. 20 for the same cave. Since the time a metalled road has been constructed meeting the foot of the hill at its north-east. This numbering appears rather confusing and inverted. But for the sake of convenience of established usage and of the chronological implications suggested by the numbering, as will be obvious from the following discussion, the numbering has been preserved as it was.

temple are situated. In the middle the hill is very much depressed and here a narrow passage has been cut through it which was probably once closed by a gate. It is on both sides of this passage that the caves Nos. 8-17 are situated. But some of the most important of the caves (*i. e.*, Nos. 3 and 7) are excavated on the eastern face of the hill just to the south of the passage referred to above. Further south, at a short distance, is the cave No. 2 near which quarrying for stone material has been ceaselessly going on for years as a result of which the hill has received many cuttings. The south-east end of the hill is also comparatively high, though not so much as the north-east end, and on its top is situated the cave No. 1[1]. Thus the topography of the hill is not in any way remarkable nor is there anything in its general aspect to distinguish it from the eminences that girdle it close on the west and south.

The Geological Features of the Hill.—As with all the neighbouring off-shoots of the Vindhyan range which here dies down deep into the plateau of Central India, its formation is of sandstone which slopes layer upon layer in shelving masses down its sides wherein the Indian builders of old found a quarry for their work ready at hand.[2] It is on account of these horizontal lines of cleavage that the large number of caves on the eastern face of the hill have been excavated. There is ample evidence to suggest that the rocks of Udayagiri provided the main supply of building material for the ancient city of Vidiśā[3] and the sculptures that are discovered in diggings at the site of the city were apparently carved on the Udayagiri

1. See Site Plan.
2. Marshall: *Monuments of Sanchi*, I, 11.
3. See Cunningham : *Op. cit.*

stone. The Vindhyan sand-stone of which the Udayagiri, Sanchi and the neighbouring hills are formed varies much in texture and colour. Its Udayagiri variety is much finer than those of the other hills. It is white or grey-white in colour and was used in the early period for the gate-ways of the Stūpas Nos. 1 and 3 at Sanchi and later on for many free-standing statues. "The advantages which the Udayagiri stone has over the Nagauri variety (after the Nagauri hill near Sanchi) are that it is freer from faults and blemishes, can be quarried in longer blocks and thanks to its finer texture lent itself to the most delicate kinds of carving."[1]

Ancient Name of the Hill and Origin of the Name Udayagiri.—As to the ancient name of the hill there is no definite evidence left to us. The inscriptions in the caves do not at all refer to the name of the hill. There is a reference in one of the ancient Buddhist works[2] stating that Prince Mahendra, son of the greatest Mauryan emperor, Aśoka, stayed with his mother in a monastery on Vedisagiri near Vidiśā before his departure for Ceylon. Vedisagiri might probably have been the same as our Udayagiri hill as it is the only hill nearest to the ancient city site of Vidiśā. It should be noted that the name of the river Vidiśā, on whose banks the city of Vidiśā once stood, was known as such to the Epics and the Purāṇas;[3] and it is undoubtedly the same as the modern river Bes. It is thus in the fitness of things that the hill nearby should have derived its name

1. Marshall: *Op. cit.*, 12.
2. Cp. Malalasekhara: *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, II, 922; see also B. C. Law: *Geography of Early Buddhism*,
3. See Sorensen: *Index to Names in the Mahābhārata*; cp. also B. C. Law: *Geographical Essays*, 117.

(*i. e.*, Vedisagiri) after the name of the city or of the river. This conjecture appears further strengthened from the fact that traces of buildings in several places and of a Buddhist stūpa were observed by Cunningham in 1875 on the top of the hill[1] which may be reminiscent of the Buddhist monastery referred to above. But some versions of the *Mahāvaṁsa* mention Chetiyagiri in place of Vedisagiri in the same connection; and Marshall identifies[2]—though he is not quite sure about it—this hill with the present hill of Sanchi. He takes both the names (*i. e.*, Vedisagiri and Chetiyagiri) to signify the same hill (*i. e.*, of Sanchi). Thus for want of definite evidence the identification of Vedisagiri with Udayagiri must, for the present, be left an open question.

In his *Meghadūta* Kālidāsa refers to a hill called *Nīchairgiri* and Mirashi has proposed its identification with our Udayagiri hill.[3] Albiruni,[4] on the authority of Varāhamihira, mentions Udayagiri as a name of a hill in the region of the east and this certainly signifies the famous hill of that name in Orissa. Thus we have no evidence to decide as to when and how the name Udayagiri of the hill gained currency. A hamlet of that name, however, still stands at the eastern foot of the hill with only ten souls occupying its thirty-three ruined houses.[5]

Previous Studies on the Udayagiri Monuments.—The Udayagiri hill has received scant atten-

1. See P. 55.
2. *The Monuments of Sanchi*, I, 14-5.
3. *Vikrama-Smṛiti-Grantha* (Hindi), P. 350. Cp. also N. De: *Op. cit*, 140, and also Cunningham: *Bhilsa Topes*, 327.
4. Sachau: *Albiruni's India*, I, 301; and cp. also Fleet: *Topographical List in the Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (*IA*, *XXII*), 193.
5. *Gwalior Census Report for* 1941, District Bhilsa, Pargana Bhilsa, 4.

tion both from ancient writers and modern scholars. The Chinese travellers whose accounts are a mine of information on India's ancient geography pass by in silence even the famous monuments of Sanchi[1] and it is no wonder if our caves did not attract their notice. From modern scholars, too, the caves did not receive the treatment they deserved. This indifference on their part might be due to the existence of the monuments of Sanchi in the vicinity which have pushed these caves to the background. In his *Cave Temples of India* Fergusson did not even refer to the caves though they had already been described by Cunningham in his *Reports*. On the contrary the Udayagiri caves in Orissa have been fully treated by him in the same work.[2] Even in his later more accomplished work on Indian and Eastern Architecture[3] and in its subsequent revised edition by Burgess we do not at all find any reference to our caves. The first descriptive record of the hill and its monuments is found in Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports* for 1874-76[4] wherein he has described most of the caves and the earlier Buddhist remains traces of which were found by him on the north-eastern top of the hill. His record, however, is not complete and needs revision in many respects. In the same report he had put forth his theory regarding the striking characteristics of Gupta Architecture in connection with the cave No. 1.[5] After Cunningham the monuments of Udayagiri never received proper attention from scholars and even his theory and account of the

1. Marshall: *Guide to Sanchi* (2nd Edition), Preface, P. v.
2. See P. 55.
3. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1876); later revised and edited by Burgess in 1910.
4. Vol. X, 46-55.
5. *Ibid*, 60.

Gupta Architecture was entirely passed over by Fergusson and Burgess; while Smith only reproduces Cunningham's main points on the Gupta Architecture without committing himself to any conclusion whatever.[1] The important Gupta inscriptions[2] in the caves, however, have been fully treated by writers on Gupta history while the famous Varāha scene in the cave No. 5 has been occasionally noticed by scholars on Indian Sculpture[3]. Thus it will be realised that a complete up-to-date record on the monuments of the Udayagiri hill is a long-felt need.

Description of the Caves[3] and their Architectural Features.—Cave No. 1—It consists of a sanctum or a small room 7 feet by 6 feet with the front and one of its sides being built up; the other three sides are hewn out of living rock while the roof is a natural ledge of rock which covers the whole of the temple. In front of the sanctum is a portico 7 feet by 7 feet with four pillars in the front presenting three openings the middle one being 3 feet while the side ones are only one foot each or just one diameter of the pillars. The side walls are prolonged beyond the front of the sanctum and terminate in pillars which are simply monolithic shafts square in section with an opening of 5½ feet each. The pillars in front are simple in design. Their lowest portion at the base is square in section with the portion above it being octagonal above which the shaft is sixteen-sided with the capital carved in simple but beautiful "vase and foliage" pattern. There is character in the shaping

1. *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (2nd. Ed.); cp. also Codrington : *Ancient India*, 58.
2. Fleet edited the Gupta Inscriptions in the caves in his *Gupta Inscriptions* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III); see Pp. 21,34,258. See also Bhandarkar : *List of Inscriptions*.
3. See Cunningham : *ASI*, X, Pp. 48 ff.

of these pillars, for, although heavily proportioned, they are in keeping with the rugged strength of the whole.

Entrance to the cella or sanctum is by a door of plain jambs with the lintel overlapping them. By the sides of the door jambs are miniature pilasters similar in design to the pillars in front. The interior of the cave is quite plain except for the enshrined figure which was originally hewn out of the solid rock of the back wall. It has been roughly chiselled off but the outline of the standing figure can still be discerned under the thin layer of *sindūra* laid thereon by the religious-minded people of the locality.

The local inhabitants call it a *Sūraj-Guphā* (*i. e.*, the cave of the Sun-god), while the Jain community of the region claim it to be an ancient Jain temple. As the enshrined figure has been too damaged to identify it and as there is no inscription in the cave that can enable us to identify it, it is difficult to decide on this point. Cunningham named it as a "false cave temple" because it has been adopted out of a natural ledge of rock which has been made to form the roof both of the cella and its portico and because it is partly rock-cut and partly stone-built.

Cave No. 2.—It is almost near the level of the ground, its dimensions being 7 feet 11 inches by 6 feet 1½ inches. Entrance to it is by a plain rock-cut doorway. It is very much weather-worn and possesses no interest. The cave probably once had a front wall which had long disappeared; but there are traces of two pilasters on the rock, and of a structural portico in the long deep horizontal cutting over the door.

Cave No. 3.—It is an ordinary unfinished cell 8 feet by 6 feet 2 inches. Its inside walls are irregularly

cut. Entrance to it is by a plain rock-cut door-way. No traces of decoration are observed on both the jambs and the lintel which is slightly larger than the breadth of the door-way. The interior is quite plain except for the enshrined image of a male deity carved on the inside wall of the cave opposite the entrance. Traces of two pilasters are still seen on both sides of the door-way and it appears this cave too had a structural portico in its front as the deep horizontal cuttings over both sides of the door would suggest.

Cunningham did not describe this cave and his cave No. 3 is our cave No. 4 to be described immediately.[1]

Cave No. 4.—Cunningham has named it as "the Bina cave" from the figure of a man carved on the door-way who is represented as playing on the Indian lute (Vīṇā). The cave itself is an ordinary cell cut out of living rock with dimensions 13 feet 11 inches by 11 feet 8 inches. Entrance to the cell or sanctum is through an ornamental rock-cut doorway. The door-jambs consist of four vertical bands of richly carved mouldings the first and third of which are cut deeper into the rock than the other two. The first of them is carved in arabesque foliage almost similar to those found on the carved fragments of door-jambs of the Śiva temple discovered at Bhumara.[2] The line of carving on the second band is thinner than that of the first one. The decoration here consists of a row of lotus rosettes much similar to the border of lotus rosettes on a lintel of a door-frame of the Śiva temple at Bhumara.[3] The other

1. *Op. cit.*
2. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 16, *the Temple of Śiva at Bhumara*, Pl. III, c. d.
3. *Ibid*, Pl. VII, c.

two bands also are carved in ornamental foliage. The lintel is slightly longer than the breadth of the door-way and is divided into four horizontal bands of carved mouldings corresponding to those on the jambs. The decoration on the bands of the jambs is continued on the corresponding bands of the lintel except on the second one of the lintel on which are carved five cusped bosses with small circular panels each containing a figure. In the boss to the left is a man playing the Vīṇā (Indian lute) and in the one to the extreme right is a second human figure playing the Sārangī (Indian guitar). In the middle one there is a lion and in each of the others a crocodile. On both sides of the door are two figures apparently of dvārapālas or door-keepers which are very much disfigured. Beyond them are two pilasters with indistinct bell capitals, their shafts being similar in design to the front pillars in the cave No. 1.

Inside the sanctum there is a liṅga with a human face carved on one side. The interior, as in case of the caves described above, is quite plain.

In front of the cave there was originally a structural portico supported on two large pillars in front and two small pillars on each side. The mason's marks of their positions are still visible on the rock. The pillars must have corresponded to the pilasters on the face of the rock referred to above.

On the north-east side the portico leads into another open cave 1 feet 3½ inches in length and 6 feet 9½ inches in breadth standing at right angles with the Bina cave. In it are arranged images of Ashṭaśakti or the eight female energies, six in front and one at each side. This cave has not been separately numbered either by Cunningham or by the Department.

Cave No. 5.—(Cunningham's Cave No. 4) :—It is simply a large open cutting 22 feet in length, 12 feet 8 inches in height and 3 feet 4 inches in depth. From the architectural point of view there is nothing striking about this cave. Its chief and important feature lies in the famous Varāha incarnation scene carved on the face of its rocky walls (for details see below).

Cave No. 6.—Adjoining the cave No. 5 to its left is the cave No. 6. It has not been numbered separately by Cunningham who describes it along with his cave No. 4. It is well-known from its Gupta inscription of the year 82 of the Gupta Era. It is also otherwise known as the Chandragupta cave or the Sanakānīka cave after the name of the Gupta emperor of the tribe Sanakānīka referred to in the inscription.

The cave proper is 14 feet deep and 12½ feet broad. The verandah in front is 23 feet 8 inches in length by 5 feet 10 inches in breadth. The door-way is slightly on the southern side of the verandah and is very richly carved. The door jambs are divided into three carved bands of mouldings the middle one of them being slightly raised above the other two. The first band is carved in ornamental foliage much similar to the bands Nos. 3 and 4 of the door-jambs in cave No. 4. The line of carving on the second band which is thinner than the first one seems to represent the trunk of date-palm, a feature which is also observable in the ornamentation on some of the pillars of the Śiva temple at Bhumara.[1] The third band is still thinner than the second one and is decorated in geometrical pattern arranged in small isosceles triangles. The lintel is longer than the breadth of the doorway. It is also divided into five carved bands

1. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 16, *Temple of Śiva at Bhumara*, Pl. IV.

of mouldings three of which correspond to those of the door-jambs and the ornamentation of the latter is continued on the corresponding three bands of the lintel. The fourth band on the lintel represents miniature horse-shoe shaped niches, carving on which consists of vertical and parallel lines while the interspaces are filled in with horizontal line carving. On the fifth band there are three chaitya-window shaped bosses with small circular panels each containing some figure the interspaces being left plain. The panel to the left contains some animal figure probably a lion, while the central one seems to represent a human figure; the third one is very indistinct but it too contained some animal figure as in the first panel. Near the jambs are carved two miniature pilasters with bell capitals. Above each of the two capitals is a small square panel decorated with conventionalised form of a tree at its centre. On both sides of the tree are two seated figures of lions with their fore-legs raised facing opposite sides. Above the square panels are carved the figures of the two river-goddesses standing in graceful posture on their vehicles, the crocodiles. The panels containing these figures are also carved in ornamental foliage.

On each side of the door the face of the rock is divided into five sculptured panels, two to the left and three to the right. The two panels to the left contain two figures, one of a dvārapāla and the other of the god Vishṇu. The panels on the other side contain three figures, one of a dvārapāla, the other of Vishṇu and the third of the goddess Mahishamardinī. In addition to these sculptures, there is a crude figure of Gaṇeśa carved on the southern wall of the verandah.

The interior of the cave is plain. The square platform at the centre inside cut out of rock with a hole

at its centre suggests that formerly a liṅga stood there. The position of the two figures of the god Vishṇu near the dvārapālas and the sculptures of Gaṇeśa and Mahisha-mardinī outside the sanctum would also support the suggestion that the cave was originally dedicated to the god Śiva. Several short inscriptions are found on the ceiling of the cave.

Adjoining the present cave and at right angles to it there is another open cave similar to that near the cave No. 4. It is 8½ feet in length and 3 feet in depth. It also contains the sculptures of the Ashṭa-śakti or the eight female energies, six in front and two on both sides carved on rock surface. The existence of these sculptures is an additional proof that the cave No.6 was originally dedicated to the god Śiva. There is another open cutting to the left of this open recess but it possesses no interest.

Cave No. 7.—At a short distance to the left of the cave No. 6 there is almost an isolated mass of rock hewn into the shape of a hemi-spherical stūpa with a square base. It is crowned by a large and flat stone, which, from its likeness to a gigantic *tawā* or "griddle" for baking cakes, has suggested to the local inhabitants its present name the "Tawā Cave". In the lower face to its north there is a door leading to a room 13 feet 10 inches long by 11 feet 9 inches broad. From an inscription on the back wall of the cave it would appear to have been excavated under the orders of the minister of Chandragupta himself. The rock is now very much dilapidated outside but the former existence of a portico is proved by the long hollow above the entrance which once received the edge of the roofing slab. The entrance to the sanctum is through a crude rock-cut doorway without any ornamentation whatsoever. At its

two sides, however, are two weather-worn figures of dvārapālas or door-keepers very much similar to those in cave No. 6 described above.

The interior of the cave is quite plain except that its ceiling is decorated with a conventionalised lotus flower 4 feet and 6 inches in diameter. From the rock-cut platform at the centre of the cave it appears that the cave was originally dedicated to the god Śiva. The inscription in the cave expressly states that the cave was dedicated to the god Śambhu.

From cave No. 7 one has to go west along a passage cut through the hill on which there are a number of small cuttings or niches (Nos. 8-16) cut on the rock surface. They are, in fact, very small caves or cells and have been separately numbered by the Department. Cunningham did not number them as separate caves and described them only summarily. Only the sculpture of Śeshaśāyī Vishṇu attracted his attention (No. 13).

Cave No. 8.—It is an ordinary open cutting 10 feet 10 inches in length and 2 feet 4 inches deep at its right and 4 feet 8 inches deep at its left side. There is no sculpture or carving in the cave.

Cave No. 9.—It is a small rectangular cell 3 feet 8 inches by 3 feet 4 inches with an elevated pedestal at the back wall cut out of rock supporting the enshrined image. The image is a standing figure of the four-armed god Vishṇu resembling very closely the representation of that god in the cave No. 6. The head of the figure has been lost.

Cave No. 10.—It is an irregularly cut small cell 2 feet 10 inches by 2 feet 8 inches. As in the preceding cave here also is a pedestal supporting an image of Vishṇu exactly similar to the Vishṇu in cave No. 9.

Cave No. 11.—This is also a small rectangular cell 4 feet 3 inches by 3 feet 3 inches with a pedestal and an image of Vishṇu inside exactly as in the preceding cave.

Cave No. 12.—It is a small open cutting or niche with the enshrined figure carved on the face of the rock inside. The figure is that of the god Vishṇu resembling closely the figure in the preceding caves. Below the niche near both the corners are seen two figures of dvārapālas very much weather-worn and indistinct. On the rock opposite there is a similar small niche with a very much damaged sculpture inside.

Cave No. 13.—It is a large open cutting, similar to the cave No. 5, with the colossal sculpture of Śeshaśāyī Vishṇu carved on its rock surface. The figure measures 12 feet in length.

Caves Nos. 14-15.—They are ordinary square cells without any sculptures inside. Their respective dimensions are : 7 feet by 7 feet and 4 feet by 4 feet.

Cave No. 16.—It is a square cell 6 feet 9 inches by6 feet 9 inches. Excepting a rock-cut platform with a hole at its centre meant for a liṅga the interior is quite plain. Entrance to it is by a rock-cut door-way. The jambs and lintel of the door are divided into two lines of mouldings without any ornamentation whatsoever. Unlike the door-frames in some of the other caves the lintel here does not prolong beyond the ends of the jambs.

Cave No. 17.—Cunningham numbered this as his cave No. 8 and he called it by the local name 'Koṭrī'. The sanctum is 10 feet 10 inches by 10 feet. Inside is a rock-cut platform with a liṅga standing at its centre. Entrance to the sanctum is by an ornamental door-

way which has been too damaged and weather-worn to make out the details of carvings on its jambs and lintel. Traces of miniature pilasters forming part of the decoration on the door-frame supporting the figures of river-goddesses, as in the cave No. 6, can still be noticed. Just as in the preceding cave here, too, the lintel does not prolong beyond the ends of jambs. There are considerably damaged figures of two dvārapālas on both sides of the door. To the right of the door is a niche containing a figure of Gaṇeśa and to the left is another niche containing a figure of the goddess Mahishamardinī. These figures and the liṅga inside clearly indicate that the cave was originally dedicated to the god Śiva. A damaged sculpture of a bull, the vehicle of Śiva, is still lying at the entrance of the cave.

Cave No. 18.—It is an ordinary rectangular cell 9 feet by 7 feet. It was originally open on one side but afterwards two stone slabs have been fixed at the opening offering a narrow entrance of one foot wide to the cell. There is no other striking feature about this cave. Cunningham did not give it a separate number.

Cave No. 19.—Cunningham numbered it as his cave No. 9. He named it as "the Amṛita Cave" after the scene of the Amṛita-manthana story carved above its entrance. It is the largest of the Udayagiri caves, being 22 feet long and 19 feet 4 inches broad. The roof is supported by four massive pillars 8 feet high and 1 foot 7 inches square also hewn out of the living rock. They have richly ornamented capitals but instead of the usual turn-overs at the four corners they have four horned and winged animals standing upright on their hind legs and touching their mouths with the forefeet. The shaft proper has the same design as in case of the pillars in the cave No. 1, *i. e.*, it is square in section at

the base with the portion above it being octagonal above which it is sixteen-sided. The roof differs from those of the other caves as it is divided into nine square panels by the architraves crossing over the four pillars.

The doorway of the cave is also more extensively ornamented than that of any of the other. The door jambs are divided into three bands of richly carved mouldings the first of which is decorated in ornamental foliage. The second band has a standing female figure at its base above which it is divided into seven small square panels. Out of these seven panels Nos. 1, 3, 5 and 7 are carved in ornamental foliage while each of the rest contains a pair of human figures possibly females; and these figures are too indistinct to make out their significance. Above the panels is carved a beautiful scene representing a man riding a horse with his back towards the door, the horse having its forelegs raised indicating its high speed. The third band has a flying gaṇa at its base with a human figure carved in a niche above it. Above the human figure is a decorated square panel forming the base of the pilaster above it. In design the pilasters closely resemble the pillars inside the cave. They support the figures of the two river-goddesses standing in graceful postures on their vehicles as in cave No. 6. The figures are very much weather-worn and have some additional features such as the dwarf attendants not found in cave No. 6. As in cave No. 6, here, too, the lintel is longer than the breadth of the doorway. It is also divided into three bands of carved mouldings corresponding to those of the jambs. The decoration on its first band is a continuation of that on the corresponding band of the door jamb. The second band is divided into square panels similar to the corresponding second band of the

door jamb except that its central panel is left plain without any decoration whatever. The third band is carved in ornamental foliage. Above the lintel there is a long deeply carved sculpture representing the scene of churning of ocean by the gods and the demons; and over this is an unfinished sculpture of the Navagraha or the nine planets. Damaged figures of dvārapālas are still seen on both sides of the door.

In front of the cave there was at first a long structural verandah with three openings to which a hall was afterwards added, the whole forming an external building 27 feet square. Some pillars and parts of the walls are still standing and the positions of the lost parts are still clearly traceable on the rocky foundation. Inside the sanctum is an Ekamukha liṅga which is an object of worship even to-day. The liṅga is considerably damaged. From a pilgrim's record inscribed on one of the pillars inside it is certain that this cave temple was at that time dedicated to the worship of Śiva.

Cave No. 20.—Cunningham numbered it as his cave No. 10 and called it a "Jain Cave" because the inscription on the left of the entrance of the sanctum declared it to have been dedicated to Pārśvanātha, one of the Jain Tīrthaṁkaras. The main excavation which runs from east to west is 50 feet in length and 16 feet in breadth. It is divided into five rooms by cross walls built of rough stones. The two innermost rooms are respectively 17½ feet by 63 feet and 16½ feet by 8 feet. The other three rooms are 14 feet by 11 feet. From the southernmost room a second excavation, consisting of three small rooms, runs from north to south. In this also the division walls are built of rough stones, the roof being formed by the long overlapping rock. From the architectural point of view this cave is not of any

interest except that it consists of several rooms irregularly planned.

There are in all four sculptures in this cave, two each on both sides of the entrance.

The Architecture of the Udayagiri Caves as compared with that of the Structural Temples of the Gupta Period.—A comparison of the architectural features of the Udayagiri caves with those of the structural temples of the Gupta period will be certainly found instructive as to the age and importance of the caves in the history of Indian architecture. The important examples of the structural temples of the Gupta period are found at Sanchi[1] in Bhopal State, Eran[2] in Saugor district in Central Provinces, Tigowa[3] in Jubbulpore district in Central Provinces, Nachna-Kuthara[4] in Ajayagadh State in Central India, Bhumara about six miles from Unchehra railway station on the Jubbulpore-Itarsi section of the G. I. P. Railway,[5] and Deogadh[6] in Jhansi district (the last one representing the latest example of the Gupta temple architecture). These structural examples indicate certain characteristics which may be stated thus[7] :—

(*a*) Simple plan, *i. e.*, a small square rectangular shrine or chapel with a small porch in its front and a path of circumambulation running along its sides.

1. Marshall: *Guide to Sanchi* (2nd Edition), P. 112.
2. Cunningham : *ASI*, Vol. 5, P. 76.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Cunningham : *ASI*, XXI, 95-7; also *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year ending in 31st March* 1919, Pp. 60-4; and Banerji : *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, 138ff.
5. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 16, 1-11.
6. Cunningham: *ASI*, X, and also Banerji : *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, 145ff.; and Brown : *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu*, 58.
7. See Cunningham : *ASI*, X, 60; Smith: *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (2nd Ed.), 78; and Codrington: *Ancient India*, 58.

(*b*) The lintel overlaps the door joints and is prolonged beyond its ends.

(*c*) There is no śikhara or spire as the roof is flat.

(*d*) Peculiar decorative *motifs* such as the two figures of the river-goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā carved on the door-frame and the kīrti-mukha and chaitya window designs.

Out of the twenty caves of the Udayagiri hill Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 16, 17 and 19 only show distinct features of architectural value. The rest of the caves are simple cuttings and are architecturally of little consequence and hence may be left out of this discussion. Amongst the caves enumerated above Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7 and 19 have their plans as stated in the characteristic (*a*) noted above except for the path of circumambulation the absence of which in Udayagiri might be due to the natural limitation offered by the rock. The caves Nos. 16 and 17, however, do not show any trace of the former existence of a porch in their front. The lintels overlap the door-joints in all the caves (excepting 16 and 17) where there are door-frames; and the question of Śikhara or spire does not arise. Amongst these caves themselves (except Nos. 2, 3, 7, 16 and 17 which again are of little significance for further discussion as there are no other striking features about them) certain marked changes are observable as we proceed with them in their serial order. The cave No. 1 is the most simple and primitive in appearance. It has no door ornamentation and the design of its pillars is simple but impressive as compared with those of the structural examples. The pillars here are arranged in almost a similar manner as in the Gupta temple at Sanchi on the construction of which Marshall

has lavished high praise.[1] Indeed in point of general appearance these two temples and their pillar designs are so similar that the one can easily be mistaken for the other.[2] As we go to the other caves Nos. 4, 6 and 19 we observe that the shrines become larger and more ornate, the cells appear more spacious and the simple porch assumes in the cave No. 19 the appearance of a pillared hall. A stage in the process is seen in the cave No. 4 known as the Bina cave, where in addition to the four pillars forming the front of the portico there are two small pillars on either side. The cave No. 19 represents a still further stage as it is the largest and the latest of the entire series. Its cella is more spacious and its portico has become almost a large maṇḍapa or pillared hall, which according to Bhandarkar might be considered to be a later addition to the original porch of the earlier excavated main shrine out of the materials of the structural Gupta temple on the hill above some time before the tenth century A. D.[3] All the cave temples of Udayagiri thus retain the essential characteristics of the Gupta style of architecture and show nothing that can be characterised as post-Gupta.

It is, however, the decorative features of the door-frames in the caves which lend more significance to their relative antiquity as amongst themselves and as compared with the structural examples. In this respect also we find the art of decoration progressively changing as we proceed with the caves in their serial order. In the cave No. 4 the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā do not at all appear on the door-frame the decoration on which consists of simple ornamental foliage in addition to the

1. *Guide to Sanchi*, 117.

2. *Ibid*, Pl. VII.

3. *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending in 31st March*, 1915, 65.

five cusped bosses with small circular panels containing figures. In the cave No. 6, however, the door ornamentation becomes more elaborate. Here we find the figures of the river-goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā standing gracefully on their vehicles, not on the base of the door jambs, as in the structural examples, but on the bracket formed by the projecting portion of the overhanging lintel and the upper ends of the jambs. Again, these figures here do not, strictly speaking, form an essential part of the door ornamentation. They are supported by pilasters which too do not appear as part of the decoration of the door-frame. They are merely decorative appendages to the door-frame still betraying their original function as can be deduced from their position in the cave No. 4 where they are cut out of the face of the rock at a distance from the door, while in the cave No. 3 they actually correspond to the pillars of its portico. (It is thus really interesting that in these three caves we have clear traces of the gradual evolution of the pilaster into a decorative *motif*.) In the structural temples this *motif* is further developed for the pilaster is there supported by winged animals a feature which has not still found its place in the cave No. 6. The chaitya window *motif* is however present on the door-frame of this cave but not in a fully stylised form. It is in the cave No. 19 that we find all the above *motifs* fully developed. The pilaster becomes part of the ornamentation on the door-frame. The other notable advance is in the panels containing figure sculptures on the lower portion and on the middle band of the door jambs, as noticed in the structural examples particularly at Bhumara.[1] The position of the figures of the two river-goddesses is still the same as in the cave No. 6; but they are here

1. *Op. cit.*, Pl. III, a.

accompanied by some figure compositions such as the dwarf attendants. It has been suggested that "in the earlier examples the goddesses (*i. e.*, river-goddesses) are placed at the top and in the later at the bottom of the jambs."[1] Thus from the view-point of style the main shrine of this cave falls in line with the early Gupta temples such as those at Bhumara and Nachna Kuthara, though the absence of the kīrti-mukha and chaitya window *motifs* and the comparatively simpler function and position of the figures of the river-goddesses at the top of the door jambs may push its date slightly earlier.

The Sculptures in the Caves.—Cave No. 1.—The only sculpture in this cave is the indistinct enshrined figure of a standing image inside the sanctum. It is very difficult to identify it as the layer of *sindūra* on it has completely concealed its distinctive features if it had any.

Cave No. 3.—Here too the only sculpture is the enshrined figure of a standing deity inside. It has a daṇḍa in the right hand. The left hand is damaged but it certainly rested on the hip as the damaged portion would indicate. The image has only two hands and one face. A loin-cloth covering the secret part of the body, the armlets, a simple but ornamented necklace, and a turban-like head-dress with its tufts coming down on shoulders are the only personal embellishments of the deity. It is probably an image of the god Skanda Kārttikeya as the daṇḍa and the position of the hands would suggest.[2]

The god Skanda Kārttikeya is mentioned in some of the Gupta inscriptions,[3] and was one of the popular

1. Smith: *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (2nd Edition), 78.
2. Gopinath Rao: *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part II, 425 (iii).
3. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, II, 161.

deities of the Gupta age. A temple dedicated to this god in the Gupta period has been found at Bilsad in Etah district.[1] The names Kumāragupta and Skanda-gupta of the Gupta emperors,[2] the laudations of the court-poets of Kumāragupta comparing him with that god, and the type of coin, with a king feeding a peacock, the vehicle of the god, on the obverse, struck by Kumāragupta[3] are the points that testify to the popularity of the god Skanda in the Gupta period. A panel containing a figure of Kārttikeya in a medallion seated on his vehicle, the peacock, has been discovered at Bhumara.[4] The god here has only one face and two hands, one of which holds a daṇḍa just as in the case of our figure. A comparison of the Bhumara figure with that at Udayagiri which has no vehicle and is thus simple and free from symbolism would suggest that the latter is earlier than the former.

Cave No. 4.—Excepting the figures of human beings and animals in the circular panels on the lintel of the doorway and the very much damaged figures of the two door-keepers or dvārapālas on both sides of the entrance and the Ekamukha liṅga in the sanctum, there are no other sculptures in the cave. In the open cave to the right are the sculptures of the Ashṭa-śakti or the eight female energies; but they are so severely damaged that nothing can be made out of them.

1. *Ibid, Appendix* No. 73; see also Fleet: *Op. cit.*, 43-5.

2. According to some scholars the birth of Kumāragupta was commemorated through the composition of *Kumārasambhava* by Kālidāsa who was, according to the same theory, a court-poet of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II; see Dandekar: *A History of the Guptas*, 101; also Raychaudhuri: *Political History of Ancient India* (4th Ed.), 478, fn. 3.

3. Allan: *Catalogue of Coins*, cxxxiii.

4. *Op. cit.*, 12, Pl. XIII, c. d.

The *Ekamukha* liṅga, *i. e.*, liṅga with one face carved on it, in the sanctum is 2 feet 5 inches in height and one foot 2 inches in diameter. The face is round and not elongated. The arrangement of hair is the most striking feature of this sculpture. The top-knot, *i. e.*, an Ushṇīsha, is in the centre on the head shown tied round with a fillet (?) with the hair curling out of the knot and some of them flowing in locks down on the shoulders. The third eye graces the central portion of the forehead. The eyes are more or less elongated and the nose has been considerably damaged. The only decoration on the figure is an ornamental necklace inset with a diamond at the centre. On the whole, the execution of the face is not very successful and betrays some sort of hesitation on the part of its sculptor.

Ekamukha liṅga sculptures belonging to the Gupta period have been found at Khoh,[1] Bhumara,[2] Shankargadh,[3] Benares and Allahabad.[4] The one at Khoh is the best amongst them and is one of the finest specimens of the Gupta art. These *Ekamukha* liṅgas appear to have been very common in the Gupta period, particularly in the city of Benares.[5] The other representations on the liṅga such as the *Chaturmukha* liṅgas (*i. e.*, having four faces on them) belong to a later period as they are rarely found amongst Gupta sculptures.[6] As compared with the one-faced liṅgas elsewhere the one in our cave is certainly unique. The only peculiarity of this figure that can lead us to presume that it represents the

1. *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending in* 31*st March* 1920, 106, Pl. XXIX.
2. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 16, P. 5, Pl. XV, c.
3. *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending in* 31*st March* 1920, 104-5, Pl. XXVIII.
4. Banerji: *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, 115.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*

Brāhmaṇical god Śiva is the third eye on the forehead; otherwise there is nothing Śaivite on it. In fact, leaving aside the third eye, it reminds us more of Buddha than of Śiva. In the similar sculptures from Bhumara, Khoh etc., we notice the crescent on the knot of the matted locks of the image and the hair arrangement also is quite different. At Bhumara the god wears a jewelled crown. There is thus reason to believe that we have here a product of a different school altogether betraying, to a certain extent, the influence of the Gandhāra art, probably *via* Mathurā, as can be deduced particularly from the arrangement of the hair, and that it is the earliest example of the kind so far known.

Cave No. 5.—From the sculptural point of view this is the most important of the Udayagiri caves because of the famous Varāha incarnation scene contained in it. It has been briefly described by Cunningham in his report.[1]

The Varāha is here represented in the animal-human form as a man with a boar's head. The figure has only two hands. With his left foot he treads upon the coils of the Nāga king who is represented with a canopy of thirteen snakes' heads, seven in front and six in the intervals behind. The Nāga king is shown as wearing a jewelled necklace. There is a peculiar poise and elasticity observable in this as well as in the kneeling headless figure behind it who may perhaps be the ocean-king himself.[2] The posture in which the figure of Varāha is shown standing breathes vigour and confidence and betrays no hesitation on the part of the god in carrying out the cosmic mission of rescuing the earth-goddess from out of the deep waters. His right hand

1. See Pp. 48-9.

2. William Cohn: *Indische plastik*, Tafels 22-3.

rests on his hip and his left on his knee. With his right tusk he raises the slender figure of Pṛithvī, the earth personified, from out of the deep waters shown by the long undulating and wavy lines on the background of the rock. The gigantic proportions of the body of Varāha are indicated by his elephantine legs and arms and by a huge serpentine garland adorning the figure — a feature quite in keeping with the majesty of the author of such a cosmic event. The delicately carved tiny figure of the goddess Pṛithvī emphasizes the contrast more effectively. The face of the goddess has been very much damaged and the only embellishments on her body are the anklets and the jewelled chains that girdle round the secret parts of her otherwise naked frame. There is a peculiar grace and elasticity in the portrayal of her breasts which are shown rather prominently and of the serpentine movement of her body posed lightly on the left shoulder of her Saviour and grasping the dreadful snout caressingly. To the left of the Boar's head there are some of the heavenly musicians and to the right and left are four lines of figures filling the whole background of the composition. Amongst them Brahmā can be recognised by his beard and Śiva by his vehicle, the bull, and the other gods with haloes round their heads. Another line is occupied apparently by Asuras or demons and a third line by the bearded Ṛishis.

On the right and left sides of the niche the sculptor has portrayed the descent of the Ganges and the Jumna from the heavens to the sea. The left hand composition is more completely executed. Here on the upper portion the heavens are shown by the flying Devas while just below them are seen a group of five Apsarases, the one at the centre dancing and the others playing on

musical instruments such as the Indian guitar, the flute and the *mṛidaṅga*. On both sides of this group of dancers are seen the wavy lines representing the torrential flow of the two streams, personified as Gaṅgā and Yamunā by the two female figures just underneath the group of Apsarases and just above the meeting-point of the two streams. The figure of Gaṅgā stands on a crocodile and that of Yamunā on a tortoise. The representations of the two animals symbolising the vehicles of the respective goddesses are singularly appropriate, for the Ganges swarms with crocodiles and the Jumna teems with tortoises. Both the river-goddesses are holding water vessels apparently in obeisance to the god Varāha. The two rivers then join together and enter the sea where they are received by the god of ocean (*i. e.*, Varuṇa) who is represented as standing in the water above his knees and holding a kalaśa in his hands. The figure wears a simple mukuṭa, a necklace, a loin-cloth and an upper garment.

The story of the Varāha avatāra as narrated in the different Purāṇas falls into two distinct categories.[1] In the first a cosmic event is depicted in which the deity lifts up the earth from out of the deep ocean with his powerful tusk. Our sculpture satisfies this category of description to a greater extent. In the second the story is more mythological than cosmological in content, for here the god is represented as killing the demon Hiraṇyāksha who is stated to have been continuously harassing the gods and the earth. This version of the story belongs to the later Purāṇas and none of the Gupta sculptures, so far known, represents it.

The worship of the incarnations of Vishṇu appears to have become common in Gupta

1. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, II, 160.

times.[1] The most important of the incarnations to be so worshipped was Varāha who was the popular deity of the period whose sculptures have been found amongst the ruins of the age. There are also inscriptional references to setting up of temples in honour of the god.[2] Amongst the sculptures two forms of Boar have been noted : (1) a man with a boar's head and (2) a four-footed realistic pachyderm bearing on its bushy body numerous figures of gods and demi-gods.[3] The only notable example of the first kind belonging to the Gupta period is the Udayagiri Varāha. Similar sculptures belonging approximately to the immediate post-Gupta period have been found in southern India at Badami in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency[4] and at Mahabalipuram in the Madras Presidency.[5] In these figures, however, we find the god having four hands and his sculptures follow, more or less, the rules laid down by the authors of the early works on Śilpaśāstra.[6] The Udayagiri Varāha, on the contrary, is absolutely free from such an influence, has only two hands and breathes freshness and vigour peculiar to it. Instances of the second kind have been found from Eran and Bilhari in Central Provinces[7] and from Khoh in Nagod State in Central India,[8] but we are not concerned with them here.

1. Banerji : *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, 122.
2. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, II, 160.
3. Banerji : *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture* (Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. XLVII), 104.
4. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 25, 36, Pl. IX, b.
5. *Ibid*, No. 33, 31, Pl. XXI, a.
6. Gopinath Rao : *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I.
7. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 23, Pl. XXXVII.
8. *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending in March* 31, 1920, Pl. XXIX.

The peculiarity of the Varāha of Udayagiri is the accompanying scene of the descent of the Ganges and the Jumna, which is not found elsewhere in such an association nor do the Purāṇic stories of the incarnation[1] and the relevant rules of the Śilpaśāstras[2] suggest it. The appropriateness of this scene in the setting of the cosmic event need not be emphasised. The god of ocean (*i. e.*, Varuṇa) must pay his respects to the author of the cosmic action, for, it was within his jurisdiction that the event was taking place and it naturally follows that his 'wives', the two rivers, so sacred to the people of Āryāvarta must accompany him in such a devout act.[3] It may be further suggested that here is a geographical conception blended with the representation of the cosmic event.[4] The people of the Madhyadeśa who draw their life-blood from the two rivers and their tributaries are here paying their homage to the god through the personifications of Gaṅgā and Yamunā.

There is a view propounded by Jayaswal[5] that the Varāha incarnation scene at Udayagiri represents a historical event allegorically portrayed. The Bharatavākya in Viśākhadatta's fragmentary drama called "Devīchandraguptam" expresses an analogy between the god Vishṇu and the Gupta emperor Chandragupta

1. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, II, 160.
2. Gopinath Rao: *Op. cit.*
3. According to the *Vishṇudharmottara* "to the right and left respectively of Varuṇa should be standing the river-goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā", the former on Matsya or Makara (*i. e.*, fish or crocodile) and the latter on tortoise; see Gopinath Rao: *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, Part II, Pp. 530-1. According to the same authority, however, the iconographical characteristics of Varuṇa are different from those of the Udayagiri Varuṇa except that the latter holds a vessel in his hands as is also laid down by that work.
4. See *Nāgari-Prachāriṇī-Patrikā* (*Vikrama Special Volume*), Vol. 48, Pp. 47-8.
5. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XVIII, 33-6.

II, the former rescuing the goddess of earth out of the cosmic depth and the latter rescuing the queen Dhruvasvāminī (wife of Chandragupta's elder brother) from the clutches of a daring Śaka king who had put to disgrace his elder brother Rāmagupta. It is further claimed that the sculptor of the Varāha scene at Udayagiri closely followed this imagery of Viśākhadatta who "might have himself directed the drawing".[1] There is, however, no direct evidence for such an interpretation; for the cave has no inscription and the inscription in the nearby cave does not support such a contention.[2]

Cave No. 6.—The sculptures in this cave are those of the two dvārapālas of the two figures of Vishṇu, of the goddess Mahisha-mardinī (killer of the buffalo-demon), and of Gaṇeśa. The sculptures of the two river-goddesses on the door-frame of the cave have already been noted.

The dvārapālas are armed with axes and with small crescent blades of long shafts upon which they lean, one hand on hip. The treatment of the *dhoti* is beautifully accomplished. It spreads behind in fauned-out bows and falls in folds between the legs. Under it a garment new to India is worn, a form of short tight-fitting drawers. The hair is fantastically dressed in bushy wig-like fashion, falling from two partings on either side of the head. The pose is easy and the naked body and arms suavely represented with perfect anatomical technique. One leg is bent and the body is slightly flexed at the waist. The features, as far as can be seen,

1. *Ibid*, 35.
2. An interesting suggestion has been made that the coins of Chandragupta II and the dvārapāla sculptures in the cave No. 6 at Udayagiri would indicate that long locks of hair were worn by the aristocracy and that Chandragupta II might have thus facilitated his disguise as a woman and succeeded in rescuing Dhruvasvāminī in this way; see Dandekar : *A History of the Guptas*, P. 75, fn. 1.

are of the open-eyed traditional type.[1] The only ornaments on the figures are the armlets and necklaces. Unfortunately the dvārapālas in the cave No. 4 are very severely damaged; otherwise a comparison and contrast between them and the dvārapālas in this cave would have proved interesting. Still the difference in their head-dress is a feature worth noting.

Of the two figures of Vishṇu the one to the right of the entrance is smaller than the other to its left. Both of them represent a standing Vishṇu (Vāsudeva-sthānaka-mūrti). The right-hand figure is armed with a heavy ringed club. To his left is the chakra mounted on a drum-like base. The second figure has suffered more at the hands of the iconoclasts but is obviously a Vishṇu of the same type. He has two small attendant figures on either side. A portion of the damaged chakra is still seen to his left while the club is missing. Both the figures are four-armed and it is to be noted that the upper arms are treated anatomically, the lower arms being symmetrically stretched out to support the symbols in a mechanical disjointed way, as mere accessories.[2] The sculptors had not to work according to the regulations laid down by authorities on Śilpaśāstra of whose existence they probably knew nothing. The jewellery of these figures consists of a garland, armlets and necklace very simply treated. The images, however, betray a certain amount of stilted and stiff expression not observed in the other caves. From an inscription on a panel above one of these figures it can be stated with certainty that they, as well as the dvārapālas, belong to the date mentioned in the inscription, *i. e.*, 402 A. D.[3]

1. Codrington : *Op. cit.*, 60.
2. *Ibid*, 60.
3. See P. 422 below.

The figure of Mahisha-mardinī (*i. e.*, the goddess Durgā killing the buffalo-demon or Mahishāsura) is considerably damaged. She is shown as having twelve arms some of which have been broken. In one of them she holds a kind of small sword and in the other a shield. In two of the other hands she holds an arrow and a bow. The surviving parts of a broken trident or triśūla can still be seen the end of which is shown pierced into the body of the buffalo-demon who is here represented in his purely animal form. With her foot the goddess is shown treading upon the head of the buffalo and with one of her hands she holds one of the hind legs of the demon. The only ornaments on her body are armlets, anklets and a necklace.

The worship of the goddess Durgā and the Seven Mothers[1] was fairly common in the Gupta period, as the relevant references in the Gupta inscriptions would suggest.[2] A sculptured panel of Mahisha-mardinī Durgā has been discovered at Bhumara[3]; but the goddess here has only four arms. A similar sculpture of Durgā with four arms is found also in the Badami caves[4] in Bombay Karnataka belonging to about the beginning of the 7th century A. D. In the beginning of Śākta worship this goddess was worshipped in her normal forms such as having two or four arms only.[5] It is probably on this ground that our sculpture has been called medieval, *i. e.*, belonging to a period later than that of the original

1. Two sculptures of the Seven Mothers are found at Udayagiri in the caves Nos. 4 and 6. In the latter cave they are associated with the goddess Durgā under discussion. Since both the sculptures of the Seven Mothers are very much damaged they have not been described and discussed here.
2. Saletore : *Life in Gupta Age*, 508.
3. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 16, P. 13, Pl. XIV.
4. *Op. cit.*, No. 25, P. 4, Pl. II, b.
5. Banerji : *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, 114.

excavation of the cave in 402 A. D.[1] Except that the goddess has twelve arms there is nothing in the sculpture to prove its later date particularly because of the animal form of the demon who in the 7th century sculpture at Mahabalipuram and in sculptures of later period is represented in an animal-human form.[2]

The figure of Gaṇeśa in the cave is very crudely carved. It is shown nude and its elephantine face is very prominently shown suggesting the primitive feature of god. There are no ornaments on the body of the figure which appears to be absolutely free from symbolism.

"Gaṇeśa is not to be found in sculptures before the Gupta period, when his image appeared not only suddenly but in the classic form by which he may be identified from the 5th century upto the present day".[3] "An image of Gaṇeśa which was found in the Fatehgarh district and is believed to have come originally from the Saṅkīśā mound may be the most ancient representation of the god in stone as yet discovered."[4] The crudeness of this figure of Gaṇeśa can be very favourably compared with our Udayagiri Gaṇeśa: both are shown naked. In the Gupta sculpture from Bhumara, however, the figure of Gaṇeśa indicates a definite advance in the estimation and understanding of the god who is there represented in his classic form.[5] From the position of our Gaṇeśa in the cave in a crude niche on one of its sides and from the crudeness of the execution of his figure it appears the god is here struggling into promi-

1. Codrington: *Op. cit.*, 60.
2. At Bhumara and Badami also the demon is in animal form.
3. Getty: *Gaṇeśa*, 25.
4. *Ibid*, 26, Pl. II, a.
5. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 16, 13, Pl. XV, ab.

nence out of his primitive obscurity. The importance of our figure in the history of Gaṇeśa's divinity will thus be readily recognised particularly because of the Gupta inscription in the cave of 402 A. D. to which date this Gaṇeśa can be safely assigned.

Cave No. 7.—There are only two sculptures in the cave, those of the dvārapālas at the entrance; but they are so severely damaged that they cannot be described here. What can still be discerned from the broken parts of the figures is that they were probably very much similar to the door-keepers in the preceding cave No. 6.

Cave No. 9.—The enshrined image inside the cave is that of standing Vishṇu whose head has been lost. The figure closely resembles the Vishṇu in the cave No. 6 in all points of details except in its size.

Cave No. 10.—Here too the enshrined image is of the standing god Vishṇu exactly similar to the figure in the preceding cave No. 9.

Cave No. 11.—Here also the enshrined image is that of the god Vishṇu closely resembling the figures of the god in the preceding two caves.

Cave No. 12.—As in the preceding caves, here, too, we have the figure of standing Vishṇu in the cell, closely resembling the figures above. In addition, there are two figures of dvārapālas carved on both sides just below the niche. They are too weather-worn and indistinct to be described here.

It will be obvious that all these sculptures of Vishṇu in the caves Nos. 9-12 are contemporaneous with the Vishṇu figures in the cave No. 6, *i. e.*, they belong to a date about 402 A. D.

Cave No. 13.—The colossal statue of Śeshaśāyī Vishṇu in this open cave is twelve feet long. The god is sleeping on the coils of the primeval snake with his head resting on the palm of one of his four hands. He is attended by his vehicle, Garuḍa, represented in his purely animal form, and by other eight figures all of them somewhat indistinct due to the weather-worn condition of the whole group. The upper part of Vishṇu's figure, particularly the face, is very much spoiled. The god has four arms and wears a necklace and a garland which in point of its execution is much similar to that of the god Varāha in the cave No. 5. What his hands held cannot be made out as this part of the sculpture has been very much damaged. On the pedestal below are seen two human figures, one behind the other, both very indistinct. The figure in front is portrayed kneeling in adoration to the god and the dwarf-like figure behind him is probably that of his attendant.

On the upper portion of the niche just above the figure of the sleeping god are seen, in all, nine figures. Of them the one to the extreme left is shown sitting on something like a stool and is probably holding a stalk of lotus in one of his two hands. Is it a figure of Brahmā ? The second figure to its right is very indistinct and it is difficult to say whether it is a figure at all. Cunningham did not notice it. From the dim traces that are observable it appears we have here a human figure sitting on a lotus, somewhat conventionalised; the rough outline of the lotus can be clearly recognised. Is the figure sitting on the lotus that of the goddess Lakshmī, the consort of Vishṇu ? Third comes Garuḍa, the vehicle of Vishṇu, in his purely animal form. The fourth human figure is shown standing but is indistinct. The fifth is also standing and has a halo round his head and

probably represents a god. The sixth and seventh are very indistinct, the former shown standing and the latter sitting. The eighth and the ninth to the extreme right are standing male figures holding staffs resting on their shoulders. It is not clear what they are meant to represent, but it is certain from the staffs in their hands that they are not gods.

The god Śeshaśāyī Vishṇu is known to the Gupta inscriptions in some of which he has been described as wielding the weapons, such as the bow named Śārṅga, the gadā (club), and the chakra (discus), with his consort Lakshmī attending by his side.[1] As compared with this inscriptional description our sculpture would appear somewhat cruder, for we do not see here the goddess Lakshmī attending on the side of the god. The only other notable example of the Śeshaśāyī Vishṇu of the Gupta period is the sculptured scene in a niche of the Daśāvatāra temple at the foot of the Deogadh hill in Jhansi district[2]. This sculpture is certainly more finished and elaborate than that of Udayagiri. Here the god Brahmā is shown seated on a lotus, its stalk arising out of the navel of the sleeping Vishṇu. The god Śiva is seen seated on a bull and Lakshmī sitting at Vishṇu's feet attending on the god. The subject-matter of this sculpture closely follows the instructions laid down by the Śilpaśāstras of which the Udayagiri Śeshaśāyī figure does not appear to know anything. Obviously the latter is earlier than the former.

Cave No. 17.—There are in all four sculptures in this cave, two of the door-keepers, the third of Gaṇeśa and the fourth of Mahisha-mardinī.

1. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, II, 159.
2. Banerji: *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Pl. XXXVII.

The figures of the door-keepers are very much damaged but they were undoubtedly originally executed on the rock in much the same manner as in case of the door-keepers in the cave No. 6. This is obvious from the posture in which one of them to the left is still seen standing and leaning on a long shaft with his one hand resting on his hip.

The figure of Gaṇeśa also shows close resemblance to that of the god in the same cave No. 6, except in that here we find Gaṇeśa wearing a sort of cap-like head-dress thus probably indicating its slightly later date.

The figure of Mahishamardinī too closely resembles that of the same goddess in the cave No. 6. It has similarly twelve hands holding the same weapons. It would thus appear that chronologically this figure is contemporaneous with the one in the cave No. 6.

Cave No. 19.—The Amṛitamanthana scene with the incomplete panel of the figures above it, the damaged figures of the two door-keepers, and the female figures on the door-frame are the only sculptures in this cave.

The scene depicting the well-known story of the Amṛitamanthana (churning of the ocean for obtaining nectar) is considerably weather-worn. It shows the mountain Meru in the centre with the mythical snake coiling round and forming the rope with which the gods and demons "churned" the ocean. There is little to distinguish between the gods and the demons. Probably those to the left near the hoods of the snake are the gods and those to the right are the demons as can be deduced from the Purāṇic narrations of the story. The story herein depicted is very simple and does not show other details such as the fourteen jewels,

as they are called, generally known to the Purāṇas.[1] This may probably suggest that the scene represents an earlier version of the tale as compared with the one found in most of the Purāṇas, a conclusion which is, chronologically, quite in keeping with the age of the cave as inferred from its architectural peculiarities.

The panel of Nava-grahas is incomplete and even the figures that are seen are too weather-worn to be described. Similar is the case with the figures of dvārapālas which, too, have been severely damaged.

Cave No. 20.—There are in all four sculptures, two each on both sides of the entrance to the main shrine. Each of these figures is shown seated on a lotus seat on the pedestal below which is carved the symbol of wheel. Each of them has a halo round the head with an umbrella above it. On both sides of the wheel on the pedestal are seen two seated lions facing opposite sides except in case of the figure near the left side of the entrance. In case of the sculpture to the extreme right in addition to the two lions two human figures are seen between them on both sides of the wheel kneeling in supplication in front of the wheel. Each of these four figures is attended by two dwarf-like figures on both sides.

From the inscription in the cave at the left side of the entrance near which the two left-hand side sculptures are carved, it is quite clear that these are Jain sculptures belonging to the period indicated by the inscription (*i. e.*, to 426 A. D.). The inscription, however, refers to the making of an image of Pārśvanātha which is not now found in the cave[2].

1. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, II, 159.
2. See below Pp. 424-5.

The other Sculptures nearby the Caves.—A little south of the cave No. 3 on the open surface of the rock is carved in a small rectangular niche a figure of seated Gaṇeśa. The god is here shown with four hands, one of the two right hands holding an axe, the other being broken. One of the left hands is raised up holding something in the palm which it is difficult to make out. The other left hand holds a *modaka*. A necklace and anklets are the only ornaments on his body. The god is attended by a pigmy-like figure on one side with a figure of a mouse lying prostrate in front. The presence of the mouse and the attendant here shows that there is here a definite advance in the iconography of the god as compared with his two representations in the caves already noticed.[1] Still, however, it has not attained the classical form of the Bhumara Gaṇeśa.[2]

At a short distance south of the cave No. 19 is a small medallion on the open rock surface. The sculpture in the medallion is considerably disfigured. It probably represents Śiva and Pārvatī in amorous mood. The Śiva has four hands one of which is held in *varada* pose while the other is holding something now indistinct. One of his left hands is apparently thrown round Umā's shoulder. The god is sitting with his left leg bent and resting upon the seat while the right leg is hanging below it. He wears probably a jewelled crown which is damaged now. The goddess is obviously in an amorous mood with her breasts and hips prominently displayed. Her right hand is thrown in embrace round Śiva's right shoulder. The faces of both the sculptures are very much disfigured. Below them are seen the dancing gaṇas, the attendants of Śiva. On both sides of

1. See Pp. 412, 416 above.
2. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 16, 13, Pl. XIV.

Śiva-Pārvatī are two figures, the one to their right sitting on an ordinary stool and the other to the left on a lotus seat. It is not clear what these two figures represent. There are also some flying figures on the upper portion of the medallion.

The sculpture probably represents the Umā-Maheśvara-mūrti known to the authors of the Śilpaśāstras. It agrees to a greater extent with the description of this form of Śiva in the earlier Śilpaśāstra works such as the *Vishṇudharmottara*, the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, etc.[1]

The Earlier Buddhist Ruins and the Remains of an Ancient Gupta Temple.—A short distance south-west of the cave No. 20 near the track joining the caves Nos. 18 and 20 are seen the ruins of an ancient Gupta temple. When Cunningham first explored this hill he noticed "traces of buildings at several places".[2] It is near the place where the ruins of the temple are now seen that he first noticed the massive end of a shaft of a pillar still standing *in situ*. "Apparently this was one of the great lion pillars of the Buddhists which had stood for centuries on the top of the hill a noble landmark to the country for many miles round. Then came the spoiler to carry it off, who dug down to its foundations and attempted to pull it down; but the pillar snapped just above the square end where it struck the rocky edge of the excavation; the round shaft was broken into pieces and rolled down the slope, while the capital was hurled to a distance and mutilated by its fall".[3] The lion capital is now kept in the State Archaeological Museum in Gwalior. It is a typical bell-shaped capital with its abacus carved into twelve

1. Gopinath Rao: *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, Pp. 132-3.
2. See P. 56.
3. *Ibid.*

compartments, containing the twelve Ādityas or Suns, the twelve Rāśis or zodiacal signs and the twenty-seven Nakshatras denoted by pellets. From the remains of this pillar and a complete rail-bar noticed by Cunningham elsewhere on the hill it is obvious that Udayagiri also, like Sanchi, once possessed a great Buddhist stūpa which according to Cunningham was probably despoiled by "the Brāhmaṇical persecutors of the neighbouring city of Bhilsa".[1] Traces of a stūpa were, however, actually discovered in the course of excavations on the hill by Bhandarkar in the year 1914.

After Cunningham Mr. Lake, the Superintending Engineer of the State, thinking that the mound near the pillar contained ruins of a stūpa, sunk a trial trench at its centre. In November 1913 D. R. Bhandarkar visited the place and was of the opinion that the mound did not indicate any remains of a stūpa but still he preferred to excavate it and started operations in February 1914. It was after a year that he succeeded in exposing a platform approximately 118 feet long and 70 feet wide. On this platform once a temple stood, probably of the later Gupta period, facing east. On the north and south sides of the platform were exposed three subsidiary shrines. "But in the *debris* surrounding its fragments of door jambs, door lintels and roof slabs were found in large quantities from which it is possible to imagine what the temple was like originally. No pieces of the spire, however, came to light and it seems that it was a flat-roofed structure like other temples of the Gupta period."[2] Bhandarkar further opines that "deliberate attempts were made to lay waste this holy site, for otherwise

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle* for the year ending in March 1915, 65.

the wholesale destruction of the temple, its attendant shrines and the column is inexplicable. It is not difficult to determine approximately the time when this must have come off. In front of the Amṛita cave (No. 19 above) are standing a few pillars which are now the only remnants of a porch that was constructed before it. These are exactly like those unearthed on the site of its temple. A little excavation here brought to light other fragments of sculptures and roof-slabs convincing us that its porch was built at some later period and unquestionably out of the materials of the Gupta temple on the hill-top. This temple must, therefore, have been in ruins when the cave porch was put up. Now, in the Amṛita cave there is an inscription dated V. S. 1093 (*i. e.,* A. D. 1036-37) which speaks of the cave temple being restored by one Kaṇha. There are absolutely no indications of reconstruction in the cave proper. The restoration must thus refer to the installation of an image in the cave and the building of the porch before it. As most of the materials used for the latter were, as just remarked, brought from the remains of the Gupta temple above, the devastation of this structure must have taken place prior to A. D. 1037.

The inner core of the temple platform is not a solid mass of stone construction as might be expected but a network of rubble stone walls packed dry, the intervening spaces being filled with well-rammed brick-bats. Most of these hollows were cleared with a view to expose remains of any structure that might have stood on this spot anterior to the building of the temple. Nothing of a sensational character was brought to light but enough was found to justify the conclusion that the site was occupied by the stūpa at least and some dwel-

ling houses of the pre-Gupta, perhaps of the Śuṅga, period. Traces of the first were exposed below the east wall of the platform. In fact, this wall, when constructed, was made to stand upon the two lower-most stone courses of a stūpa. From its segment now preserved the original diameter of its base seems to have been at least 16 feet 8 inches. Indications of dwelling houses were traceable all along the north wall of the platform, especially at the north-west corner. These consisted of a layer of ashes intermixed with iron nails topped by another of tile pieces, both running together all round in undulations showing that the houses here were of wooden construction."[1]

The Inscriptions of the Udayagiri Caves.— There are in all twelve inscriptions at Udayagiri, of which only four are important, the other eight, some of which are merely fragmentary and illegible, being devoid of historical interest.

The inscription[2] in the cave No. 6 of the Gupta Era 82 is the earliest dated inscription of the Gupta period. Its historical importance lies in the fact that it proves that practically the whole of north-eastern Malwa was conquered by Chandragupta II before 402 A. D.[3] It further shows that the region was then ruled by a chief of the Sanakānīka tribe, who styled himself as *Mahārāja*, owing allegiance to the Gupta emperor. It should be

1. *Ibid*, 65-6.

2. See Bhandarkar : *List of Inscriptions in Northern India*, No. 1260. The inscription reads as follows :—

(L. 1) सिद्धम् ॥ संवत्सरे ८०२ आषाढमासे शुक्ले (क्लै) कादश्यां परम-भट्टारकमहाराजाधि[राज]श्रीचन्द्र[गु]प्तपादानुध्यातस्य

(L. 2) महाराजछगलगपौत्रस्य महाराजविष्णुदासपुत्रस्य सनकानीकस्य महा [राज]........[ढ] लस्यायं देयधर्म्मः ॥

3. Cp. Banerji : *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, 31.

noted that the name of this tribe is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta testifying that the region was occupied by the tribe for a longer period.

Another inscription[1] belonging to the reign of the same king in the cave No. 7 records that the emperor was present at the spot in person with his minister in charge of the Department of Peace and War by name Śāba Vīrasena, a resident of Pāṭaliputra, under whose instructions the cave was excavated in order to be dedicated to the god Śaṁbhu. From the wording and the elevated tone of the inscription it would appear that the Gupta emperor was at this time at the height of his power and glory who was here "during his campaign of the conquest of the whole earth". The reference is apparently to the military expedition which the emperor personally conducted against the eastern Satraps. Eastern Malwa with Vidiśā as the general headquarters was the forward base of these operations against the Śakas.[2] This is apparently the reason why the War Minister, the resident of Pāṭaliputra, was present at Udayagiri as mentioned in the inscription.

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1. See Bhandarkar: *Op. cit.*, No. 1541. The inscription reads as follows :—

(L. 1) सिद्धम् (॥) यदन्तज्ज्योतिरक्कभिमुव्व्यम् (...........
.........) व्यापि चन्द्रगुप्ताख्यमद्भुतम् (॥)

(L. 2) विक्रमावक्रयक्रीता दास्यन्यग्भूतपार्त्थि [वा] ....
मानसंरक्ता—धर्म्म (............) (॥)

(L. 3) तस्य राजाधिराजर्षेरचिन्त्यो [त्साहक] र्म्मण: अन्वयप्राप्तसाचिव्यो
व्या[पृत: सं]धि[वि]ग्रहे (॥)

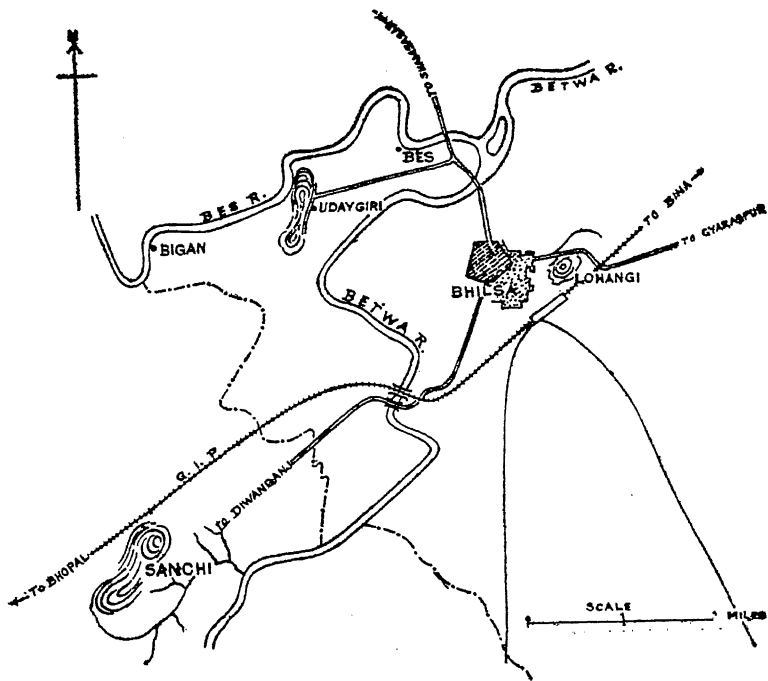
(L. 4) कौत्सश्शाब इति ख्यातो |वीरसेन: कुलाख्यया शब्दार्थन्यायलोकज्ञ:
कवि: पाटलिपुत्रक: (॥)

(L. 5) कृत्स्नपृथ्वीजयार्त्थेन राज्ञैवेह सहागत: । भक्त्या भगवतश्शम्भोर्गुहा-
मेतामकारयत् ॥)

2. Raychaudhuri: *Political History of Ancient India* (4th Ed.), 467.

The inscription is not dated but is certainly later than the inscription in the preceding cave already referred to above.

The third inscription[1] of the Gupta period is found in the cave No. 20. It refers to the *year* 106 *of the Gupta Era* (*i. e.*, 425-6 A. D.). The name of the ruling sovereign is not mentioned probably because of the Brāhmaṇical leaning of the ruling dynasty which the Jainas possibly disliked. Kumāragupta was at this time ruling over the vast empire bequeathed to him by his father Chandragupta II. The inscription in question is one of the few Jain inscriptions of the Gupta period so far discovered. It is obvious that in this period Jainism was on the decline; for "even in great centres of the Jain faith like Mathurā the dedication of Jain images in the Gupta period was a rare event".[2] No Jain inscription of the time of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II have been discovered so far; and our inscription is the earliest Jain inscription[3], so far known, of the Gupta period. It records how Śaṅkara, a devout ascetic, caused to be made "this image of Pārśvanātha, the best of Jainas, (looking) fierce with serpent's hoods expanded (forming a canopy over his head). Śaṅkara is stated to have been a disciple of Āchārya Gośarman, "an ornament of the lineage of Āchārya Bhadra". It is interesting to note that Śaṅkara inherited the noble blood of a warrior and was probably a Kshatriya, for he was a son of a warrior and *aśvapati* (commander of a cavalry regiment). The image described in the inscription is, however, not found in the cave and Fleet suggested that

1. See Bhandarkar: *Op. cit.* See P. 428, fn. 3, below for text.
2. Banerji: *Op. cit.*, 107.
3. Banerji had apparently missed this inscription when he stated that the Mathurā inscription of G. E. 113 "is the earliest known Jain inscription of the Gupta period."—*Op. cit.*, 103.

Udayagiri and its Environs (P. 377)

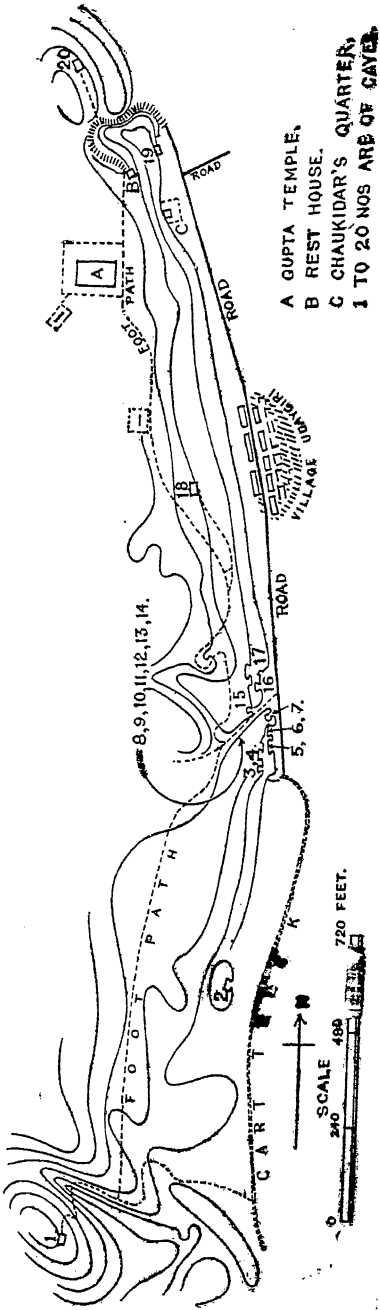



PLATE VI

Udayagiri Caves : Site Plan (Pp. 377-378)

PLATE VII

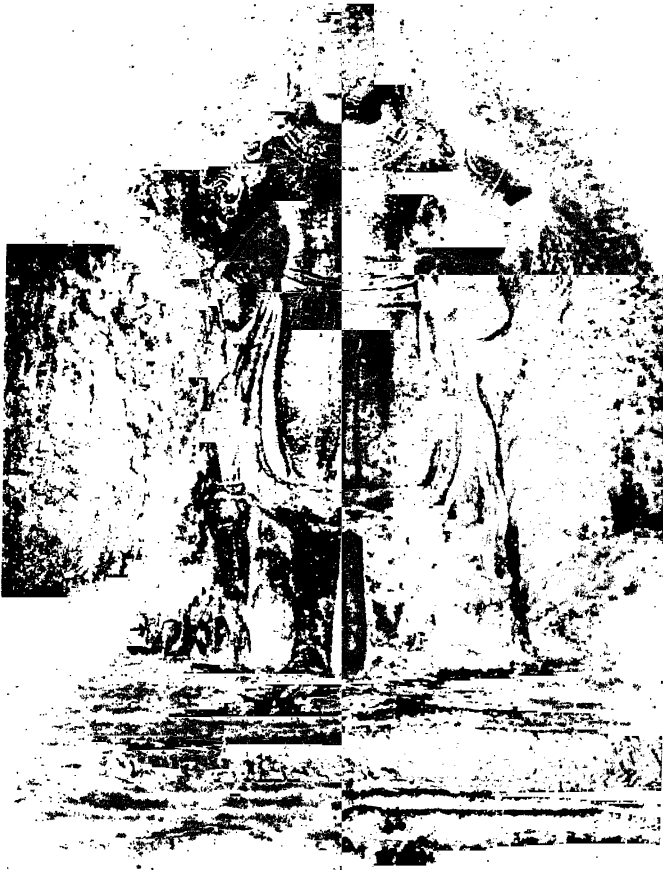
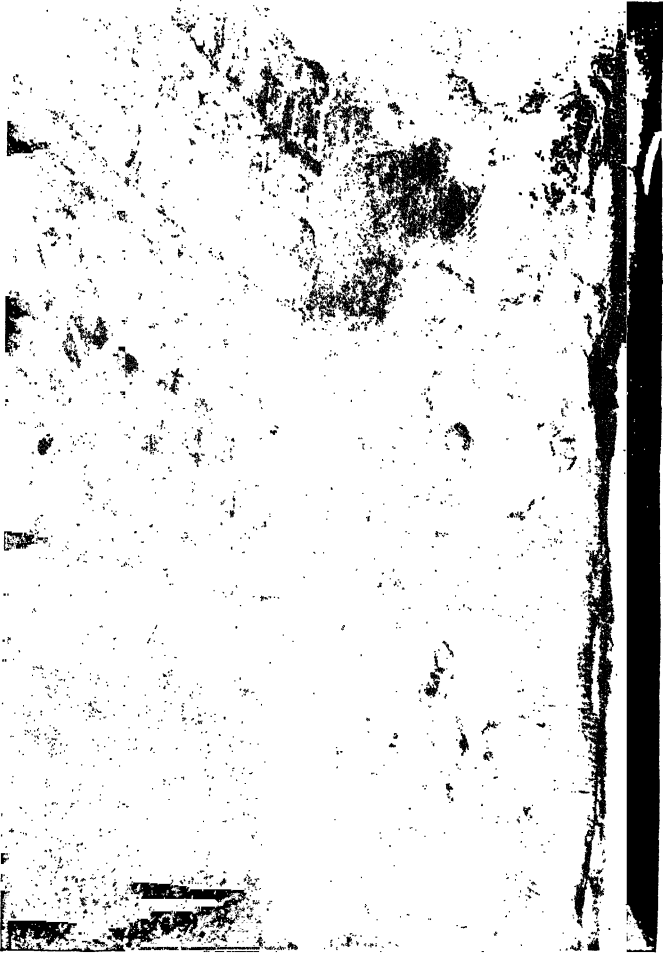
Udayagiri Cave No. 1 (Pp. 385-386)

Udayagiri Cave No. 3 : Image of Skanda (P. 401)

PLATE IX

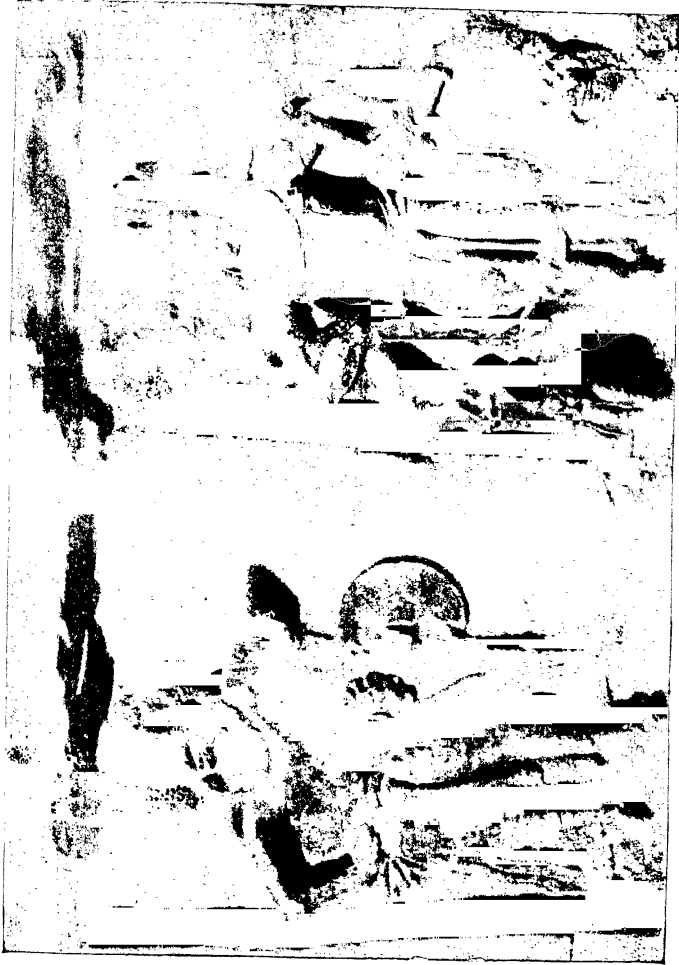
Udayagiri Cave No. 4 : Front View (Fp. 387-388)

Udayagiri Cave No. 4 : Liṅga with One Face
(Pp. 388, 402, 403)

PLATE XI

Udayagiri Cave No. 5 : Image of Varāha (Pp 404-405)

Udayagiri Cave No. 5 : Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Varuṇa (Pp. 405-406

Udayagiri Cave No. 6 : Front View (Pp. 389-390)

PLATE XIV

Udayagiri Cave No. 6 : Dvārapāla and Vishṇu (Pp. 409-410)

Udayagiri Cave No. 6 : Image of Gaṇeśa (Pp. 412-413)

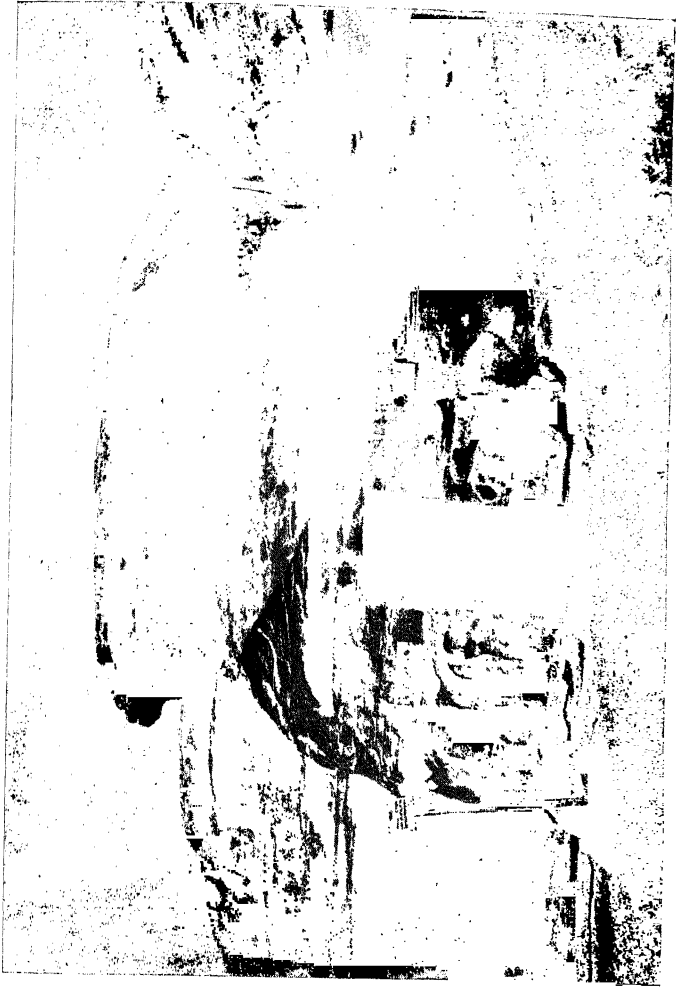
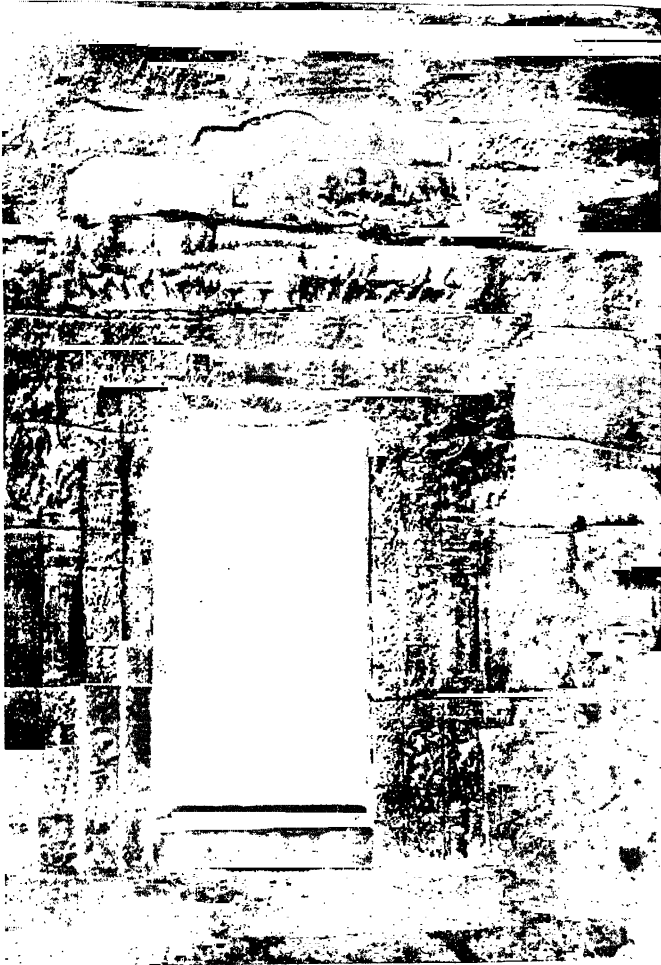
PLATE XVI

Udayagiri Cave No. 7 or Tawa Cave (P. 391)

PLATE XVII

Udayagiri Cave No. 13 : Image of Śeshaśāyī Vishṇu (Pp. 414-415)

PLATE XVIII

Udayagiri Cave No. 17 : General View (Pp. 393-394)

Udayagiri Medallion on rock with Śiva-Pārvatī (Pp. 418-419)

Udayagiri Cave No. 19 : Doorway (Pp. 394-396, 416-417)

the inscription refers to a loose image (*i. e.*, not cut out of rock) which has disappeared now.[1] There is another suggestion by M. B. Garde[2] that the inscription refers to one of the rock-cut images to the right side of the entrance which according to him shows the hood of a snake, though not the attendant female deity referred to in the inscription. It has been, however, found that this Jain figure is attended by two dwarf figures on both sides and the hood is not what it is described but an umbrella.

The fourth inscription[3] is in the cave No. 19. It records that a pilgrim named Kaṇha visited the cave in the year 1093 of the Vikrama Saṁvat (*i. e.*, 1036-7 A. D.). The really interesting part of this record is the statement in lines 5-8 that the cave was made by Chandragupta and that the reign of Vikramāditya came after that event. The name of the king referred to in this inscription must certainly be taken to be that of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II.[4] As regards the age of the cave there is no other inscription to show the period to which it may be allotted. If the contents of this inscription be relied upon, this cave may be assigned to the later part of Chandragupta's reign, a conclusion also supported by architectural peculiarities[5].

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1. *Op. cit.*, 259.

2. *Annual Administration Report, Gwalior Archaeological Department*, 1923-4, Pp. 10-2.

3. Bhandarkar : *Op. cit.*, No. 122; cp. also *IA*, XIII, 185. The text of the inscription is as follows :—

(L. 1) नवो जीर्णोधारि ([2]) कंन्ह प्रणंमति (3) वीष्णुपादौ नित्यं। (4) संवतु १०९३ (5) चंद्रगुप्तेन की (6) र्तनं कीर्तीतः। (7) पश्चात् वीक्र (8) मादित्य राज्यं: ।

4. *IA*, XIV, 352.

5. *Annual Administration Report, Gwalior Arch. Dept.*, 1931-2, 17-8.

The remaining eight inscriptions are devoid of any historical interest. Of them five are in Gupta script, all of them fragmentary and illegible, except that in one of them on the ceiling in the cave No. 1 the name Śivāditya, probably of a mason, can be made out with some difficulty. The other four contain a few letters only. Out of the rest three, one is in incorrect Sanskrit written in Nāgarī script in a natural rock cavern near cave No. 20.[1] It contains a prayer to a goddess and is of little historical interest. The other two inscriptions[2] are very recent belonging to the last century written in Hindi.

Conclusion.—A review of these monuments of the Udayagiri hill obviously leads us to the conclusion that (with the exception of the very few early Buddhist remains, the sculptures of Mahishamardinī of a rather doubtful date and a few of the later unimportant inscriptions) most of them belong to one age, *i. e.*, to the Gupta period. It may be further asserted that a majority of them belong to the time of Chandragupta II, the only exceptions being possibly the cave No. 1 and certainly the cave No. 20, the former indicating probably a slightly earlier date and the latter a later date of 426 A. D., thus belonging to the time of Chandragupta's successor Kumāragupta I.

The origin of these monuments was undoubtedly due to the efforts of the citizens of Vidiśā. What the Sanchi monuments were to the inhabitants of the city in the early Buddhist period the Udayagiri caves were to them in the Gupta period. The citizens now did not much favour Buddhism and instead ardently devoted themselves to the faith of their ruling sovereigns, the Guptas, some of whom were devout Vaishṇavites. The existence

1. *Ibid*, 1928-9, P. 29.
2. *Ibid*.

of preponderantly larger number of Vaishṇava sculptures at Udayagiri was due to this fact of the city's history. It should, however, be noted that the architecturally important caves were dedicated to the god Śiva; for side by side with Vaishṇavism Śaivism flourished. The liṅga was worshipped as well as the goddess Durgā and the Seven Mothers. The god Skanda Kārttikeya, too, had attained the rank of a first-rate deity. Gaṇeśa, however, was struggling to achieve that eminence though he had still some time to succeed to that end. Jainism, too, had some adherents in the city, as there are some of them even now in the modern town of Bhilsa, but the position of the solitary Jain cave on the north-east corner of the hill would suggest that it was comparatively a neglected faith.

The monuments further throw interesting side-lights on some aspects of the social life of the people occupying the region. The particularly beautiful dancing scene in the Varāha cave No. 5 and a number of musical instruments depicted in the sculptures and in the decoration of the door-frame in cave No. 4 display a particular artistic taste on the part of the people of the region if not of the inhabitants of the city. Of the musical instruments the most notable are the vīṇā, the flute, the sāraṅgī and the mṛidaṅga. The dress and ornaments of the dvārapālas may be indicative of the personal out-fit of the gentry of the surrounding region, if not also of the aristocracy. They wore a simple dhoti, with an under-garment—the rest of the body uncovered—and ornaments such as armlets and necklaces. The girdle of ornamented chains round the waist of goddess Pṛithvī in the Varāha scene may be suggestive of its use by high class ladies. The dress and ornaments of the Nāga king and Varuṇa in the same

scene probably indicate the personal embellishments of the princes who wore a simple dhoti and an upper garment and a simple mukuṭa or crown, a necklace and armlets.

The inscription in the cave No. 6 suggests that the region was occupied by a tribe called Sanakānīkas who are also referred to in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta.[1] It was a republican tribe subjugated by Samudragupta and its chief in the time of Chandragupta II either paid homage to the Gupta emperor or became a subordinate officer under his government. Evidently their older institution was on the decline or probably ceased to exist.[2]

1. Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity* (2nd Edition), 155, 165.

2. *Ibid*, 162-4.

3. The text of the inscription in cave No. 20 is :—

१. नमः सिद्धेभ्यः (॥) श्रीसंयुतानां गुणतोयधीनां गुप्तान्वयानां नृपसत्तमानां

२. राज्ये कुलस्याभिविवर्द्धमाने षड्भिर्य्युते वर्षशतेथमासे (॥) सुकार्त्तिके बहुलदिनेथ पंचमे

३. गुहामुखे स्फुटविकटोत्कटामिमां जितद्विषो जिनवरपार्श्वसंज्ञिकां जिनाकृतिं शम-दमवान—

४. चीकरत् (॥) आचार्य्यभद्रान्वयभूषणस्य शिष्यो ह्यसावार्य्यकुलोद्गतस्य आचार्य्यगोश—

५. र्म्ममुनेस्सुतस्तु पद्मावतावश्वपतेर्भटस्य (॥) परैरजेयस्य रिपुघ्नमानिनस्स संघि—

६. लस्येत्यभिविश्रुतो भुवि स्वसंज्ञया शंकरनामशब्दितो विधानयुक्तं यतिमा-

७. र्गमास्थितः (॥) स उत्तराणां सदृशे कुरूणां उदग्दिशादेशवरे प्रसूतः

८. क्षयाय कर्म्मारिगणस्य धीमान यदत्र पुण्यं तदपाससर्ज्ज (॥)

ŚRĪ VIKRAMĀDITYA, THE GREATEST EMPEROR OF CLASSICAL INDIA

By

RAMCHANDRA VINAYAK PATWARDHAN, Poona

I

It is a most fortunate event that a number of scholars and lovers of ancient Sanskrit lore have, with the concurrence and full support of the Government of the Maharaja of Gwalior, hit upon the idea of celebrating the completion of the second millennium of the Vikrama Era which is the epoch of the first and most successful emperor of resuscitated India. At present there is no Era or System of recording events except that of Śāli-vāhana to which Indian people are more passionately attached than that of the Emperor Vikramāditya which is generally known by the name of *Saṁvat*. It is the most ancient of the three Eras which are nearly coeval and definitely established throughout India, *viz.*, the Vikrama-Saṁvat, the Era of Christ and the Śaka Era of Śālivāhana. Though it goes without saying that Emperor Vikramāditya was a very great personality, very little is known even to scholars about his life and regime, for, European savants, barring a few honourable

exceptions, appear to have unconsciously developed a habit of doubting and disparaging the ancient historical records of India; and as a result many Indian researchists have until recently been guided by those misleading methods. One ought to be excused for using the word 'misleading'; but some such expression has to be used with demur. For every possible objection as to the authenticity and genuineness of the records produced is raised and thrashed out threadbare, without taking into consideration the chances of obtaining the most indisputable proof of the events which occurred thousands of years ago. Is there, we may ask, any chance now of obtaining any undoubted proof as to whether it was Euclid himself who had composed the treatise called the *Elements* ? If not, why should it not be asserted that the so called *Elements* of Euclid are nothing but forgeries ? On what ground should the works which pass as those of Archimedes or Apollonius or Ptolemy be not regarded as fabricated ? Is it necessary to say that historical research is not to be carried out by the rigorous methods of chemical analysis as though we are investigating an immutable law of nature ? We must proceed on our investigation on the basis of *ordinary human experience* and the natural course of events; we should be prepared to *assume* the truth of a fact which ought to happen in the ordinary course unless there are circumstances *clearly apparent* which render the truth of the fact highly improbable.

Let us now apply this supreme test to the assertions of some of the European scholars and show how they are utterly ridiculous and untenable. It is stated that although an era which goes by the name of Vikrama-Saṁvat has been current for some centuries past, no definite evidence is forthcoming that an era which has

been named after Vikramāditya was in vogue before the 7th century after Christ. It is argued therefore that no king bearing the name Vikrama did exist at all in the first century B. C. Well then we might as well say that such a person as Jesus Christ did not exist at all because no proof is available that the Era of Christ was recognised in Italy before 525 A. C. or in England as late as the 7th century A. C. If no one doubts the existence of Christ, why should such a flimsy ground as the above come in our way of admitting the existence of a very great personality as Vikrama ? It may therefore be taken as an axiomatic truth that wherever an era is found to be in existence there is always some event or *some personality* in honour of whom such an era had come to be started. No old era has been named after a subsequent event or personality. This truth can be tested by examining all the conspicuous eras which are now current. No doubt there are certain epochs such as the Julian Period or the Kaliyuga which though described as eras are nevertheless connected with some event which has actually happened or are related to some personality of historic fame. Thus the Julian Period was invented and named to commemorate the career of Julius Caesar, the greatest of the Roman Consuls, and the Kaliyuga marks the approximate concurrence of all the planets near the beginning of Aśvinī. Thus, although it has been pointed out that neither any inscription nor any record is obtainable which records in accordance with Vikrama Era an event prior to the seventh century A. C., even such a statement cannot go unchallenged. Commenting on the discovery at the village of Kavi, in Jambusar Taluka, of a grant bearing the date 486 and the 10th tithi of Āshāḍha Śukla, Dr. Bühler remarks : "The discovery of this grant which is older

than 445 A. C. is fatal to the theory that Vikrama Era was a forgery; and in view of the use of this era, Dr. Bhau Daji's statement is certainly erroneous." (—*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, P. 110.)

As a matter of fact, many inscriptions have been found bearing dates of the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries which can be referred to *no other era but that of Vikrama.* Nay, it is a peculiar trait in many ancient inscriptions which, though they give the year, the month and the tithi, still make no mention at all of the epoch to which the year is to be assigned. Such is the case with many a Gupta and Valabhi grant. Why then should it be insisted that the Vikrama Era should have been mentioned by name ? We ought not to apply modern conventions to ancient usages. It is not always the case that an era commences precisely at the time when the central event of the era has taken place or when the personality after whom it is named is yet alive. Hence, granting for *argument's sake only* that the Vikrama Era was not adopted *as such in practice until some centuries after the date* assigned to its beginning, there is nothing illogical in accepting as an actual fact that a great personality or hero known as Vikrama did really exist about 57 B. C. and was in every way the fittest personality in honour of whom an era should be started.

So our first conclusion is that the prevalence of an era *warrants the presumption* that the personality indicated by the era must have been in existence as a matter of fact about the first year of its reckoning.

FURTHER EVIDENCE OF INSCRIPTIONS

Some years back quite a number of inscriptions and grants have been brought to light in some of which the Saṁvat Era is named as Mālava Era, while in others

the number of the year only is given with the word "Kṛita" prefixed to it which a well known scholar interprets as the Era of a distinct prince by name Kṛita. For instance, the Mālava inscriptions are thus worded :

(*a*) मालवानां गणस्थित्या याते शतचतुष्टये । त्रिनवत्यधिकेऽब्दानाम् ॥

(*b*) कृतेषु चतुर्षु वर्षशतेषु एकाशीत्युत्तरेषु मालवपूर्वायाम् (*i. e.*, In the year 493 of the Mālava Epoch and in the year 81 plus four hundred of the Epoch of the Mālavas).

(*c*) श्रीमालवगणाम्नाते प्रशस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते । एकषष्ट्यधिके प्राप्ते etc. (In accordance with the Epoch named after the Mālavas of which 61 and 400 years are stated to have elapsed).

Now the years in which no mentions are made of the name of the Epoch are these :—

(*d*) कृतेषु चतुर्षु वर्षशतेषु अष्टाविंशेषु (*i. e.*, In the year 428).

(*e*) कृतयोर्द्वयोः वर्षशतयोः द्व्यशीत्योः (*i. e.*, In the year 282). (—*Index to the Epigraphia Indica.*)

It would be obvious that on a careful perusal of the wording of the grants one can find no difficulty in accepting the inference that the Mālava Epoch is the same as the Vikrama Era; for no other era would accord with the dynasty of the grantor and the date specified in the grant.

But to take 'Kṛita' as a proper name and apply it to some prince yet unknown to history is, to say the least, a *most dubious method* of interpretation. If no other meaning had been clearly and reasonably applicable, then only, and not till then, could the word 'Kṛita' be taken as the name of some prince. But we need not have recourse to such a *meandering way of interpretation*; if we straightway take 'Kṛita' to mean "*the year which is*

not current but has elapsed", no difficulty is encountered. Then as shown above in the case of grants of the Gupta and Valabhi kings the name of the era employed is not even mentioned at all, as it was not then deemed necessary to do so. Hence in the case of the so called Kṛita-grants also, the word *Kṛita* is to be understood as indicating the fact that the year noted in the grant is the year which *had elapsed*. One of my friends suggests that *Kṛita* may mean Mālava-Kṛita, *i. e.*, the year of the "Era named after the Mālavas". I have no objection to accept this interpretation, with the result that all the grants referring to the year as being Kṛita or Mālava-Kṛita must be regarded as having reference to an era which had commenced from 57 B. C. and if it can be shown that a very great king had established his flourishing *regime* about the year 57 B. C. and that his name was Vikramāditya, the Mālava Era and the Vikrama Era must be considered as identical.

But why should the *Era* have been named as Mālava Era and not as Vikrama Era ? A reasonable explanation is easy to give. Personalities or kings who were really great have never cared to start *eras of their own.* All such eras have been started by their followers. The Śālivāhana Era is named the *Śaka Era.* The Mohommedan Era is not named after the name of their prophet but is called the Hejirā; the Roman Era is also not that of Romulus but is named after the city of Rome. In the same way the era started in 57 B. C. may have been named after the Mālavas, the brave people from whom Vikramāditya himself had sprung and over whom he ruled. This leaves no doubt that the era which commenced in 57 B. C. was that of Vikramāditya, by whatever other name it might have been called for a time.

ŚRĪ VIKRAMĀDITYA

VIKRAMĀDITYA THE ENIGMA OF SCHOLARS

Much confusion prevails as to whether such a personage as the great Vikramāditya really flourished in the 1st century before Christ, or whether he is to be identified with any sovereign of the Gupta dynasty of the 4th century after Christ. Undoubtedly, King Chandra Gupta, one of the celebrated monarchs of the dynasty founded by Ghaṭotkacha Gupta, had assumed the title "Vikramāditya" (or Emperor), just as later Roman emperors called themselves Caesars. Apparently, not a little weight has to be attached to the fact that this Gupta Vikramāditya also had already inflicted a crushing defeat on the Hūṇas and that the great astronomer Varāhamihira had begun his successful career at Ujjain almost at the same time. The fact of the defeat of the Hūṇas in the 5th century has been made the central knot in the enigma, and Dr. K. B. Pathak has pressed forth the point so much that to him it appeared as the key-stone of the whole edifice of future investigations.

But, in reality, this supposed key-stone has been loose and has had no lateral pressure; since it is not once only *but at several times* that the Hūṇas have invaded India, just as they had pushed into China and Iran during the course of their history which extended from about 300 B. C. to 700 A. C. These Hūṇas were sometimes known in India as Śakas or Scythians also, and every serious invasion of these hordes has been repelled by some one or other of the powerful Kshatriya kings of India. The Hūṇas and Scythians invaded India for the first time not in the 5th century A. C. but in the second and the first century *before* as well as *after* Christ, and also again in the 5th and the 6th century thereafter. The following extracts will amply corro-

borate that the Hūṇas and Scythians had been a standing menace not only to India but to the surrounding countries also, and the Kshatriya kings had to engage in constant warfare till the inroads of these pestering people were finally put down.

THE HUNS OR HŪṆAS

(*i*) "The Huns were a very powerful race who hailed from Mongolia and overran almost all surrounding countries and penetrated into Europe even as far as the Rhine. Dr. Mody quotes passages from the *Avestic Yashts* which prove that the ancient Iranians had been waging constant war against the Huns. This circumstance *conclusively shows* that the Huns hovered round India for a good many centuries before Christ." (—*Bhandarkar Comm. Volume.*)

(*ii*) "About the year 177 B. C. the Huns pressed on Eastern Turkistan and drove the Yueh-Chi who in their turn invaded the Indus Valley." (—*Ency. Br.*, Ninth Ed., XXIII, P. 639.)

(*iii*) "In the 1st century A. C. the Chinese drove the Huns westward and while one division of the Huns remained in Trans Oxiana and Afghanistan another pushed forth to the west." (—*Ency. Br.*, 14th Ed., Vol. II, P. 911.)

(*iv*) "According to Prof. H. H. Wilson the Hūṇas were the White Huns who were established in the Punjab along the Indus as we know from Arrian, Strabo and Ptolemy, confirmed

by coins and inscriptions." (—*Encycl. Br.*, 9th Ed., Vol. XII, P. 789.)

"Many scholars believe that the Scythians poured down in India in masses. This view has received the support of most Indian investigators from Prof. H. H. Wilson to General Cunningham of the Archaeological Survey." (—*Ibid.*)

(*v*) "During the century preceding the Christian Era Scythian or Tartar hordes began to supplant the Graeco-Bactrian influence in the Punjab. But the Scythic settlement was not effected without a struggle. As Chandra Gupta (Maurya) had advanced and rolled back the tide of Graeco-Bactrian conquest in 312-306 B. C., so the Indian heroes of the first century before and after Christ stemmed the torrent of Scythian invasion. *Vikramāditya the King of Ujjain* won at this time his paramount place in Indian history by driving out the invaders, and an era 'the Saṁvat' beginning in 57 B. C. was founded in honour of his achievements." (—*Ency. Br.*, 9th Ed., Vol. XII, P. 787.)

Dr. K. B. Pathak has laid unusual emphasis on the authority of Edward Meyer and Sir Charles Elliot among the writers in the *Ency. Br.* to show that the White Huns appeared in the Oxus Basin for the first time about 420 after Christ. But we must assert that this is only a half truth. For the fact is that, as shown above, the Hūṇas penetrated into India in the fifth century but *not for the first time.* Other authorities of equal

weight have stated in the 9th Edition and also in the 14th Edition of the *Ency. Br.* that the White Huns had occupied Trans Oxiana and Afghanistan long before 425 after Christ and their possession of the Upper Oxus and Afghanistan and presumably of the Indus Valley dated from the 2nd and 1st century B. C.; and there should be no hesitation in affirming that the great Vikramāditya must have defeated the Hūṇas about 57 B. C. and pursued them as far as Trans Oxiana. We must also add here that the inference of Prof. H. H. Wilson, who relies on authorities very nearly contemporary such as Arrian, Strabo and Ptolemy, and also on coins and inscriptions, affords a more trustworthy evidence than any writer in the *Encyclopaedia.* Dr. Pathak's conclusion cannot therefore be regarded as tenable and cannot therefore be taken seriously. Prof. Vincent Smith also supports the same view when he says that a horde of Nomads the Yuch-Chi of the same stock as the Huns when driven out of North China (*c.* 165 B. C.), the Yush-Chi and the Śakas also burst forth into India and occupied the North-Western tract along the river Indus. (*Vide* his *Early History of India.*)

This inquiry with regard to the pressure of the Hūṇas and the Śakas along the catchments of the rivers Oxus and the Indus was necessary to show that if the great Vikramāditya reigned at Ujjain about 57 B. C. and smashed the power of the Hūṇas and the Śakas during his successful regime we have to show that the Hūṇas were in occupation of the valley of the Indus and had possibly poured down on the planes of the Punjab about 100 B. C. Now it may be regarded as sufficiently proved that the Hūṇas and the Śakas were at the time in the valley of the Indus. Still another obstacle has been put up by the reluctance of researchers to admit the exis-

tence of Vikramāditya unless and until his name has been actually found in any of the Purāṇas or in some inscription or coin of a date prior to the third or fourth century A. C. The learned Prof. Iyengar of the Andhra University has strongly disapproved the attitude of the scholars who have questioned the existence of Vikramāditya in the 1st century B. C. The view which questions such existence has been insisted upon by a research scholar of high attainments and by others also. But, with due deference to these, it may be asked if actual occurrence of the name of Vikrama in some ancient inscription is to be the *outstanding* test of his existence wherein would the research lie ? When the actual fact has to stand the test such as that, it would be no research at all; it would be only a fortuitous *discovery by a lucky chance.* But research is that process whereby we arrive at an inference which is true or is very probably true; and that, too, on such evidence as is regarded as scanty or not worthy of any consideration. To arrive at such an inference as that the guiding principle should be the *commonsense view of every day experience.* Our common experience is that *in many cases*, though not in all, truth underlies even a contemporaneous hearsay report. Granting that Guṇāḍhya composed his *Bṛihatkathā* on such hearsay reports only, would it lose all its historical value ? The *Bṛihatkathā* is as good and as ancient as any Purāṇa. Never mind if it is called Piśācha Purāṇa. It is sufficient if in the *Bṛihatkathā* the life of Vikramāditya has been noticed and briefly described. Has not the Graeco-Bactrian invasion been inferred from a passage in the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali ? In the same way there is not the least harm in accepting as an historical truth the existence of Vikramāditya in the 1st century B. C. on the evidence of

the *Bṛihatkathā*. It is stated in that work that the life's mission of Vikramāditya was to shattler the power of the Mlechchhas and the *Bṛihatkathā* has never failed to stress this special feature. It is pointed out that the names of the kings of Karṇāṭa, Cashmere, Lāṭa, Gauḍa, etc. mentioned in the *Bṛihatkathā* are not to be met with in the historical records of those countries. But all this is immaterial. So long as the *central figure* in the whole episode stands unchanged, any difference in the minor particulars cannot alter the main fact. For it is not only Guṇāḍhya who in his *Bṛihatkathā* has sung the valiant deeds of Vikramāditya, but the great poet *Hāla* or Sātavāhana who flourished at the end of the first century A. C. has also described the courage, valour and generosity of the great Vikramāditya.

The existence of Śrī Vikramāditya may therefore be taken as sufficiently proved on the strength of the following points : –

(1) The prevalence of the era without a break of continuity, and the acceptance of the principle that every era has been started to keep alive the memory of a great personality who flourished at the commencement of such era.

(2) A short life of Vikramāditya described in the *Bṛihatkathā*, a work written about the end of the first century A. C., the authenticity of which is as good as that of any inscription.

(3) The special aim of Vikramāditya's life was the defeat of the Mlechchhas which is noted specially by the *Bṛihatkathā* and the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*, although the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*

may have been composed at a later date than the *Bṛihatkathā*.

(4) A clear reference to Vikramāditya in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* of King Hāla who also lived in the first century A. C.

The fame of Vikramāditya was so great that the name came to be regarded as a title and it was assumed by many Kshatriya kings who lived subsequently. Of these the kings of the Gupta dynasty (of the 4th century A. C.) and of the Chola and Chālukya dynasties were very famous. So we conclude the observations with a fervent hope that more evidence in the form of inscriptions and coins will be discovered at no distant date to support the view propounded here.

The hope thus expressed is not without some foundation. A tradition is recorded in the 32 *Anecdotes* that King Jaitrapālāditya, a successor of Vikramāditya, left Ujjain and founded another capital on the advice of his ministers. It would seem that such a change in the venue of the capital was deemed necessary in the case of an attack by enemies so that the sacred city of Ujjain should be left undisturbed as it would no longer be the capital. As a further precaution Jaitrapāla caused the royal throne of gold and other records and precious articles to be buried in a secret place and since then no records or any thing which might be regarded as a souvenir of the days of Vikramāditya must have been left at Ujjain. This would account for the absence of an inscription of the time of Vikramāditya, but there is no doubt that if excavations are undertaken by H. H. the Maharaja's Government sufficient material would be soon forthcoming to support the inference which has been reasonably reached as above.

II

THE NINE GEMS

Before taking up the sketch of the exploits of Śrī Vikramāditya, the patron of the Nine Gems, we would briefly allude to the probable date of a few of them. Of these Dhanvantari comes first; but he is not the great Achārya of Āyurveda who had already passed away hundreds of years before but some adept physician such as Vāgbhaṭa who was referred to by that honoured name out of respect to the royal physician.

VĀGBHAṬA AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF DHANVANTARI

As to the most famous physician and surgeon of those times the name of Vāgbhaṭa stands out brilliantly conspicuous. From his medical treatise it is evident that his experience and skill were both unequalled. He preceded Varāhamihira who has quoted one of his recipes from Vāgbhaṭa. But Vāgbhaṭa wrote at a time when the whole of Sind had not yet passed under the Scythian yoke. Such a date cannot be fixed later than the 2nd or, at the most, 3rd century after Christ and if for this reason we placed Vāgbhaṭa in the 2nd century after Christ, we might assign to him a period sufficiently near Vikramāditya so that some predecessor of Vāgbhaṭa or some one of his ancestors might in all probability be said to have been the Royal Physician at the court of Vikramāditya the Great.

AMARASIṀHA

Next to Vāgbhaṭa would come Amarasiṁha, the famous author of the *Amarakosha*. There is hardly any doubt that the date of Amarasiṁha would approach very nearly to that of Vikramāditya as the *Amarakosha*, which avowedly was written to contain words which

were current at the time, does actually contain a number of words which are obsolete not only now but must have been so even in the 5th or 6th century A. C. Amarasiṁha may therefore be fairly assigned a date which is nearly the same as that of Kālidāsa. (See Note at the end of Part II.)

KĀLIDĀSA

Naturally therefore our attention should be fixed upon Kālidāsa who by far is the most distinguished of the Nine Gems. So many discussions have been raised regarding his date and so many have been the differences of opinion that at one time it was considered a hopeless task. But fortunately we have been steadily approaching the true date on the strength of logical process.

To begin with, true to tradition, the date of Kālidāsa was placed side by side to that of Vikramāditya. But from thence he was hurled onward to the time of Bhoja Paramāra of the 9th century. But the Aiehole Inscription again made room for him somewhere prior to the 6th century. Then Dr. K. B. Pathak proceeded to fix it in the 5th on a piece of evidence which he considered unshakable. The bedrock of his argument was as stated before the invasion of the Hūṇas and the supposed reference in the *Meghadūta* to an individual by name Diṅnāga. But Dr. Pathak's arguments can be quickly dealt with and disposed of by the test of evidence more searching and natural.

DR. K. B. PATHAK'S ARGUMENTS

It was, however, easily to be seen that Dr. Pathak's belief as to the date of the first invasion of India by the Hūṇas was unfounded; and this has been brought to the notice of thoughtful readers by adducing the affirmations

of historians of equal authority which go to prove that the first invasion of India by the Hūṇas took place within historic memory at the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the first century B. C., as stated in Part I of this discourse, and it is this invasion in the 1st century B. C. that Kālidāsa must have noticed in his *Raghuvaṁśa.*

Now there remains another point as to the date of Diṅnāga. Some authorities have doubted the authenticity of the verse in the text; but, granting that the text is genuine, it may be pointed out that the dates assigned to Diṅnāga range from the 1st century to the 5th century A. C. On the supposition or owing to misinterpretation of the word 'Diṅnāga' as referring to a real individual a storm has broken out in the path of inquirers. Kālidāsa appears to have used the word 'Diṅnāga', by chance, quite naturally but commentators saw in that word an allusion to some fancied adversary named Diṅnāga. But there is no earthly reason why Diṅnāga should be regarded as a rival of Kālidāsa. Diṅnāga was not at all a poet, neither has Kālidāsa been known as a philosopher. So the whole tradition as to the rivalry between Diṅnāga and Kālidāsa is a pure invention or the flight of imagination of the restive brain of a commentator of the middle ages; and I have no hesitation in saying that if Kālidāsa had wished to castigate Diṅnāga for his audacity he would never have had recourse to such a furtive and cowardly artifice. He would have thrashed his opponent openly and unsparingly. We must therefore regard the suppositious reference to Diṅnāga as a pure figment to be brushed aside unceremoniously and must look elsewhere for some other trustworthy clue which would lead us to the probable date of Kālidāsa.

(1) In order to determine the approximate date, it is necessary to rely on evidence which is definite, clear and certain. Reference to some person named Diṅnāga is most suspicious. But, on the contrary, reference to King Udayana of Kauśāmbi and to King Pradyota of Ujjain is clear and undeniable and there is no rational ground to regard the verses as interpolations. Well then it should not be said that this reference by name may at the most show that Kālidāsa lived after the time of Udayana; but *after how many years* will still be left undetermined. This difficulty, however, does not arise in the case before us. For, the reference to Pradyota and Udayana *is of such a nature* that Kālidāsa regards them as nearly his contemporaries. He refers to the old folk of the town who had actually witnessed the tumult when Vāsavadattā was carried off by Udayana or when the state elephant named Nalagiri which, becoming furious and breaking to pieces the posts and snapping its tying ropes, ran amuck in the streets, thus creating the utmost row and confusion before it was brought under control. These events happened within living memory of Kālidāsa.

(2) Next there occurs the mention of the helical rising of the star Agastya (Canopus) alluded to in Canto IV of the *Raghuvaṁśa* which occurred at the time just about the beginning of the Śarad season. Now it takes place in the middle of the rainy season; but at the time of Kālidāsa it took place, as stated just now, in the beginning of September.

(3) Then in the *Meghadūta* there is a clear statement that on the 1st day of Āshāḍha (आषाढस्य प्रथमदिवसे) the Nabho-māsa or the month which begins with the summer solstice was प्रत्यासन्न or just about to commence. It is quite well-known that at the time of the *Vedāṅga-*

Jyotisha (*i. e.*, about 1300 years B. C.) the summer solstice occurred in the beginning of Śrāvaṇa when the year had been balanced by the intercalary month. In due course the solstice must have receded about three weeks in the interval. At present the summer solstice occurs about the 7th tithi of the bright half of Jyeshṭha. So from the 8th to the 1st tithi of Ashāḍha there intervene 23 days in the least. Thus from the time of Kālidāsa to the present day the precession of the solstice has been to the extent of 23 or 24 days and the interval therefore amounts to 1700 years and the date of Kālidāsa can on no account be placed later than 250 A. C. It may be pushed back by even two centuries if the Nabhō-māsa is held to have occurred on the 4th or 5th of Ashāḍha Śuddha.

(4) Now we come to a quite different point suggested by a great Sanskrit scholar. In the *Sākuntala*, Act VI, a famous banker is found to have been drowned at sea and the home minister reports that although his wife was alive all his property was to be escheated to the treasury. From this it has been inferred that the right of the widow to inherit was not recognised at the time of Kālidāsa. So he must have lived at such a period at which the principle enunciated by Yājñavalkya had not yet been generally adopted.

(5) Yet there remains another argument still more convincing and appropriate as to the real date of Kālidāsa. It has been established definitely that a Buddhist poet Aśvaghosha, the author of the poem named *Buddhacharita*, lived in the first century A. C. From the poem *Buddhacharita* it is most obvious that Aśvaghosha not only imitated the style and metres used by Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa* but has borrowed the similes, metaphors and diction also too freely and unhesitatingly.

But with all this borrowing Aśvaghosha did not succeed in making his production equal in poetical merit to that of Kālidāsa, and the superiority of Kālidāsa stands unrivalled. Now let us see who is the borrower; and by applying the test of commonsense and *the course of special experience* it is found that a poet of superior merit never borrows the diction and similes of an inferior poet, for poetical genius spurns at it. This makes us sure that it was Kālidāsa who must have preceded Aśvaghosha and must have lived at the time of Vikramāditya or just after the time of Udayana.

No logical arguer can think of allowing all these most cogent arguments to override one single imaginary or suspicious reference and hardly any objection stands in the way of the inference that Kālidāsa, the celebrated poet of India, lived at some time from the 1st century B. C. to the beginning of the 2nd century A. C. and may very probably have graced the Imperial Court of Ujjain where Bhāsa also may have been patronised as he had already produced his most beautiful play, *viz.*, the *Svapnavāsavadatta.*[1]

III

VIKRAMĀDITYA THE GREAT CONQUEROR AND EMPEROR

The first great conqueror of the Hūṇas, Scythians and other foreign invaders was King Vikramāditya of

1. In the Preface to his edition of the *Amarakosha* the late Syt. Krishnashastri Oke has noticed a point which I have no objection to accept. He states that Amarasiṁha lived at some period prior to Chandragomin and Īśvarakṛishṇa and cannot therefore be placed later than the 4th century A. C.

Now as to Kālidāsa, it is seen that almost every scholar has attempted to disprove or explain away the inferences of his predecessors. But the views set forth in the present discourse have something new to state, and are such as can hardly be disputed by any argument not based on imagination.

Ujjain. His reign forms the Augustan Age of the classical Sanskrit Literature ; for tradition and authentic history alike have ascribed the highest efforts of the Indian intellect to the poets, scientists and philosophers at his court. This leaves hardly any doubt that poets like Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, illustrious physicians like Vāgbhaṭa, renowned astronomers like Garga who lived in the 1st century B. C. and who thus was the prototype of Varāhamihira, and unrivalled lexicographers like Amarasiṁha formed the ornaments of his Imperial Court.

A short sketch of the life and exploits of Vikramāditya is to be found in the last book of the *Bṛihatkathā.* This is an ancient book of anecdotes and traditional legends written by Guṇāḍhya in the 1st century A. C. The life-sketch is replete with romantic adventures and astounding exploits of the king, and are reminiscent of the Arab Caliph Harun Alrashid. The life opens with a brief narrative of the political condition of India at the time and of the beliefs and superstitions of all classes of the people. It is said that powerful hordes of the Mlechchhas (presumably the Hūṇas, Scythians and Graeco-Bactrians) were thrusting themselves on India both from the north-west, west and also by the sea route ravaging and pillaging the country; and it would seem that they had occupied the western part of the Punjab. The writer of the *Bṛihatkathā* then movingly observes that for the purpose of defeating them a God-like son was born to Mahendrāditya, the king of Ujjain, and his queen-consort Saumyadarśanā. He was named Vikramāditya and he grew up to be a strong, healthy, courageous and intelligent prince with very fine and manly features. The young prince was trained in all the arts and sciences then known and when he came of age and displayed his keen judgement and

courage he was crowned king by his father Mahendrāditya who then along with the queen led his remaining years in retirement.

The narrative then states that Vikramāditya led his army from victory to victory. He compelled the kings of the surrounding countries including Aṅga, Utkala, Madhya, Saurāshṭra, the Northern India and Cashmere to submit to his paramountcy. It was in these western and north-western campaigns of his that he inflicted several crushing defeats on the Hūṇas and the Scythians alike and drove them far off beyond the Indus. They suffered defeat on every side and from these signal successes against the Mlechchhas he gained the title of *"Vanquisher of the Mlechchhas"* by which he was readily recognised. His rule was proverbially just and humane. His taxes were light, and the poor and the distressed were not only protected but cared for. His intelligence department was very clever and efficient. Vikramāditya had sent his commander-in-chief to conquer the Deccan also. He, too, won his laurels and the Mlechchhas who had landed in India and established themselves in Lower Sindh and in Western Saurāshṭra were battered and scattered. The troublesome foreign element being thus eliminated, the general found no difficulty in securing the allegiance of the princes in the Deccan; and when the pacification of the Deccan was complete, he decided to return to Ujjain in order to submit the account of his campaign personally to Vikramāditya.

The king of Ceylon on hearing the fame and victorious career of Vikramāditya and the successes of his general sent word to the general that the king of Ceylon wished to give his own young and charming daughter in marriage to Vikramāditya. Her name was Madana-

lekhā, and the match was approved. On hearing of the approval the Ceylonese king sent his daughter who was escorted by her brother and a small army to the camp of the commander-in-chief. But at the same time some of the malcontents among the defeated princes were instigated by the Hūṇa emissaries who promised help and a conspiracy was hatched to suddenly attack the army of the commander-in-chief and to carry away by force the bride-elect of the king. The promised help of the Hūṇas arrived secretly, but the plot was detected and when the conspirators delivered their attack they found the Ujjain army not only ready to meet the attack but to signally avenge the wrong. It is stated that the detection of the plot was due to the magical powers of a pretty young female Yaksha whom Vikramāditya had formerly saved from dishonour. The attack was hurled back with great slaughter and the conspirators were either slain or taken prisoner and duly punished.

The general then arrived near Ujjain when King Vikramāditya ordered suitable preparations for his reception. The general was fittingly received at a grand Darbar and all the allied princes were one by one introduced to the king by the general. Among these appear names of Śaktikumāra the king of Gauḍa, Jayadhvaja the king of Karṇāṭaka, Vijayavarman the king of Lāṭa, Gopāla the king of Sindh, and Sunandana the king of Cashmere. There was also a Persian or Pallava king by name Nirmūka who was likewise presented to Vikramāditya.

It needs hardly to be said that the wedding of Vikramāditya with the most lovely daughter of the king of Ceylon was celebrated with great pomp and eclat; but the narrator further states that the young female Yaksha

who was saved by the king gave him two other Yaksha damsels also in marriage on the same occasion.

A number of stories have been told of the perils encountered by Vikramāditya because he regarded as his life's only goal the protection of the chastity of women with scrupulous care from the terror of scoundrels and of magicians, witches and goblins; for in their supra human and inhuman powers a belief was exceptionally strong and widespread. He punished all such criminals with severity. He dealt out justice promptly, rightly and impartially. But all such successes of the king were attributed to his being himself in possession of magical powers which he used always in the interest of justice and the prosperity of his people. Hence his reign was the 10th wonder of those days and the Mālava people celebrated his regime and his conquest of the Hūṇas by introducing a new era before his reign had come to a close. This leaves therefore hardly any doubt that Vikramāditya flourished long before 57 B. C. and the era marks the most auspicious occasion of his closing years.

It is stated that Vikramāditya had a brother by name Bhartṛihari who reigned during the absence of Vikramāditya while he was away to conquer the Hūṇas. But he soon abdicated and during the interregnum the people of Malwa declared a republic. But when King Vikramāditya returned he took up the reins and sent for Bhartṛihari to return, but the latter declined the invitation with obeisance and led the life of a recluse in a cave near Ujjain.

According to one account Vikramāditya was succeeded by Jaitrapālāditya. He had an encounter with the king of Pratishṭhāna or Paiṭhan but peace was

soon made and Jaitrapāla was recognised as the paramount ruler of Northern India.

The pertinent passages from the *Kathāsaritsāgara* may be cited here :—

गतेषु देवेषु चाहूय माल्यवत्संज्ञकं गणम् ।
सपार्वतीको भगवान् एवमादिशति स्म सः ॥

पुत्रावतर मानुष्ये जायस्व च मेहत्पुरि ।
उज्जयिन्यां सुतः शूरो महेन्द्रादित्यभूपतेः ॥

म्लेच्छान् व्यापादयाशेषान् त्रयीधर्मविघातिनः ॥

देवोऽपि महेन्द्रादित्यं तं नृपं स्वप्ने समादिशत् ।
वीरः करिष्यति वशे म्लेच्छसङ्घान् हनिष्यति ॥

.. ..

सकाश्मीरा च कौबेरी काष्ठा च करदीकृता ।
म्लेच्छसङ्घाश्च निहताः शेषाश्च स्थापिता वशे ॥

—Lambaka 18, Taraṅga 1.

क्षणात् चादर्शि सम्लेच्छं प्रतिराजबलं महत् ।
उत्सादितेषु म्लेच्छेषु सर्वभूमीश्वर त्वया ॥

—Taraṅga 2.

जय निजतेजःसाधितभूतगण म्लेच्छविपिनदावाग्ने ।
जय देव सप्तसागरसीममहीमानिनीनाथ ॥

—Taraṅga 3.

VIKRAMA'S CHARACTER, HIS COURAGE AND JUDGEMENT

Many anecdotes are related as to how the decisions of Vikramāditya on the knotty points of moral precepts, customary law and tradition were surprisingly clear, definite, prompt and impartial. An occasion for such a decision has been thus described. The story need not be regarded as true, but the moral or purport only is to be accepted.

It is well known that in those days belief in the powers of black magic and witchcraft was deep rooted among all sorts of the people. Such superhuman and diabolical powers were called *Siddhis* for the acquisition of which the slaughter of a human victim was the final rite. This victim, if a male, must be strong, fine-looking and healthy; and if a female, she must be young and beautiful. A brutal rascal who posed himself as a Buddhistic monk and who was desirous of obtaining such a Siddhi to gain his infamous ends had marked King Vikramāditya as his most suitable victim and used the following stratagem to gain the king's confidence.

The impostor used to visit the king daily and offered him a fruit in which a gem of great value was concealed. The king knew nothing about it and as soon as he received the fruit he handed it on to one of his ministers who in turn placed it in a chest. A number of gems was thus collected when accidentally it was discovered that each of those fruits contained a jewel. The king was surprised at the find and inquired of the monk the reason why he had offered such a large number of gems for nothing. The impostor replied that he was desirous of acquiring the paramount Siddhi and therefore humbly requested the assistance of the king who suspecting no ill intent acceded to the request.

The king then accompanied the monk single-handed and alone to a secluded place in the cemetery where the monk was to mutter his *mantra* in secret. The king was to fetch for the monk a human corpse which was hanging headlong from the branch of a tree and here the courage of the king was put to the test, because the most terrific of all the goblins called the Vetāla had found entrance in the corpse which then grinned, laughed and began to howl and terrify the king. The

king in turn dealt a blow and brought the Vetāla round to a normal frame of mind. The Vetāla was pleased at the strength and courage of the king and began to talk in a friendly manner. He said that there was good reason that the king should wait a little and listen to a story which the Vetāla thus narrated :

THE LOYAL AND FAITHFUL VĪRAVARA

"A certain Brāhmaṇa', said the Vetāla, "had adopted the profession of a soldier. He went to a king whose name was Śūdraka and begged to be admitted into the king's personal service. The name of the Brāhmaṇa soldier was Vīravara and he was armed with only two weapons, a dagger and a sword, and also carried a shield. The capital of the king was called Śobhāvatī and Vīravara was directed to guard the entrance of the king's palace throughout the night and a greater part of the day. The family of Vīravara consisted of his wife, a young son and a daughter, *i. e.*, only three family members, but the pay he demanded was 500 dīnāras per day which was readily granted. Vīravara thus utilized the pay. He handed one hundred dīnāras to his wife for household expenses; spent one hundred on his personal luxury, one hundred more towards the worship of Vishṇu and Śaṅkara, and spent the remaining two hundred in charity. The king employed some spies to see if Vīravara performed his duties diligently, honestly and fearlessly; and himself remaining unseen used to watch Vīravara's activities from the palace tower, but always found that Vīravara remained watchful through the night and also in day-time during the appointed hours.

One night while the king was standing on a lofty palace tower he heard the loud lamentations of some

woman as if she was at a distance. Vīravara was already there at the gate and the king told him to find who the woman was and the cause of her grief. The night was pitch dark but Vīravara set out at once and was followed by the king who remained concealed at a distance to watch Vīravara while he was discharging his duty. On reaching the spot Vīravara found that the lady who was weeping aloud was standing in a pond outside the town and the reason of her grief was that as she was the deity of the kingdom she knew that the king was to die suddenly on the third day. Vīravara as a dutiful servant naturally asked her if there was a remedy to stave off the disaster and was told that if he (Vīravara) offered his only son of his own free will as a victim to the Goddess the disaster would be averted. Vīravara joyously returned home and told his wife how the king's death could be warded off. The faithful wife readily consented and, to the utter surprise of the King Śūdraka and Vīravara himself, even the young boy offered himself to be slain as a victim. Vīravara then lost no time in slaying his own son; but the scene was too horrid for the sister of the boy and she fainted and died at once from unbearable grief. The wife of Vīravara, too, killed herself then and there as she found no reason to be alive, and Vīravara also being assured that the king's life was free from all danger in future bethought himself that there was no longer any reason for his continued service and threw himself into the fire and was dead in the service of his master and king. Then the king who had witnessed the catastrophe was so deeply moved by the fidelity of his Brāhmaṇa bodyguard that he felt the futility of his remaining alive, if such extremely faithful and loyal servants were to be lost. So he offered his life to the Goddess who being

exceedingly pleased restored Vīravara and his family to life and gave back to the king his most dutiful servant."

Then the goblin (Vetāla) asked Vikramāditya as to whose self-sacrifice, whether that of Vīravara or of his son of tender age or of Vīravara's wife or of the king himself, was more to be praised. Vikramāditya answered that although there was no doubt that the sacrifice of Vīravara and of his wife and young son was entirely praise-worthy their sacrifice was in a way called on by their duty and that of Vīravara also because he had sworn to serve the king loyally and faithfully. The self-sacrifice of his son and the son's mother followed as a matter of course because of their implicit obedience to Vīravara. But the king's offer to sacrifice his life for the sake of his servant was prompted only by his highest sense of justice and compassion. The attempt of the king to sacrifice himself which was not carried out only because of the intervention of the Goddess was therefore beyond all praise and deserved to be commended by all. Such was the prompt answer given by Vikramāditya to the Vetāla.

Vetāla then swore that the supposed monk was a thorough scoundrel and wanted to murder Vikramāditya to gain his despicable ends and he therefore deserved a short shrift. Vikramāditya thereupon repaired to the monk with the corpse. The impostor in a fit of joy unwittingly disclosed his intention when Vikramāditya overpowered the scoundrel and killed him on the spot.

VIKRAMA'S COURAGE AND EXTRA-ORDINARY GENEROSITY

Once upon a time Vikramāditya learnt from a messenger that the reservoir of water-supply of a very large town in Cashmere was running dry and the city was

threatened with depopulation, so much so that it came to be called a waterless city. In view of a general disaster one of the greatest bankers of the city spent lacs of (silver) rupees, enlarged and deepened the reservoir so that the supply again became abundant and the surrounding lands were irrigated, and crops, groves and gardens thrived nicely. Some years after, however, it was noticed that the supply was again falling short and popular superstition ascribed the shortage to the wrath of the water-deity to propitiate whom a manly, young, healthy and courageous male was to be offered as a victim. But everybody thought that it was impossible to get such a victim who would offer his life of his own *free will.*

The banker prepared a large gold statue and announced that if any man described as above offered his life the gold statue and over and above a very large sum of money would be given to the person or persons whom the victim would name as his successors. On hearing of such a general disaster Vikramāditya was so much moved that he went to the waterless town, saw the banker and volunteered to offer his own life. The banker was astonished beyond measure at the offer and at the stout manly stature of Vikrama; but there was no way left out of the difficulty, and the offer was accepted.

All the people of the town accompanied Vikramāditya to the reservoir where he offered devotional prayers to the Deity and humbly begged to be appeased by the sacrifice he was going to offer. Suddenly Vikramāditya stabbed himself and the people were struck with horror; but their joy knew no bounds when, it is stated, the Deity appeared in human form and restored Vikramāditya to life and blessed him for his unique self-sacrifice.

The statue was placed in the town and immense money was spent in charity. The king of Cashmere with all the citizens expressed his utmost gratitude and highly praised the courage and generosity of Vikramāditya.

Such was Vikramāditya the true Defender of Faith and Honour of the Hindus that poet Subandhu has thus feelingly written about him:—

सा रसवत्ता निहता नवका विलसन्ति चरति नो कं कः ।
सरसीव कीर्तिशेषं गतवति भुवि विक्रमादित्ये ॥

THE SAYINGS OF VIKRAMĀDITYA

It appears to be the invariable practice of great men to hand to posterity a number of ethical truths for being put into practice in everyday life. Śrīkṛishṇa and Bhīshma have laid down their ethical dicta. Buddha has left behind the Jātaka Tales. So King Vikramāditya also has thus set forth his ethical precepts:—

No one should pretend to be disgusted with worldly life. Such a disgust is nothing but fraud, for, disgust with worldly affairs ought to be the natural outcome of a contemplative life spent in the service of sufferers. Express your anger only against a deliberate offence. Never forsake your wife except for an unpardonable crime. Never disclose your secret except to a long tried friend. Do not be anxious at all if someone prophesies a calamity for you (but try to be ready to meet it). Do not think that your prosperous days will continue for ever. Never tell any truth about your own affairs to a thief or rascal. Do not adopt mean or dishonest artifices even if they should bring advantage to you or even if you are threatened with suffering. Act in such a way that good

people will never blame you. Do not come in the way of another who is to get an advantage in the ordinary course. Do not indulge in practical jokes. Accept the decision of the majority (if it does not involve the lowering of your moral standard). Do not be jealous of the prosperity of others. Do not speak in such a way as would hit another to the quick. Do not tell others (in season and out of season) that you are always in difficulty. Give in charity and by way of alms as much as you can (without famishing your family). Live by your own industry and exertions. Never rest satisfied with what you have learnt. Live within your income. Indulge not in luxurious habits. Kill inordinate ambition. Conquer lust. Control anger. Kick at jealousy. Stifle arrogance. Forget not that you have to die one day. Give up not courage. Admit your error. Fear God and leave a good name behind.

(—Adapted from 32 *Anecdotes.*)

Is it necessary to add that the whole life of Vikramāditya was the best example of his own precepts ?

UJJAIN

Ujjain is a city in the territory of H. H. the Maharaja Scindia, Alijah Bahadur, and the headquarters of the Malwa Division. It is situated on the banks of the river Śiprā. In ancient times, more than 2000 years ago, it was an Imperial City, the Capital of India, but more honoured because it has been one of the sacred places of pilgrimage and the spot which marked the first meridian of the astronomers of Bhārata. Towards the close of the 18th century it was taken by the Scindias in whose state it has remained ever since. Near the southern part

of the city is the Observatory erected by Maharaja Sewai Jaisingh of Jaipur. The palace of the Maharaja Scindia is about two miles from the railway station.

Ujjain was the capital of Vikramāditya, the first Emperor of classical India, and has been graphically described by Kālidāsa, the poet laureate of Vikramāditya.

In the first half of the 7th century Ujjain was visited by Hiuen-Tsiang who speaks about it in glowing terms. "Of the kingdoms of India", says he, "there are two where the study of literature is highly esteemed—Malwa in the South-West and Magadha in the North-East. There are hundreds of Vihāras and there are also as many temples." The capital in his time was Dhārā on the river Māhī.

UJJAIN AS DESCRIBED BY KĀLIDĀSA UNDER THE PRETEXT OF ADDRESSING A CLOUD

"Certainly you have to proceed to the North, but you do take a course which, though circuitous, you should nevertheless follow; for, you ought not to miss the pleasure of the sight of the high terraces of Ujjain where if you do not feel charmed by the tremulous glances of the young damsels startled at the flashes of your lightning, surely (it must be said that) you have been deceived by your eyes.

"Thus when you reach the country of Avanti, you will hear the old people there fully acquainted with all details, talking eagerly of some story about (the exploits of) King Udayana. You will then approach your destination the Capital called Ujjayinī vastly extensive as its another name Viśālā rightly implies; and it looks as if some denizens of heaven have descended

down because the fruit of their good deeds had worn out and, with the meagre merit yet left to them, have built the city as if it was a brilliant piece cut off from heaven.

"Where the breeze blowing from the river Śiprā prolongs by re-echoes the sweet notes of the Sārasa birds maddened by love; where the air made fragrant by contact with full-blown lotuses spreads the scent all round every morning when the touch of air so agreeable to the body takes away the fatigue of lovely women wearied by amorous sports; so that to them the wind appears as a lover courting them with words of love.

"Here it was (as the story goes round) that the king of Vatsa carried off the most affectionate daughter of King Pradyota (of Ujjayinī). Here, too, stood the palm tree grove glistening like gold in the sun : where Nalagiri, the elephant of that very king, fierce with madness, uprooted the posts, broke the ropes and ran about furiously before it could be secured; thus with stories such as these the people who knew all these things regale their guests coming on a visit to them.

"There you will see thousands of pearl necklaces with pendants of gems strung in the middle, crores of pearl oysters and dark green emeralds and other jewelry emitting sprout-like rays. On viewing immense piles of gems such as these stored up in show cases, as also heaps of coral pieces, it appears as if the oceans vast though they are have left in them nothing but water.

"With your body growing more bulky by the fumes of incense used (by ladies) to perfume the hair, and receiving a treat of dance offered by the house-peacocks as if through affection, you may, when getting tired during your journey, dispel your fatigue by

resting on the high terraces in the town scented with flowers and marked red by the foot-prints of handsome young ladies.

"Looked on with reverence by the attendants ot Śiva because of the dark blue colour resembling the neck of their Lord, you will proceed to the holy temple of Mahākāla, the ruler of the universe, where trees in the temple part wave to and fro with each gust of wind sweet-scented as it is by the dust of the water-lilies of the Gandhavatī brook where charming young girls fervidly take their bath lading the wind with strong spicy odours.

"Where the girdles of the dancing girls produce a gingling sound marking the tune of each foot-step; and where as they hold gracefully in their hands and wave attractively the chowries decked with handles studded with gems; and when they get wearied and receive from you the first rain drops which yield the pleasure of the touch of the lover's hand, they will certainly cast at you their fascinating glances reflecting the lustre of collyrium black as a bee."

UJJAYINĪ IN THE PURĀṆAS

By

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The preponderance of literary and oral tradition in Brāhmaṇical and Jain sources clearly postulates the existence of King Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī who expelled the Śakas and founded his own era which started from 57 B. C., though historical and epigraphical material is indeed very meagre as to the personality and particulars of the reign of King Vikramāditya. Many European and Indian scholars and historians have hitherto denied existence of a king Vikramāditya at Ujjayinī in the first century B.C. At present, however, opinion seems to be veering round the acceptance of the king as a historical personality, and the theory is supported by eminent scholars and Sanskritists like Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya,[1] Dr. Charpentier,[2] Dr. Edgerton,[3] Dr. Konow,[4] Dr. Rapson[5] and others. It is but fitting that the bimillennial celebrations of the founder of the Saṁvat Era falling in 1943 A. C. should be a great national event.

1. *Date of Kālidāsa* (*All. Univ. Studies*, II), Pp. 144 ff.
2. *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, P. 168.
3. *Vikrama's Adventures*, HOS, No. 26, Pp. lviii ff.
4. *Corpus Insc. Ind.*, II, 1, Pp. xxvii ff.
5. *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, Pp. 532 f.

Though used in ancient times to designate both the province and its capital, Avanti latterly came to be associated with the province, and the capital was more accurately known as Ujjayinī. Avanti was an ancient division of India and roughly corresponded to modern Malwa, Nimar and the adjoining parts of the Central Provinces.[1] It was divided into two parts, the Northern, having its capital at Ujjayinī, and the Southern, with its capital at Māhissatī or Māhishmatī which is usually identified with Māndhātā on the Narmadā. Some scholars, however, propose different identifications for Māhishmatī.[2] The foundation of Avanti, Māhishmatī and Vidarbha has been attributed by the Purāṇas to the scions of the Yadu family. There is no mention of Avanti or Ujjayinī in the Vedic literature. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* refers to Avantī Devī whom Sāyaṇa calls Vāgdevī.[3] In the *Baudhāyana-Dharma-Sūtra*, we get the first reference to Avanti, where the people of the country are said to be outside the Āryan fold along with the inhabitants of Magadha and Sindhu-Sauvīra,[4] as they were of mixed origin. The reason seems to be that they were on the border-lands of old Āryāvarta. The taint, however, softened down later on. Pāṇini also refers to Avanti,[5] and Ujjayinī is recited in the Gaṇas.[6] The *Mahābhārata* speaks of Avanti as being ruled by Vinda and Anuvinda who sided with the Kauravas in the great Bhārata War. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*

1. Cf. my *Bhāsa—A Study*, Pp. 324-5, and the references there.
2. Raychaudhury, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 3rd Ed., P. 102; Munshi, *Bh. Vidyā*, I, P. 81.
3. *Taitt. Br.*, II. 8.8; Sāyaṇabhāshya:

   सा वाग्देवी जुषाणा प्रीतियुक्ता सती नोऽस्मदीयं यज्ञमुपागात् प्राप्नोतु।
   सा च देव्यवन्ती अस्मान् रक्षन्ती..... ।
4. *Baudhāyana-Dharma-Sūtra*, I. 1. 2. 13.
5. Pāṇini, IV. 1. 176.
6. Pāṇini, IV. 2. 82 (Gaṇapāṭha).

we find but a passing reference to Avanti. At the time of Buddha, Avanti was one of the four principal *mahājanapadas*, the other three being Magadha, Kośala and Vatsa. King Chaṇḍa Pradyota of Avanti, Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru of Magadha, Pasenadī and his son Viḍūḍabha of Kośala and Udayana of Vatsa were contemporaries of Buddha. Avanti was from the first an important centre of Buddhism, and several of Buddhist religious preachers came from Ujjayinī.[1] There are also references to Ujjayinī in Jain works showing that it played an important part in the propagation of that faith, and Samprati, a grandson of Aśoka, probably reigned in Ujjayinī and was a strong supporter of Jainism.[2] Vātsyāyana separately enumerates ladies of Mālava and Avanti, probably because they were independent at the time, the former being Pūrva Mālava or Ākara with its capital at Vidiśā, and the latter, Apara Mālava with its capital at Ujjayinī.[3] Curiously enough, the region of Avanti has escaped the purview of Alexander and his historians.[4] Called Avanti at least till the end of the second century A. C., the country came to be known as Mālava since the 7th or 8th century A. C.

Ujjayinī on the river Śiprā in the Gwalior State is even now known by the same name.[5] It is said to have been founded by some branch of the Yādavas. The old city had an extent of two miles and seems to have existed at a distance of two miles to the south from the present site of the city, as there are found pillars and remains of old structures embedded underground. The

1. Cf. *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, P. 185.
2. *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, Pp. 166-7.
3. Chakladar, *Social Life in Anc. Ind.*, P. 85.
4. Cf. *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, P. 469.
5. Cf. *Bhāsa—A Study*, Pp. 340-1, and the references there.

old city was submerged in pre-historic times probably by the floods of the river Śiprā or by some earthquake, and the spade of the archaeologist is sure to strike on valuable treasures throwing unexpected light on ancient Hindu history and culture.[1] Ujjayinī is the Indian Greenwich, the first meridian of Indian astronomers. It is said that there was a well at Ujjayinī in which the sun was reflected vertically upwards at a certain moment.[2] Bhāsa, the first Sanskrit dramatist, refers to the observatory at Ujjayinī where records were taken of the rise of the sun, etc.[3] The old golden temple of Mahākāleśvara, the principal Deity of the city, was to the north in the Mahākāla forest; it was destroyed by the Muslims in the 13th century, and the present temple has been rebuilt on the old site later on.[4] Ozênê is referred to by Periplus and Ptolemy, and the latter mentions it as the capital of Chashṭana.[5]

Avanti or Ujjayinī occupies a premier place in the Purāṇas which state that it is a very ancient city which has survived through the ages. The *Skanda-Purāṇa* has a whole seetion called *Avanti-khaṇḍa* which deals exhaustively and in all detail with the Kshetra-māhātmya. It mentions eight different names of the city with reasons that led to the ascription of the particular name. Thus, it is called Avanti (from √av, to protect) because, at the end of each *kalpa,* it preserves in germinal forms the deities, sacred places and herbs as

1. Cf. *Gwalior State Gazetteer*, 1908, P. 298.
2. Dr. Annie Besant, quoted in Oke's *Vikramāchyā Ujjayinīnt* ("In Vikrama's Ujjayinī" in Marathi), P. 86.
3. *Bhāsa—A Study,* P. 434; cf. *Svapnavāsavadatta*, P. 81 (Bhide's Ed.). The reading generally accepted is '*udakasnānāni*', referring to the celebrated baths at Ujjayinī.
4. Cf. *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, Pp. 531-2.
5. Majumdar Sastri, *Cunningham's Geography of Anc. Ind*, P. 726; *Periplus*, Schoff's Ed., P. 42; *Ptolemy*, P. 152.

also the sentient beings.[1] On account of the golden tops on the massive mansions of this city it is known as Kanakaśriṅgā.[2] Because of the *kuśa* grass spread here by Brahmā for performing a sacrifice, it is called Kuśasthalī.[3] As the demon was defeated (*ujjita*) at this place by Śaṅkara, Avanti was named Ujjayinī, the destroyer of sins.[4] It is called Padmāvatī because it is the residence of Padmā (Lakshmī, the consort of Vishṇu).[5] Various lakes which are always full of blooming lotuses of different types give the city its name Kumudvatī.[6] The collection of gods and of beautiful women like divine damsels make the city a veritable Amarāvatī.[7]

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1. *Skanda-Purāṇa*, V. 43.41-42:
   देवतीर्थौषधीबीजं भूतानां चैव पालनम् ।
   कल्पे कल्पे च यस्यां वै तेनावन्ती पुरी स्मृता ॥
2. *Skanda-P.*, V. 40. 31:
   भवद्भ्यां हेमशृङ्गेति यस्माच्च समुदीरिता ।
   पुरी कनकशृङ्गेति लोके ख्याता भविष्यति ॥
3. *Skanda-P.*, V. 41.32:
   एवं कुशस्थली ख्याता हेमशृङ्गेति या पुरा ।
   स्तीर्णा कुशैर्यतो धात्रा कुशस्थली ततः स्मृता ॥
4. *Skanda-P.*, V. 43. 53-4:
   उज्जितो दानवो यस्मात्त्रैलोक्ये स्थापितं यशः ।
   तस्मात्सर्वैः सुरश्रेष्ठैर्ऋषिभिः सनकादिभिः ॥
   कृतं नाम ह्यवन्त्या वा उज्जयिनी पापनाशिनी ॥
5. *Skanda-P.*, V. 44. 33-4:
   पद्मायाश्च निवासेन यस्मात्सर्वसुखावहा ॥
   तस्मात्सर्वेषु कालेषु पद्मा वसतु निश्चला ।
   अद्यप्रभृति पूरेषा पद्मावतीति च स्मृता ॥
6. *Skanda-P.*, V. 45. 29-30:
   नद्यः सरांसि सर्वाणि वापीकूपसुपल्वलाः ।
   कुमुद्वत्या समाकीर्णा आसीच्चान्द्रमसी मही ॥
   यस्मात्सर्वेषु कालेषु प्रफुल्ला च कुमुद्वती ।
   तस्मात्पद्मावती ह्येषा जाता कुमुद्वती पुरी ॥
7. *Skanda-P.*, V. 46. 22:
   अमराणां कटकं ह्यत्र तस्माज्जातामरावती ॥

The vast expanse of the city renders its name Viśālā quite appropriate.[1] According to the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, the city is known as Viśālā through the name of Viśāla, son of Tṛiṇabindu of the Solar dynasty, who founded the city.[2] It is Pratikalpā because it exists or arises at the same place at the beginning of each subsequent *kalpa*.[3] The *Bṛihannāradīya-Purāṇa* refers to all these names stating that the city has been in existence since ages.[4]

Avanti or Ujjayinī is one of the seven sacred cities in India that are reputed to grant final beatitude.[5] It may be noted that the cities in the stanza embrace the whole of India. Avanti is regarded as the premier

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1. *Skanda-P.*, V. 47. 39-40:

विशाला बहुविस्तीर्णा पुण्या पुण्यजनाश्रया ।
तस्मात्सर्वेषु कालेषु सर्वलोकेषु गीयते ॥
विशालेति समाख्याता पुरी रम्या सनातनी ।

Cf. also Kālidāsa, *Meghadūta*, 30:

प्राप्यावन्तीनुदयनकथाकोविदग्रामवृद्धान्
पूर्वोद्दिष्टामनुसर पुरीं श्रीविशालां विशालाम् ॥

2. *Bhāgavata-P.*, IX. 2. 33:

विशालः शून्यबन्धुश्च धूमकेतुश्च तत्सुताः ।
विशालो वंशकृद्राजा वैशालीं निर्ममे पुरीम् ॥

3. *Skanda-P.*, V. 48. 42, 48-9:

प्रलयो न बाधते व्यास महाकालवनोत्तमे ।
कल्पे कल्पे च वै रम्या पुरी ह्येषा कुशस्थली ॥
...............पुरी ह्येषाचला स्मृता ।
तस्मात्सर्वेषु कालेषु सर्वलोकेषु गीयते ॥
प्रतिकल्पेति विख्याता भुवि व्यास भविष्यति ॥

4. *Bṛihannāradīya-P.*, II. 78. 35-6:

तथा कनकशृङ्गाह्वा कुशस्थल्यप्यवन्तिका ॥
तथा पद्मावती देवी कुमुद्वत्युज्जयिन्यपि ।
प्रतिकल्पाभिधा भिन्ना विशालाख्यामरावती ॥

5. अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची ह्यवन्तिका ।
पुरी द्वारावती चैव सप्तैता मोक्षदायिका: ॥

among these seven on account of its containing in itself *smaśāna, ukhara, kshetra, pīṭha* and *vana*, which combination is not found anywhere else.[1] Ujjayinī is also an important place of pilgrimage for both the Śaivas and the Vaishṇavas, which is its unique feature.[2] Lord Mahākāleśvara at Ujjayinī is one of the twelve principal Jyotirliṅgas in India, and as such is held in very high veneration by the Śaivas.[3] The places where the Jyotirliṅgas are situated also cover the whole of India indicating thereby that since ancient times there was the conception of the fundamental unity of India among the people. Among the sacred sites at Ujjayinī, even the *Mahābhārata* refers to Mahākāla, Koṭitīrtha, Bhadra-

1. *Skanda-P.*, V. 1. 41-2:

स्मशानमूखरं क्षेत्रं पीठं तु वनमेव च ।
पञ्चैकत्र न लभ्यन्ते महाकालपुरादृते ॥

See also Note 1 on P. 471 below. These have been defined as follows:

Smaśāna: यस्मादिष्टं हि भूतानां स्मशानमतिवल्लभम् । (V. 1. 32*a*).
Ūkhara: मृताः पुनर्न जायन्ते तेनेदमुखरं स्मृतम् । (V. 1. 31*a*).
Kshetra: क्षीयते पातकं यत्र तेनेदं क्षेत्रमुच्यते । (V. 1. 30*a*).
Pīṭha: यस्मात्स्थानं च मातॄणां पीठं तेनैव कथ्यते । (V. 1. 30*b*).
Vana: महाकालवनं यच्च तथा चैवाविमुक्तकम् । (V. 1. 32*b*.).

2. *Brahma-P.*, 41. 65-6, 77:

तत्रास्ते भगवान्देवस्त्रिपुरारिस्त्रिलोचनः ।
महाकालेति विख्यातः सर्वकामप्रदः शिवः ॥
आस्ते तत्रैव भगवान्देवदेवो जनार्दनः ।
गोविन्दस्वामिनामासौ भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदो हरिः ॥

3. Cf. *Śiva-P.*, III. 42. 2-4; IV. 1. 21:

सौराष्ट्रे सोमनाथं च श्रीशैले मल्लिकार्जुनम् ।
उज्जयिन्यां महाकालमोङ्कारे परमेश्वरम् ॥
केदारं हिमवत्पृष्ठे डाकिन्यां भीमशङ्करम् ।
वाराणस्यां च विश्वेशं त्र्यम्बकं गौतमीतटे ॥
वैद्यनाथं चिताभूमौ नागेशं दारुकावने ।
सेतुबन्धे च रामेशं घुश्मेशं च शिवालये ॥

vaṭa,[1] etc. which are glorified in later Māhātmyas. The *Mahābhārata* reference clearly proves that these were sacred sites even in the days of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. Some of the important places of pilgrimage according to the orthodox view will be indicated in brief later on, while dealing with the guardian deities, principal deities, etc. of Ujjayinī. For the Vaishṇava devotees, Aṅkapāda is a sacred shrine linked with the memory of Śrīkṛishṇa and Balarāma in their childhood.[2] After their *upanayana*, they stayed at Ujjayinī as disciples with Sāndīpani and mastered the arts and sciences in a phenomenally short time.

In addition to being a place of pilgrimage for both the Śaivas and the Vaishṇavas, Ujjayinī has, through the ages, been a great centre of learning. After the time of Śrīkṛishṇa, who got instruction in the Vedas and archery (*dhanurvidyā*), we find Ujjayinī maintaining a high standard as a seat of learning. Its special features were astronomy and poetic and dramatic literature. Many of the Siddhānta works in Indian astronomy have been composed at Ujjayinī, and, after contact with Greek astronomy through the Śaka rulers, there was an interchange of some of the principles and the inclusion of *rāśis*, etc. in the Indian works. The celebrated Varāhamihira hailed from Ujjayinī. The *Pañchasiddhāntikā* and the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* originated from this place. There was an old observatory here built

1. *Mahābhārata*, Cr. Ed., III. 80.68-9 (the vulgate refers to स्थाणुतीर्थ):

महाकालं ततो गच्छेन्नियतो नियताशनः ।
कोटितीर्थमुपस्पृश्य हयमेधफलं लभेत् ॥

ततो गच्छेत धर्मज्ञ पुण्यस्थानमुमापतेः ।
नाम्ना भद्रवटं नाम त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम् ॥

2. *Skanda-P.*, V. 27.

under the supervision of Varāhamihira, but it cannot be identified at present. Sewai Jaisingh of Jaipur later erected an observatory here which was repaired some years ago by the late Maharaja Madhavarao Scindia. At the occasion of festivities at the Mahākāla temple and at royal palaces many poets and dramatists presented their works to the assembly of the learned. Further, Ujjayinī has been also an important political centre, being through all these years the capital of successive dynasties of the Pradyotas, Mauryas, Śuṅgas, Mālavas, Śakas, etc. Many important trade-routes passed through Ujjayinī, and ports on the western coast were connected with Pāṭaliputra through Ujjayinī which was also a great trading centre. Combining in it, a *kshetra*, a university town and a capital, Ujjayinī indeed is a great and important city that has played a leading role in the history and culture of India.

According to the Purāṇic view, Ujjayinī is a kshetra, a pīṭha and a tīrtha.[1] It is a *kshetra* because it brings about the destruction of sins, and a *pīṭha* because it is the seat of the *mātṛis*. Numerous sacred shrines of the place make it a *tīrtha*. Taking the whole of India as a big *kshetra*, Avanti is the supreme *tīrtha* therein being at the very centre, with Dvārakā to the west, Badarīkedāra to the north, Purī to the east and Rāmeśvara to the south as the *dvāras*, and Śrīkṛishṇa, Kedāreśvara, Jagannātha and Rāmeśvara as the respective guardian deities. For the local *kshetra*, however, the guardian deities of the different quarters are Piṅgaleśvara to the east, Kāyāvarohaṇeśvara to the south, Bilveśvara to the west and Durdarśeśvara to the north, with Mahākāleśvara as the principal deity (*kshetrādhi-*

1. Definitions already given above, P. 469, Note 1.

pati) at the centre.[1] All these temples are to be found at Ujjayinī even at present.

The Kshetra-māhātmyas deal with various mythological and legendary accounts dealing with the greatness of Śiva who is extolled as conferring every sort of boon on his devotees. For the general reader it will serve no useful purpose to refer to these accounts. The whole of Ujjayinī has been described as a holy and sacred place in the *Avanti-khaṇḍa*, which further states that the entire ground there is full of Śiva-liṅgas and every pond or lake there is a sacred shrine (*tīrtha*).[2] Eighty-four liṅgas, however, have been enumerated (with a separate chapter devoted to each) as the principal Śiva-liṅgas at Ujjayinī, also called Siddha liṅgas and Yoga liṅgas, which rose into prominence during the past eighty-four *kalpas*, and each liṅga is known as Īśvara.[3] There are also six Guhya liṅgas or Guhya

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1. *Skanda-P.*, V. 81. 29-33:

अस्य क्षेत्रस्य रक्षार्थं स्मृतं गणचतुष्टयम् ॥
चत्वार ईश्वरास्तेऽपि स्थापितास्तदनन्तरम् ।
पिङ्गलेशो धनाध्यक्षस्तथा कायावरोहणः ॥
बिल्वेश्वरो गणश्रेष्ठो दुर्दर्शो गणनायकः ।
एते मया नियुक्ता वै समर्थाः क्षेत्ररक्षणे ॥
पूर्वादिक्रमयोगेन त्वत्प्रियार्थं वरानने ।
नियुक्तास्त्वन्मतेनैव पूर्वस्यां दिशि पिङ्गलः ॥
दक्षिणस्यां दिशि तथा प्रिये कायावरोहणः ।
बिल्वेश्वरः प्रतीच्यां तु दुर्दर्शश्चोत्तरे तथा ॥

2. *Skanda-P.*, V. 39.3; also 70. 88. 9:

षष्टिकोटिसहस्राणि षष्टिकोटिशतानि च ।
महाकालवने व्यास लिङ्गसंख्या न विद्यते ॥

3. *Skanda-P.*, V. 48. 46-7:

कल्पभेदाः समाख्याता महाकालवने शुभे ।
चतुराशीतिकल्पानि संजातानि द्विजोत्तम ॥
तावन्ति योगलिङ्गानि वने तिष्ठन्ति सत्तम ॥

sthānas, *viz.*, Śukreśvara, Bhīmeśvara, Gargeśvara, Kāmeśvara, Chūḍāmaṇīśvara and Chaṇḍīśvara;[1] but the Kshetra-māhātmya does not indicate their location nor can these be identified with certainty. Besides these Īśvaras there are eight Bhairavas, eleven Rudras, twelve Adityas, six Vināyakas and twenty-four Mātṛis in the sacred Avanti.[2] The Māhātmya describes these sites giving anecdotes connected with their origin, but it does not specify their location; but most of these have been identified and many pilgrims of the orthodox school visit and worship all these places and perform the rites as prescribed in the Māhātmya. It is indeed likely that several of these sacred places may be comparatively late in origin and glorified by the interested Brāhmaṇas for secular motives, as is the case with other holy sites.

Among the *tīrthas*, the four principal streams are the Śiprā, Nīlagaṅgā, Gandhavatī and Navanadī, of which only the Śiprā is to be seen at present. There are, again, seven sacred lakes (*sāgaras*) and twenty-eight principal *tīrthas*.

Out of the various sacred temples at Ujjayinī, we refer here only to a couple of them, *viz.*, of the Mahākāleśvara and of Harasiddhidevī. Lord Mahākāleśvara, as already stated, is one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas. The *Mahābhārata*, *Matsya-Purāṇa*, *Nṛisiṁha-Purāṇa*, *Śiva-Purāṇa* and *Skanda-Purāṇa* deal in detail with the glorification and mythological accounts of the deity. The old temple was very vast and massive, and

1. *Skanda-P.*, V. 43.
2. *Skanda-P.*, V. 1. 14-5:

ईश्वराश्चतुराशीतिस्तथाष्टौ सन्ति भैरवाः ।
एकादश तथा रुद्रा आदित्या द्वादश स्मृताः ॥
षड् वै विनायकाश्चात्र चतुर्विंशतिमातरः ।

there was much of gold and jewellery. Vikramāditya is said to have erected the temple. Bhoja in the 11th century repaired it and rebuilt it on a more extensive scale. The Muslim historian Ferishta compared it with the celebrated golden temple at Somanātha, another Jyotirliṅga. The vast wealth in the temple attracted the attention of Sultan Altmush, who invaded the temple, looted all the gold and jewellery and the golden image of the deity and ordered the levelling down of the entire building and the erection of a mosque at the site. After Ujjayinī formed part of the dominion of the Scindias, Ranojirao Scindia in 1734 built the Mahākāla temple on the site of the old temple, placed the old liṅga there according to Śāstric rites and made suitable arrangements for the daily worship and festivities of the temple. The Harasiddhidevī is to the west of Rudrasāgara, which used to be full of red lotuses. The Śrīyantra engraved on the stone slab in the interior of the temple is the deity. The Māhātmya of this goddess has been described in the *Avanti-khaṇḍa*,[1] where the sacrificing of a buffalo for the goddess has been prescribed. King Vikramāditya is said to have practised austerities in this temple for several years, as the result of which the goddess appeared before him and blessed him.

Before coming to the historical facts about Ujjayinī from the Purāṇas, let us refer in brief to the literary personages that figured at Ujjayinī and to the works that were produced there. The place of action of the *Chārudatta* of Bhāsa (*c.* 4th century B. C.) and of the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* of Śūdraka (*c.* 1st century B. C.) is Ujjayinī, and the latter gives a beautiful description of the grandeur of the city. King Bhartṛihari who later

1. *Skanda-P.* V. 20.

turned Yogin and wrote the famous *Śatakatraya* and *Vākyapadīya* is said to have been connected with Ujjayinī. Though the nine jewels of the court of King Vikramāditya cannot be chronologically contemporaneous, it may be assumed, with some degree of plausibility, that they were connected with Ujjayinī.[1] Of the nine, we know practically nothing about Kshapaṇaka and Vetālabhaṭṭa, and only a few stanzas from Śaṅku or Śaṅkuka, and the *Ghaṭakarpara-Kāvya* of Ghaṭakarparakavi whom some identify with Bhāsa.[2] Dhanvantari, the founder of the Āyurvedic system of medicine, is the author of a number of works on medicine. Amarasiṁha is well known through the famous lexicon, *Amarakośa*. Varāhamihira is a familiar figure in Indian astronomy as the author of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, *Bṛihajjātaka* and *Pañchasiddhāntikā*. Vararuchi associated with Ujjayinī was the grammarian who has written Vārttikas on Pāṇini's grammar: whether he is to be identified with Vararuchi the poet whose citations appear in anthological works is not quite certain. The author of the *Prākṛitaprakāśa* was a different person. Kālidāsa is a household word in India, so that it is unnecessary to refer to him at some length. It may be mentioned here that he was the court-poet of King Vikramāditya, the founder of the Vikrama Era, and was associated with the latter in state affairs also. Satyāchārya, the promulgator of the *Satyasaṁhitā* system of astrology, is also associated with Vikrama's court.

1. *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*:

धन्वन्तरिक्षपणकामरसिंहशङ्कु—
वेतालभट्टघटकर्परकालिदासाः ।
ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां
रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥

2. Cf. *Bhāsa—A Study*, Pp. 106-7.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa wrote his *Kādambarī* at Ujjayinī at the court of Harsha who also wrote the *Priyadarśikā*, *Ratnāvalī* and *Nāgānanda*. Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya is reputed to have re-established the old Vedic Dharma after defeating in open debate the Pāśupata Āchāryas here. The Imperial Guptas and King Bhoja were also associated with Ujjayinī. King Bhoja is credited with over thirty works on different branches of literature, philosophy, astronomy, polity, medicine, architecture, veterinary science, etc.[1] The *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva was written at Ujjayinī.

Finally, we come to the historical facts connected with Ujjayinī according to the Purāṇas. Vītihotras and Aśmakas forming a branch of the Haihayas who belonged to the Yādavas were closely associated with the Avantis of Western Mālava.[2] The foundation of Avanti, Māhishmatī and Vidarbha has been ascribed by the Purāṇas to the scions of the Yadu family.[3] The Haihayas overthrew the Nāgas and established their sway there. At the time of the great Bhārata War Vinda and Anuvinda were the rulers of Avanti. Śrīkṛishṇa defeated Anuvinda and married his sister Mitravindā.[4] These kings along with Nīla of Māhishmatī and other rulers of the Madhyadeśa sided with the Kauravas in the Bhārata War.[5] Anuvinda was killed by Arjuna in that war. After the passing away of the Vītihotras and Avantis a minister named Pulika killed his master Ripuñjaya, the last Bārhadratha king, and anointed his own son Pra-

1. Cf. Aufrecht, *Cat. Cat.*, I, Pp. 67, 418; II, P. 95; III, P. 90; Kane, *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra*, I, P. 719.
2. *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, P. 316.
3. *Matsya-P.*, 43. 8-29; *Vāyu-P.*, 94.5-26.
4. *Bhāgavata-P.*, X. 58. 30-1.
5. Cf. *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, P. 274.

dyota on the Avanti throne.[1] This Pradyota, the founder of the Pradyota dynasty, is identical with Chaṇḍa Pajjota or Pradyota Mahāsena mentioned in the Buddhist and Sanskrit literatures and in the various accounts of the Udayana legend. Some passages in the Purāṇas, however, mention Pradyota and Mahāsena as distinct persons, and as rulers respectively of Magadha and Avanti;[2] but evidently this is a mistake. The Purāṇas further represent the Śiśunāgas as having humbled the Pradyota dynasty of Magadha, and separate Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of the Magadha (Śiśunāga) line and Pradyota of Avanti by over 150 years. According to the Buddhist, Jain and Sanskrit references, however, Pradyota and Bimbisāra were contemporaries. When the Buddha lived and preached, the rulers of Kauśāmbi, Ayodhyā, Avanti and Magadha, the four great kingdoms of the time, were respectively Udayana Vatsarāja, Prasenajit, Pradyota Mahāsena and Ajātaśatru. The Udayana legend also proclaims the synchronism of Pradyota, Udayana and Darśaka of Magadha. Literary and historical accounts corroborate the historicity of Darśaka of Magadha. The Purāṇic version, therefore, is evidently wrong in making Pradyota and Ajātaśatru as ruling over Magadha, separated by an interval of over a hundred and fifty years. They were, in fact, contemporaries ruling over different countries. The mistake of including the Avanti rulers in the Magadha list probably arose on account of the sovereignty established by Avanti over Magadha.[3] Pradyota was a great general and an ambitious ruler. He was fierce (Chaṇḍa) by

1. Pradhan, *Chronology of Anc. Ind.*, P. 232; Raychaudhury, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd Ed., P. 93.

2. Pusalker, *Historical Data in Bhāsa*, *Bh. Vidyā*, I, Pp. 182-3, and the references there.

3. Rapson, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I. P. 311.

temperament and had a large army (Mahāsena). Pāṭaliputra was fortified by Ajātaśatru on account of the threatened invasion by Pradyota. The romantic story of the marriage of Vāsavadattā, daughter of Pradyota, with Udayana Vatsarāja is a well-known legend handed down to us through different Buddhist, Jain and Brāhmaṇic versions. The Buddhist and Jain accounts are at variance with the Sanskrit one, which also has come down to us in different versions. As we have indicated at another place, the problem of the origin and dispersion of the Udayana legend is an important one and merits very careful investigation.[1] There is no doubt as to the historicity of most of the incidents narrated in the legend. Pradyota Mahāsena of Avanti wanted to consolidate his power and had a very powerful rival in Udayana Vatsarāja of the celebrated Bharata family. King Udayana was very fond of music and of capturing wild elephants, and Pradyota trapped him by luring him into the pursuit of a faked elephant. Taken captive, Udayana was treated in a right royal manner at Ujjayinī, and was requested to teach music to Princess Vāsavadattā. Love arose at first sight, and Udayana soon escaped along with Vāsavadattā. Later on, cordial relations were established between Pradyota and Udayana. If Bhāsa is to be believed, Udayana was made to enter into a matrimonial alliance with Padmāvatī, sister of King Darśaka of Magadha, by his minister Yaugandharāyaṇa for political expediency. The Udayana legend has all along been very popular and has captivated the hearts of the public. Kālidāsa says that even at his time there were old people in Ujjayinī who were proficient with the legend.

1. *Bhāsa—A Study*, P. 264.

UJJAYINĪ IN THE PURĀṆAS

Pradyota's younger brother Kumārasena was killed when he tried to put a stop to the practice of selling human flesh in the Mahākāla temple.[1] Pradyota had two sons, Gopāla and Pālaka, and a daughter named Vāsavadattā. Gopāla abdicated in favour of his brother Pālaka; but the latter was a tyrant and was ousted by his nephew Āryaka, son of Gopāla.[2] For over two centuries after Pradyota we do not get a connected account of Ujjayinī. The Śiśunāgas then conquered Ujjayinī and annexed it to the Magadha empire. In the 4th century B. C. Avanti formed an integral part of the Magadhan empire.[3] In the Mauryan period, Avanti (Avanti raṭṭha) was one of the principal viceroyalties with its capital at Ujjayinī, and generally a royal prince was placed in charge. Aśoka was the first viceroy of the Mauryans at Avanti.

In 184 B. C. Pushyamitra Śuṅga, who probably belonged to Avanti, wrested power from Magadha, and established his line in Avanti.[4] The regime of the Śuṅgas signalised revival of Brāhmaṇism after centuries of Buddhist and Jain influence. Pushyamitra performed an Aśvamedha (horse-sacrifice). There were conflicts with the Āndhras from the South in Pushyamitra's reign, in which the Śuṅgas were successful in the earlier rounds; the Āndhras, however, appear to have ultimately succeeded and annexed at least West Mālava. The Aśvamedha performed by Śātakarṇi later on seems to imply the conquest of Ujjayinī by the Āndhras.[5] It is likely that when the power at the centre was taken by Kāṇva Vāsudeva from the Śuṅgas, Mālavas from the

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1. Pradhan, *Chronology of Anc. Ind.*, Pp. 72,335.
2. Cf. *Bhāsa—A Study*, Pp. 304-7.
3. Raychaudhury, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd Ed., P. 93.
4. *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, P. 512.
5. *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, Pp. 531-2.

Punjab established their government at Avanti. Some accounts place the celebrated King Vikramāditya in their family. The famous *Kālakāchārya-Kathānaka*[1] seems to have been based on historical facts and refers to the Gardabhillas[2] of the Purāṇas, who probably came from the South and were the successors of the Āndhras, and to the famous Vikramāditya. It appears that the last of the Gardabhillas violated the sister of Kālakāchārya, a Jain saint, and the latter, in revenge, sought the aid of the Śakas from the Indus Valley, who ousted the Gardabhilla and became rulers of Mālava. Vikramāditya, son of the last ruler, succeeded in overthrowing the Śakas through the help of the Āndhras from Pratishṭhāna. The absence of any reference to the achievements of this Vikramāditya in the Purāṇas is not so fatal to the historicity of Vikramāditya as would appear at first. It may be recalled that the Purāṇas were first revised in the reign of King Adhisīmakṛishṇa and their next revision was effected in the Gupta period. It is quite likely that memories of the exploits of Vikramāditya had faded by the time and there were confused traditions. Kalhaṇa, the author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, is reputed to have used his critical insight in writing the historical chronicles of Kashmir. He refers to a number of Vikramādityas as also to a Śakāri Vikramāditya; but his account does not appear to be correct. Gardabhilla, Gandharvasena and Mahendrāditya were probably identical, and Vikramāditya, Vikramaśīla, Vikramasena and Sāhasāṅka denote the same individual. In order to arrive at historical facts, we have to collect all myths, legends and traditions

1. W. Norman Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*, Pp. 9, 33, 78, 106.

2. Pargiter, *Dynasties of Kali Age*, Pp. 45, 72.

about Vikramāditya from the Jain and Hindu versions, and applying the tests of comparative mythology, try to arrive at the sources and facts about Vikramāditya. There is possibly no contemporary record about Vikramāditya. Accounts of foreign travellers and historians also are lamentably silent about him. There is a fusion of stories relating to different personalities and connected with exploits, bravery, munificence, tact, benevolent administration and all good virtues, and these have all been attributed to Vikramāditya regardless of time, place and propriety. Proper sifting of the material will enable us to distinguish between fact and fable as also to picture the historical events in the reign of Vikramāditya. Without definitely committing myself to any particular view, I may state here that I am inclined to believe in the identity of Śūdraka and the founder of the Vikrama Era on a study of Daṇḍin's *Avantisundarīkathā*.[1] Vikramāditya's glorious reign probably was short-lived, and his successors could not hold on for long against invading forces, and Ujjayinī again passed into the hands of the Śakas and Kshatrapas. Ujjayinī was the capital of Chashṭana and his successors. The Śaka Kshatrapas were conquered by Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya. The Imperial Guptas were great patrons of learning and art, and under their benevolent rule, Ujjayinī prospered. Hieuen-Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, visited Mālava in *c*. 641. Śilāditya ruled over Mālava some years before Hieuen-Tsang's visit. In the 7th century, Ujjayinī was annexed by Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and in the 9th century, the rule passed on to the Paramāras.

1. Dakshiṇabhāratī Series, No. 3, Madras, 1924.

The Purāṇic accounts of Avanti or Ujjayinī stop with 14 Tushkara kings who are said to have followed after 8 Yavāna kings, who in their turn were preceded by 18 Śaka kings, 7 Gardabhin kings, 10 Ābhīra kings and 7 Āndhra kings.[1] These, in all probability, were local dynasties.

1. Pargiter, *Dynasties of Kali Age*, Pp. 45, 72.

VIKRAMĀDITYA IN HISTORY AND LEGEND

By

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There may be difference of opinion as to whether actors or factors, kings or sages, regulated movements or sudden popular upheavals, are mainly responsible for determining the course of history. But nobody can deny the powerful influence that at times royal personages have exercised over the destinies of men who have enshrined their memory in legends. The names of Rhamsinitus, Solomon, Sardanapalus, Cyrus, Alexander, Arthur, Charlemagne, Khusrau, Anushīrvan, Harun-ar-Rashīd, and our own Chandragupta Maurya, Aśoka, Śālivāhana, Chandragupta II, Bhoja Paramāra, Pṛithvīrāja Chāhamāna, to name only a few, come readily to our mind in this connection. Numerous are the stories that popular imagination has entwined round their names. In this galaxy of rulers none can surpass the glamour of Vikramāditya of Hindu tradition. The name of this king conjures up before our mind the vision of a worker of miracles, a doughty champion of the weak and the oppressed, an avenger of insult to womanhood, the very incarnation of courage and daring, and a dyke against the deluge of barbarism. At his magic touch

"the Aeolian lyre" and the "harp of the north" became wide awake, the muses thronged round the throne and played tunes that stirred the emotions and spurred the soul of a great people. When he passed away the cry went forth from a grateful posterity—"Gone is the sap. The crane sports not. The heron is gone. New creatures plume themselves. The jaws of death have opened wide. The lake has dried up. Woe unto us. Vikramāditya has left the earth, save indeed his fame."

Who is this Vikramāditya, one of the most resplendent luminaries in the firmament of ancient Indian political and cultural tradition, the beau ideal of Hindu chivalry? Two millennia have elapsed since an era associated with his honoured name came into existence. His memory is still cherished by the teeming millions of India. But his greatness is not to be measured by his association with a chronological reckoning or the antiquity that his exploits may claim. Indeed the picture of the great Vikramāditya can scarcely be adapted to the historical lineaments of any Hindu *chakravartin* before the spacious days of the Imperial Guptas of the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. The *āditya* title is hard to find among emperors in literature and epigraphs of the pre-Gupta age, but becomes fairly common in later epochs. The reckoning of 58 B. C., now known as *Vikrama Saṁvat,* began to be associated with the name of Vikrama only about the eighth century A. D. The significant facts that, in the earliest records, it was invariably styled *Kṛita*[1] and was proclaimed as the traditional reckoning of Mālavagaṇa (and not king) in the fifth century A. D., coupled with absence of any reference to Vikrama at this stage, seems to suggest the non-exis-

1. A king named Kṛita is known to the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (cf. Penzer, *Ocean of Stories*, III, P. 19).

tence of a Vikramādityan tradition in this regard in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is again interesting to note that the *Bhavishyānukīrtana* of the Purāṇas, while bringing the prophetic accounts of the so-called "future kings" of the Kali Age down to the beginning of the Gupta rule, is conspicuous by its silence about the great king Vikrama. The persons responsible for the compilation of the Purāṇic dynastic texts early in the Gupta Age could hardly have passed over the outstanding figure of Vikramāditya, if the mighty emperor actually flourished before their time. This appears to be something more than an *argumentum ex silentio* as the Purāṇas speak of the Śakas, the Gardabhillas and rulers of the Avanti country (Ujjayinī region) traditionally associated with the legend of Vikrama. Some scholars, however, point to a reference to Vikrama in the *Sattasaī* (*Saptaśatī*) of Hāla, supposed to be an early king of the Sātavāhana dynasty, as indicating a still earlier date for the great emperor. Others suggest that the founder of the Vikrama Saṁvat may have been identical with Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi of the Sātavāhana family itself.

As regards the *Sattasaī*, the kernel of the work may possibly, for aught we know, have gone back to the Sātavāhana age. But there are unmistakable signs in the anthology of later accretions. A large number of verses included in the collection are not common to all the known recensions. Moreover, many of the verses cannot obviously be assigned to a period earlier than the Gupta age. Attention may be drawn to the mention in the *Sattasaī* of such words and names as *horā* (Kāvyamālā edition, P. 223), *aṅgārakavāra* (P. 130), Rādhikā (P. 44; cf. the developed Kṛishṇa legend, Pp. 44, 231, etc.), Gaṇapati (Pp. 191, 206), *Kāpālika* (P. 209), etc. The use of the words *horā* and *aṅgārakavāra*

suggests acquaintance of the Indians of the author's or compiler's days with Greek astronomy. Week days are mentioned in Indian inscriptions for the first time from the closing decades of the 5th century A. D. The conception of the Purāṇic Rādhikā and her association with Kṛishṇa cannot be traced back to the pre-Gupta age. For an epigraphic reference to Rādhā we must travel down the stream of time till we come to the reign of Muñja. The identification of a Paharpur figure with Rādhā is by no means free from doubt, and cannot in any case refer to a period anterior to the Guptas. It is well known that the introduction of the God Gaṇeśa in the Hindu pantheon is not earlier than the latest section of the *Mahābhārata* which in its present form is probably to be assigned to about the fourth century A. D. The name of the god is hinted at for the first time in epigraphic and numismatic references to a homonymous king, *viz.*, Gaṇapati-nāga of the same century. The word *Kāpālika*, again, cannot be traced in any literary or epigraphic record definitely assignable to earlier times.

As to the identification of Vikramāditya, founder of the Vikrama Saṁvat, with King Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, there is very little to be said in support of the conjecture. Gautamīputra claims no doubt to have been an extirpator of the Śakas and other outlandish tribes (*Śaka-Yavana-Pahlava-nisūdana*).[1] But his epithet *varavāraṇavikramachāruvikrama*, which is believed to hint at the title Vikramāditya, is apparently a complimentary expression referring, not to his *prowess*, but to his *gait* (cf. words like *gajagati, gajagāminī*, etc. in Sanskrit literature). It is apparently not to be confused with the title Vikramāditya, "Sun of Valour".

1. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, P. 197.

It should also be remembered that the Sātavāhanas are said to have had their capital at Pratishṭhāna on the Godāvarī. They are never represented as actually dwelling in Pāṭaliputra and Ujjayinī, which are the traditional capitals of the great Vikramāditya. The only Vikrama known to folklore as having ruled in Pratishṭhāna is Trivikramasena referred to in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* whose identity with any of the Sātavāhana kings is extremely problematical. A more plausible suggestion would be to find in this Vikrama vague memories of the Vikramāditya-Sāhasāṅkas of the Deccan (seventh to eleventh centuries) in whose days Pratishṭhāna continued to be a place of importance being at times the headquarters of a *bhukti* or administrative district or province. That Gautamīputra was not the founder of an era, least of all the Vikrama era, is proved beyond doubt by the fact that he and his descendants used only regnal years and there is not the slightest trace of any era in their records. It is only in the late Yādava and the Vijayanagara periods that the historic Śaka reckoning, which to the early Chālukya poets was a *Śakanṛiparājyābhishekasaṁvatsara*, came to be styled the "Śālivāhana Śaka". Gautamīputra cannot be assigned with any plausibility to a period 58 or 57 years before Christ. He was a contemporary and conqueror of the Śaka ruler Nahapāna (*c.* 118-24 A.D.) and the latter's son-in-law Ushavadāta. This is evidenced by Nahapāna's coins restruck by Gautamīputra and the Nasik inscription of himself and his son Puḷumāvi which not only refer to Ushavadāta but also represent him as the uprooter of the Khakharāta (Kshaharāta) clan and the Śaka race to which Nahapāna and Ushavadāta belonged. Gautamīputra's son Puḷumāvi and the Śaka satrap Chashṭana (*c.* 130 A. D.) are mentioned in

Ptolemy's Geography (*c.* 140 A. D.), in all probability as contemporary rulers. One of Pulumāvi's brothers apparently married a daughter of the Śaka king Rudra who cannot be placed earlier than the second century A. D. These facts suggest that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi reigned early in the same century.

So far as archaeological evidence goes, the proud title of Vikramāditya, Vikramārka or Vikramāṅka is borne in a clear and unambiguous manner for the first time by Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, though it is perhaps also hinted at in the epithet *parākramāṅka* assumed by his father Samudragupta. Son of a king who claims to have achieved *sarvapṛithvīvijaya,* Chandragupta II himself was a *digvijayin* of no mean order. One of the Udayagiri inscriptions refers in clear terms to his victorious campaign undertaken for the conquest of the whole earth (*kṛitsnapṛithvījaya*).[1] In 401 A. D. he is known to have been in East Malwa, and numismatic evidence, supported by the testimony of Bāṇa's *Harshacharita,* not only points to his overthrow of a Śaka king, but also to the annexation of West and Central Malwa (including Ujjain) and Gujarat. Samudragupta came into political and diplomatic relations with rulers of all parts of India and even of some islands of the southern sea; his son increased his influence over considerable parts of the Deccan by contracting matrimonial alliances with the Vākāṭakas of Berar and probably also with the Kadambas of the Kanarese country. The relation of Chandragupta II with the Kadambas appears to have been at the root of later traditions regarding Vikrama's dealings with Kuntala immortalised by such works as the *Kaunteśvaradautya.* The style and diction as well as the historical evidence

1. *Select Inscriptions*, P. 272.

of the Gupta epigraphs, coupled with numismatic records including those of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II, point to the fact that the Imperial Guptas were great patrons of music and the arts, of the classical Kāvya, of archery, perhaps also of dancing. Great poets like Harisheṇa and Śāba Vīrasena flourished at the court of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. While the father is himself said to have been a *Kavirāja* (master-poet) and a musician who put to shame the master singers and dancers of the celestials (*gandharvalalitair vrīḍitatridaśa-patigurutumburunāradādeḥ*),[1] the son is described as a *rūpakṛiti*, an author of dramas or of creative art.[2] The father, triumphant in Āryāvarta and the Deccan, overawing the Śaka-muruṇḍas, called himself *parākramāṅka* and *vyāghraparākrama*; it is also said that some of his recently discovered coins have *Vikrama* in the legend. The son, Chandragupta II, conqueror of Western India, final extirpator of the Śakas and, like his Sire, a patron of Sanskrit literature assumed the titles Vikrama, Vikramāditya, Vikramāṅkā (synonymous with Parākramāṅka, and also with Sāhasāṅka of later writers), Siṁhavikrama and Ajitavikrama.[3] Many of his qualities of character and intellect are explicitly stated or hinted at in contemporary records and the works of Bāṇa and Vāmana. It is, however, not to be supposed for a moment that the list is exhaustive. His activities, particularly his matrimonial ventures and the worsting of the Śaka under romantic circumstances; his patronage of culture; his solicitude for advancement of the people, to which Fa-Hien bears

1. *Ibid*, P. 259; cf. also the Lyrist type of Samudragupta's coins, *ibid*, P. 266.
2. Allan reads *rūpākṛiti*, "a *dvandva* compound celebrating the intellectual and physical perfections of Chandragupta II".—*Catalogue*, P. cxii.
3. *Ibid*, P. cxii-v.

eloquent testimony without mentioning him by name, must have left a very deep impression on the minds of his contemporaries. His famous grandson Skandagupta, possibly also Skanda's brother or step-brother Pūrugupta, as well as Budhagupta now known to have been a son of Pūrugupta, followed in the footsteps of their great forbear so as to earn the proud title of Vikramāditya. According to Allan, Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya, son of Chandragupta II, who was known as Vyāghrabalaparākrama, has been called Simhavikrama on some coins.[1] Some of his successors assumed the title of Kramāditya which is practically synonymous with Vikramāditya. It is extremely probable that the legends that grew round Chandragupta Vikramāṅka absorbed a good deal of the achievements of his father who bore the synonymous title of Parākramāṅka, as otherwise it is difficult to explain the silence of the classical Sanskrit writers in regard to the great Samudragupta. The distinction between Parākramāṅka and Vikramāṅka, as that between the individual Śālivāhanas or kings of the Sātavāhana line, was perhaps obliterated in later ages. It is also by no means improbable that some of the activities of the later kings who assumed the proud title of Vikramāditya were likewise incorporated into the earlier Vikrama saga. In short the *Vikramāditya-charita,* like that of Śālivāhana, sums up the historical and traditional achievements of a dynasty rather than that of one single individual. But only *one* king of the line could lay claim to the title *Śakāri.* The original of Rājā Vikrama *Śakāri* of tradition can only have had reference to the great son of Samudragupta who finally shattered the power of the *Śakas* (and not Hūṇas, Mlechchhas or Tājikas) in India, and,

1. *Ibid,* P. cxix.

as we shall see later on, very probably lived in the age rendered illustrious by the melodious *sūktis* of Kālidāsa.

The achievements of this king, who is no other than Chandragupta II, and those of his descendants were remembered long after the passing away of the great dynasty to which they belonged. Later conquerors and empire-builders preserved the Vikrama tradition by emulating, and even claiming to surpass, the exploits of their great forerunner. In or about 642 A. D., the Chālukyas of Badāmi were submerged beneath a wave of Pallava invasion, and Chālukya sovereignty fell on evil times and evil tongues. It is interesting to note that the prince who drove away the enemy and re-established the fallen fortunes of his family assumed the style of Vikramāditya. A contemporary poet, who is known to have graced the Durbar of Chālukya Vikramāditya's father, recalled in the Aihole *Praśasti* the fame of Kālidāsa whom tradition indissolubly links with the name of the greatest of the Vikramādityas. The great-grandson of Chālukya Vikramāditya I was another Vikramāditya whose captains bravely withstood an invasion of the Tājikas (Arabs) and carried the boar-crest and the *pālidhvaja* to the heart of the Kāñchī tract. His architects built the famous temples of Pattadakal. What was originally a *biruda* or secondary epithet had now become a fairly common royal cognomen, and even families of less exalted ranks are seen to have had a liking for the famous name. Mention may be made in this connection of the Bāṇa and Pāṇḍya Vikramas of the Far South. In the North, too, the glamour of the name was by no means dimmed. Kalhaṇa refers[1] to a Harsha Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī who is represented as an uprooter of the Śakas and as

1. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, III. 125 ff.

having political influence over Kashmir. This Vikramāditya of Kashmirian tradition may have owed his origin to a confused recollection not only of the Gupta Vikramādityas but also of the great Harshavardhana, who did interfere in the affairs of Kashmir according to Chinese evidence but whose real *āditya* title was *Śīlāditya* and not *Vikramāditya*. The identification of Harsha of the Kashmir tradition with Sīyaka II Harsha of the Paramāra dynasty[1] is possibly precluded by chronological difficulties. Some scholars are inclined to identify the traditional Vikrama with King Yaśodharman of Mandasor. It should, however, be remembered that Yaśodharman had his capital at Daśapura and not at Ujjain. He never claims to have come into conflict with the Śakas. Yaśodharman no doubt claims victory over Mihirakula the Hūṇa; but the Hūṇas can hardly be identified with the Śakas, as they are often mentioned in literature side by side. Above all, Yaśodharman is not known to have actually assumed the title of Vikramāditya. In the ninth and tenth centuries, the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings Amoghavarsha I (814-77) and Govinda IV (*c.* 922-33) represent themselves as having surpassed the great Guptānvaya or Sāhasāṅka (Chandragupta II Vikramāditya). But the stage of disparaging the great king was very soon to pass away. Early in the eleventh century, Āryāvarta was harassed by invaders from the frowning plateau of Afghanistan and people then called back to mind the exploits of the mighty extirpator of foreigners, as the English remembered Oliver Cromwell when "the roar of the Dutch artillery startled an effeminate tyrant in White Hall". It is therefore no matter for wonder that some of the dynasties that played a prominent

1. Cf. Soḍḍhala, *Udayasundarīkathā* (G. O. S.), P. 150.

part in resisting the new invaders resuscitated the title of Vikramāditya-Sāhasāṅka. We may mention in particular the new (Nava) Sāhasāṅka, father of the myriad-minded Bhoja Paramāra. As in the case of Harsha, tradition seems to have confused even Bhoja himself, who was a patron of learning and is said to have fought with foreigners, with the great Vikrama. Another Vikramāditya of the new age was Gāṅgeyadeva, the great sovereign of the Kalachuris of Central India. But the most outstanding figure among the Vikramādityas of the eleventh century was the famous (Chālukya) emperor of Kalyāṇī, Vikramāditya VI, the hero of Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*. Chālukya Vikramāditya VI paid honour to the memory of the mighty Vikrama when he banned the use of the era of the Śakas and substituted a national reckoning called the *Chālukyavikramakāla* in 1076 A. D. Among the great feudatories of the emperors of Kalyāṇī were the Guttas (Guptas) of Guttal claiming descent from Chandragupta II Vikramāditya whom they represent as the lord of both Pāṭalipura (Pāṭaliputra) and Ujjayinī. Several members of this family clung to the name Vikramāditya with the same fervour as some of the later Mughals did in regard to the names of Akbar and Shāhjahān. It may be recalled in this connection that the Vikramādityan tradition was particularly popular in the Kanarese country, ancient Kuntala embracing the southern part of the Bombay Presidency, Mysore and certain contiguous tracts. We have already referred to the probable matrimonial alliance of Chandragupta II with the Kadambas of Kuntala. Mention may also be made of the *Vikkamāittacharia* (*Vikramādityacharita*, Life of Vikramāditya) noticed in Hāla's *Sattasaī*, and to the repeated allusions

to Vikramāditya Sāhasāṅka in the records of the emperors of Karṇāṭa. The *Kauntesvaradautya* may also be recalled in this connection. It may further be remembered that the Kanarese country was a stronghold of Jainism down to the days of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, and it is well known that the Jainas of this region, and perhaps also of the last stronghold of the faith in Western India, played a conspicuous part in developing the Vikrama saga.

The representation of Vikramāditya as lord of Pāṭaliputra and Ujjain in Gutta records finds corroboration from other sources. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* refers to both the cities as capitals of Vikramāditya.[1] No reasonable doubt need be entertained that a city in Malwa, in the vicinity of Udayagiri and identical, in all likelihood, with Vidiśā, and later on another city in the same province, namely, Ujjain, became a sort of secondary capital of the Imperial Guptas from the time when Chandragupta II undertook the famous campaign that sounded the death-knell to Śaka domination in Western India.

The title of Vikrama had not lost its charm even in the late mediaeval period. Himu, the general of a successor of Sher Shāh, who occupied Delhi in 1556 A. D., assumed the proud title and the Mughal emperor Akbar emulated the ancient Hindu king by patronising the *nao-ratan* so called in imitation of the *Nava-ratna* or Nine Gems traditionally associated with Vikrama's court.[2] The Vikramājit of Mewar and the father of Pratāpāditya of Jessore in Bengal were some

1. VII. 4. 3; cf. also the *Vishamaśilalambaka*.
2. For the popularity of the Vikramāditya stories in the age of Akbar see Badaoni, *Muntakhabā-i tawārikh* (Bib. Indica), Translation, Vol. I, P. 95.

of the minor potentates and chiefs who assumed the title.

The evolution of the Vikramāditya saga can be traced from the time of Chandragupta II himself. In his own Udayagiri inscription, he is described as combining the virtues of an emperor and those of a sage (*rājādhirājarshi*) and as leading, in the manner of a conventional *chakravartin*, an expedition for the conquest of the whole earth. The passage *antarjyotir-arkābha* coupled with *Vikramāvakrayakrītadāsyanyag-bhūtapārthivā* possibly hints at the famous title Vikramārka by way of *vyañjanā*. The epithet *achintyo-jjvalakarmā* read by some scholars again points to the king's brilliant activities that must have caught the imagination of the people. From the same record Chand-ragupta II is known to have been a collaborator and patron of a scholar and a poet (*śabdārthanyāyalokajñaḥ kaviḥ*). The Udayagiri record is a clear indication of his hold on and presence in East Malwa, while the annexa-tion of West Malwa and some adjoining regions after he had shattered the power of the Śakas is proved by numismatic evidence. The known coinage of Samudra-gupta does not include any silver issues of the type meant to be circulated in Western India; but his son had to mint silver for the newly annexed territory, as silver had become the monetary standard in that region during the Śaka regime. Chandragupta's silver issues present features not met with in the gold coins of himself and his father, but they are very close copies of the Śaka silver money prevalent in Western India immediately before the Gupta conquest. Thus contemporary epigraphy and numismatics represent Chandragupta II as a ruler of a vast empire, a great conqueror, a destroyer of Śaka domination and a

patron of art and literature. These outstanding qualities must have left a deep impression on the minds of the people. But, for an incipient tale of victory of which a Vikramāditya was the central figure, we must turn to a record of one of his grandsons, namely the Junagarh inscription (Verse 4) which, it may be remembered, eulogises Skandagupta, the son of Kumāragupta I and grandson of Chandragupta II, who had re-established the fallen fortune of his family, repulsed barbarian attacks, extended his sway to the shores of the ocean and emulated his great forbear in assuming the title of Vikramāditya (cf. *api cha jitam eva tena prathayanti yaśāṁsi yasya ripavo'pi / āmūlabhagnadarpā nirvachanā mlechchhadeśeshu //*).[1] It is said here that Skanda's fame even his enemies, whose pride had been broken down to the very root, announced in the countries of the barbarians with the words "verily the victory has been achieved by him". A developed form of these tales is found in the *Vishamaśīlalambaka* of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* which speaks eloquently of Vikramāditya the son of Mahendrāditya (*i. e.*, Skandagupta, son of Kumāragupta I), who ruled at Ujjain and conquered the Mlechchhas. Vikramāditya, represented as the father of Bālāditya by such writers as Paramārtha and Hiuen Tsang, has been identified by scholars with a good deal of plausibility with Pūrugupta Śrī-Vikrama, a brother or step-brother of Skandagupta and father of Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya.

The developed Vikramāditya legend has come down to us in three main streams of tradition, *viz.*, Buddhist, Hindu and Jain. We owe the earliest literary reference to the famous imperial name, which forms the subject matter of the present note, to Buddhist writers.

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1. *Select Inscriptions*, P. 301.

Paramārtha (499-569 A. D.) in his celebrated *Life of Vasubandhu,* the Buddhist scholar who very probably flourished in the fifth century,[1] says that King Vikramāditya *of Ayodhyā* in North India was at first a patron of the Sāṅkhya school of philosophy. He gave three lacs of gold coins to the philosopher Vindhyavāsa who had revised the Sāṅkhya *śāstra* and defeated in dispute Buddhamitra, teacher of Vasubandhu. But Vasubandhu wrote a work called *Paramārthasaptati* in opposition to Vindhyavāsa's work and the Sāṅkhya *śāstra,* which were thus all 'destroyed'. This pleased Vikramāditya who gave three lacs of gold coins to the Buddhist teacher as well. The king sent his son Bālāditya to Vasubandhu to learn Buddhism and his queen, too, became a disciple of the Buddhist teacher. When Bālāditya succeeded to the throne of his father, Vasubandhu was invited to Ayodhyā and was favoured with special patronage. A similar story is found in the *Si-yu-ki* of Hiuen Tsang,[2] but, curiously enough, with important differences in detail. Here Vikramāditya is represented as king of 'Śrāvasti' and not of Ayodhyā. The fact that the earlier form of the story mentions Ayodhyā as the capital of Vikramāditya recalls the reference to the *Ayodhyā-vāsaka* in the spurious Gayā grant of Samudragupta.[3] According to Hiuen Tsang, the day on which Vikramāditya reduced the Indians to submission he distributed five lacs of gold coins among the destitute and the desolate. The treasurer was afraid that the king would empty the royal coffers; but the latter believed that gifts to the needy out of the surplus of public accumulation was not a lavish expenditure of public

1. Cf. Takakusu, *J. R. A. S.,* 1905, Pp. 33 ff.
2. Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang,* I, Pp. 211-12.
3. *Select Inscriptions,* P. 265.

money, and actually gave an additional amount of five lacs in largesse to the poor. On another occasion, the king is said to have rewarded a peasant who put him on the track of a wild boar with a lac of gold coins. The king was however jealous of the munificence of the Buddhist teacher Manoratha who paid one lac of gold coins to his barber for shaving his head. Out of spite, Vikramāditya arranged a discussion between Manoratha and one hundred learned and eminent non-Buddhists. Manoratha was defeated as the result of a ruse and died of a broken heart. When Vikramāditya *lost* his kingdom and was succeeded by one (Bālāditya ?) who showed respect to men of eminence (Buddhists), Manoratha's disciple Vasubandhu came and induced the new king to summon to another discussion the former antagonists of Manoratha and defeated all of them. The embellishment of, or tampering with, the simple story of Paramārtha by Hiuen Tsang points to the vicissitudes through which the Vikrama tradition passed even among Buddhists of a comparatively early age. It should be noted here that both our authorities speak not only of Vikrama's keen interest in learning, but also of his remarkable munificence which finds prominent notice in epigraphic and literary records.

We now come to the contributions of the Hindu and the Jainas to the Vikrama saga. Subandhu, author of the *Vāsavadattā*, who flourished not later than the seventh century A. D., refers to Vikramāditya as a patron of culture and a protector of the weak and the oppressed. In the seventh century Bāṇa, though not mentioning the title Vikramāditya, refers in his *Harshacharita* to a tradition that Chandragupta, disguised as a female, destroyed a Śaka king who coveted the wife of another in the very city of the enemy

(*aripure cha parakalatrakāmukam kāminīveshaguptaś Chandraguptaḥ Śakapatim aśātayat*).[1] A number of literary and epigraphic records of a later date gives the same or a similar story but with added details. Śaṅkarārya in his commentary on the *Harshacharita* says: *Śakānām āchāryaḥ Śakādhipatiḥ Chandraguptabhrātṛijāyām Dhruvadevīm prārthayamānaś Chandraguptena Dhruvadevīveshadhāriṇā strīveshajana-parivṛitena rahasi vyāpādita iti.* Some of these later references are apparently based on a work which is professedly of a semi-historical character but includes a considerable amount of folklore. It is the drama called the *Devīchandragupta,* attributed to Viśākhadatta, the reputed author of the *Mudrārākshasa* which has the earlier (Maurya) Chandragupta for its hero. We are not quite sure as to whether the tradition recorded by Bāṇa *in all its details* has actually any historical foundation, or it is merely due to some poet who dealt with the popular motifs of assuming the disguise of a woman to outwit or vanquish an opponent and of braving the lion in his own den. Instances of these motifs are found in Indian literature from the age of the *Mahābhārata* (cf. the *Kīchakavadha* episode) to the mediaeval epoch (cf. *The Ocean of Stories,* IX. 37. 71; the Padminī episode; Sher Shāh's ruse in capturing Rohtasgarh—Qanungo, *Sher Shah,* Pp. 146ff.). Bāṇa's story need not have been derived from the *Devīchandragupta.* He may have had access to an earlier form of the legend.

Before adverting to the real significance of the *Devīchandragupta* as a stage in the evolution of the Chandragupta Vikramāditya tradition, it is necessary

1. Parab's edition, Pp. 199-200.
The *Śṛiṅgārarūpaka* has: *Strīveshanihnutaś Chandraguptaḥ śatroḥ skandhāvāram alipuram Śakapativadhāyāgamat* (*J. B.O.R.S.*, XIV, P. 229). Bāṇa's *aripura* is given here as *alipura.*

to say a few words regarding the date of its composition. As its theme is connected with Chandragupta II, the work cannot be placed earlier than the fifth century A. D. Bāṇa, who makes it a point to mention, in the introduction to his *Harshacharita,* the most eminent authors known to him, is significantly silent about Viśākhadatta, one of the most noted of Sanskritic dramatists, author of the remarkable works *Mudrārākshasa* and *Devīchandragupta.* It is therefore difficult to believe that the famous playwright belongs to a period anterior to the seventh century. Keith, who suggests ninth century as the date of the *Mudrārākshasa,* is of opinion that the more famous work of Viśākhadatta is later than Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha.*[1] It is interesting to note in this connection that the Sanjan grant (871 A. D.) of Amoghavarsha[2] which shows acquaintance with the main story that forms the theme of the less famous of Viśākhadatta's plays, *viz.,* the *Devīchandragupta,* has no knowledge of the ghoul element in the Vikramāditya saga emphasised in the drama in question.[3] So also the Cambay and Sangli grants of Govinda IV[4] and several mediaeval texts. From the point of view of the development of the saga, the *Devīchandragupta* stands nearer to the records of Govinda IV than to those of Amoghavarsha.

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1. *Sanskrit Drama,* P. 204; *Hist. Sans. Lit.,* P. 124.

2. *Hatvā bhrātaram eva rājyam aharad devīm cha dīnas tato lakshaṃ koṭim alekhayat kila kalau dātā sa Guptānvayaḥ |* (*E. I.,* XVIII, P. 248).

3. *Yathā Devīchandragupte Śakapatinā param krichchhram āpāditam Rāmaguptaskandhāvāram anujighrikshuḥ upāyāntarāgochare pratikdre niśi vetālasādhanam adhyavasan Kumārachandragupta Ātreyeṇa vidūshakenoktaḥ* (*I. H. Q.,* X, P. 49).

4. *Sāmarthye sati ninditā pravihitā naivāgraje krūratā bandhustrīgamanādibhiḥ kucharitair āvarjitam no yaśaḥ | śauchāśauchaparāṅmukham na cha bhiyā paiśāchyam aṅgīkritam tyāgenāsamasāhasaiś cha bhuvane yaḥ Sāhasāṅko 'bhavat ||*
(*Ind. Ant.,* XII, P. 249; *E. I.,* VII, 36).

Rājaśekhara again gives a form of the story which presents marked divergence from the *Devīchandragupta* version.[1] It is therefore possible to suggest that the story was still in a state of flux towards the close of the ninth century A. D. and that the *Devīchandragupta* was not quite well-known either to the Rāshṭrakūṭa court in the days of Amoghavarsha or to that of the Pratihāras even as late as the beginning of the tenth century. Some MSS of the sister drama *Mudrārākshasa* read in the *Bharatavākya* the name of King Avantivarman instead of that of Chandragupta (Maurya). Avantivarman has been taken to refer either to the Maukhari king of that name or to a homonymous Kashmirian monarch. The allusion to the earth having been at the time of the king of the *Bharatavākya* harassed by the Mlechchhas accords better with what we know of conditions in the time of the king of Kashmir than with those in the days of the Maukhari king. When Avantivarman (855-83 A. D.) was ruling in Kashmir, the Saffarids, precursors of the Ghaznavids and the Ghorids, were actually harrying the north-western outskirts of India. The *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja probably supplies us with a *terminus ad quem*.[2]

1. *Dattvā ruddhagatiḥ Khasādhipataye devīm Dhruvasvāminīm*
yasmāt khaṇḍitasāhaso nivavṛite Śrīśarma (v. l. *sena*) *gupto nṛipaḥ |*
tasminneva Himālaye guruguhākoṇakvaṇatkinnare
gīyante tava Kārttikeyanagarastrīṇām gaṇaiḥ kīrtayaḥ ||
(*Kāvyamīmāṁsā* quoted in *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIV, 230).

The name of the King is given here as Śarmagupta or Senagupta who is different from Rāmagupta. This version moreover calls the king's adversaries Khasas living in the Himālayas. It is idle to identify the Khasas with the Śakas who were a different people with a distinct habitat.

2. The Hūṇas in the time of Avantivarman Maukhari and his immediate predecessors were Hinduised (cf. worship of Sthāṇu or Śiva mentioned in the Mandasor inscription, etc.) and could hardly have been referred to as Mlechchhas, and it is by no means clear that Avantivarman was the Maukhari who won victory over the Hūṇas according to the Aphshad inscription.

The story of the lost *Devīchandragupta* as suggested by the fragments so far discovered[1] is as follows: King Rāmagupta had a queen named Dhruvadevī. The exact relationship of this ruler with *Kumāra* Chandragupta is uncertain.[2] Rāmagupta was a pusillanimous prince who apparently suffered a defeat at the hands of a Śaka king. In order to save himself and his subjects from the wrath of the victor he seems to have consented to a humiliating agreement to surrender Queen Dhruvadevī. At this juncture, Kumāra Chandragupta, whose daring equalled his chivalry, thought of a ruse like that of Bhīma in the Kīchaka episode of the Great Epic. He resolved to meet the Śaka king in the latter's place in the guise of Dhruvadevī and deal with him there as he deserved. The plan worked out admirably. There is reference in the *Devīchandragupta* to ghouls (Vetāla) whose help Chandragupta II Vikramāditya was going to seek, as the hero of the *Vishamaśīlalambaka* did so often in the "Ocean of Stories". As already stated above, the Sanjan grant of Amoghavarsha I Rāshṭrakūṭa hints at details regarding "a scion of the Gupta family" which cannot fail to remind one of the main theme of the *Devīchandragupta*. But the drama in the shape it has come down to us contains fur-

1. Vide *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIV, Pp. 226-30; *I. H. Q.*, X, P. 49, etc., etc.
2. The evidence of the Sanjan, Cambay and Sangli grants would suggest that Rāmagupta was Chandragupta's *bhrātā* or *bandhu* and that the latter married the former's widow Dhruvadevī. The records of the Imperial Guptas which are four or five centuries earlier invariably represent Dhruvadevī as the queen of Chandragupta II and there is no hint that she was a widow before her marriage with the great emperor. The words *bhrātā* and *bandhu* do not necessarily prove that Rāmagupta was a co uterine (elder) or step-brother of Chandragupta, as the word may mean a cousin, relation or friend. Rāmagupta is apparently represented as a successor of Chandragupta's father on the Gupta throne. But this fact is unknown to Gupta epigraphy.

ther details which are not met with in epigraphs till we come to the time of Govinda IV. The lost part of the *Devīchandragupta* may have represented Dhruvadevī as entertaining a feeling of contempt for the weak Rāmagupta, and, after his death, marrying the brave and spirited Chandragupta who vindicated her honour.

The rescue or the vindication of the honour of a lady (cf. the rescue of the earth conceived as a woman by Vishṇu, deliverance of Sītā by Rāma, vindication of Draupadī's honour by Bhīma, recovery of Rājyaśrī by Harsha, and numerous similar episodes), as well as resistance to barbarian intruders, are subjects that have always struck the imagination and stirred the emotions of the Indian people. An important element of the Vikramāditya saga developed on these lines. The author of the *Devīchandragupta* drew on this and several other popular motifs such as courage in braving the enemy in his own place,[1] putting on female attire[2], and acquisition of help from supernatural agency, etc.[3] The partiality of women for the brave and the abandonment of the mean-spirited in favour of a worthier mate are also common motifs[4] which were apparently incorporated by the author of the drama. Many of these motifs together with the earlier traditions regarding the Gupta Vikramādityas' military skill, bravery, benevolence, munificence, and patronage of learning contributed to the dynamic expansion of the saga, and the attribution to the great Vikramāditya of treatises like one on Archery.[5]

1. *Vide* Penzer, *op. cit.*, IX, P. 71; compare the epithet *darśitasāhasa* in the original with the *biruda* Sāhasāṅka.
2. Cf. Penzer, *op. cit.*, IX, P. 37.
3. Cf. the Vikramāditya episode in the Vishamaśīlalambaka of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.
4. Cf. Penzer, *op. cit.*, III, P. 290.
5. Keith, *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, P. 464.

As to the historicity of the Rāmagupta or Śarmagupta story, it must be admitted that it has not yet found any archaeological (including numismatic) corroboration and may have belonged, in the whole or in part, to the domain of folklore (cf., in addition to motifs cited above, the step-son motif in the Aśoka saga, and Penzer, *op. cit.*, III, P. 290). Rāmagupta is unknown to epigraphic and literary tradition of known date till we come to the age of Amoghavarsha and Mahendrapāla I. It should also be remembered that neither Paramārtha nor Hiuen Tsang, neither Subandhu nor Bāṇa in the seventh century A. D. refers to Chandragupta's marriage with a widow and to the ghouls as his helpers, though showing acquaintance with stories about his munificence, daring and taste for culture. The Rāmagupta story is recognised for the first time late in the ninth century A. D. It received accretions (*e. g.*, the Vetāla element) in the next century. There can be little doubt that the later writers tagged on to the original story much extraneous staff including a number of popular myths. Judging from the *Mudrārākshasa*, it may be said that Viśākhadatta, author of that work as well as of the *Devīchandragupta*, does not always keep close to history and that his invention of fictitious characters and other deviations from historical truth in the dramas are by no means inconsiderable (cf. names like those of the Yavana princes of the *Mudrārākshasa*, Meghanāda king of the Persians, introduction of the Hūṇas to the story of Chandragupta Maurya, etc.). An echo of the Rāmagupta story is found in the Mujmalut Tawarikh (Elliot, *History of India*, I, Pp. 110-12) which is a late work. The ghoul episode is alluded to in the epigraphic records of the tenth century and is fully developed in late works such as the *Vetālapañchaviṁśati* and the

Kathāsaritsāgara. As indicated above, performance of difficult tasks with the help of supernatural agency is a familiar popular motif (cf. the epic story of Maya Dānava and Fa-Hien's account regarding the construction of Aśoka's palace at Pāṭaliputra). It may be pointed out that the stories in the *Arabian Nights* include a number of similar Jinn motifs of which Indians were not possibly ignorant in the period in question.

Vikramāditya's relation with the Śakas earned for him the famous cognomen of Śakāri. The overthrow of the Śakas is a historical fact which is clearly implied by numismatic evidence besides being known to popular tradition. The epithets Śakāri, Śakadvish, etc. occur both in literary works as well as in epigraphic records.[1] The Śaka incident definitely connects the chief hero of early Vikramādityan tales with Chandragupta II (cf. the evidence of Bāṇa). A number of well known attributes applies equally well to the later Vikramas or Vikramādityas of the Gupta line. But there are certain details which hold good in respect of particular individuals. The epithet Śakāri, as we have seen, is apposite only in the case of Chandragupta II. The only other early ruler (Gautamīputra) who is explicitly mentioned as a *nishūdana* of the Śakas was not a Vikramāditya but a Śālivāhana. Vikramāditya, son of Mahendrāditya of Ujjain, the victor over Mlechchhas (cf. the Vishamaśīlalambaka of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*) is reminiscent of Skandagupta. But Vikramāditya, father of Bālāditya, probably recalls Pūrugupta. In later times, however, the distinction amongst the different Vikramādityas was blurred. References to the traditional Vikrama in late works including those of rhetoricians bear on one or other of the attributes already

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, P. 320..

noted. Some works, however, have apparently created new stories about the individual whom popular tradition ultimately clothed with the habiliments of an Anushīrvan or a Harun-ar-Rashīd. Among such late works mention may be made particularly of the *Kaunteśvaradautya* and the *Dvātriṁśatputtalikā* (which mentions Bhoja and Hemādri's *Vratakhaṇḍa* and is obviously later than the thirteenth century). The Śaka episode has been elaborated in works like Alberunī's *Indica* and the Jain *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*,[1] sometimes with romantic details unconnected with, but comparable to, the Rāmagupta story.

We have already noted the ascription to Vikramāditya from about the 8th century A.D. of the era of 58 B. C. The reckoning is now styled the *Vikrama Saṁvat*[2] but it is cited under other names in records of the pre-Gupta and Gupta epochs. The attribution became widely popular from about the eleventh century A. D. and later, as we learn from Alberunī, the Jain writers including Merutuṅga, and others.[3] To the spread of Vikrama's fame as an epoch-maker, the institutor of an era, the Jainas made distinct contributions.

The earlier tradition regarding Vikrama's patronage of scholars and culture was embellished by a host of writers. For instance, Kalhaṇa who may have confused Śilāditya Harsha, or some other king bearing the name Harsha, with Vikramāditya introduces the story of the poet Mātṛigupta who was patronised by Vikrama and was rewarded with the throne of Kashmir. The

1. *C.I.I.*, II, xxviff; cf. W. Norman Brown, *Kālakāchāryakathā*, Pp. 52ff.

2. Cf. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions*, No. 17 (*Vikramasaṁvatsaraśateshu*) of 794, No. 27 (*Kālasya Vikramākhyasya*) of 898, etc., No. 18 (*Saṁvatsaraśataiḥ Mālaveśānām*) of 795, etc.

3. *Ind. Ant.*, 1914, Pp. 118ff; *C.I.I.*, II, P. xxviii.

most interesting of the stories is that which represents Vikramāditya as a Hindu Maecenas who extended his patronage to the *Navaratna* or "Nine Gems", indicating nine literary men who are reputed to have shed lustre on Vikrama's court:

Dhanvantari-Kshapaṇak-Āmarasiṁha-Śaṅku-
Vetālabhaṭṭa-Ghaṭakarpara-Kālidāsāḥ |
Khyāto Varāhamihiro nṛipateḥ sabhāyām
ratnāni vai Vararuchir nava Vikramasya ||

A Gayā inscription refers to this tradition. But it has been branded by scholars as a forgery; it is, however, known to works like the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*.[1] The story is immensely popular throughout India even to this day; but doubts have been entertained about its authenticity. The date of eight of the Nine Gems is uncertain, only that of Varāhamihira seems to have been noted by a reliable authority. Early in the eleventh century Alberunī clearly and definitely connected a date, corresponding to 505 A. D., with Varāhamihira's *Pañchasiddhāntikā*.[2] Curiously enough, the same date for the great astronomer was, according to Kern, supplied to Hunter by the Paṇḍitas of Ujjain, and was later published by Colebrooke.· A commentator, apparently of mediaeval times, records a tradition that Varāhamihira *died* in 587 A. D. This view was accepted by Bhau Daji and several other scholars who opined that the date 505 A. D. may have had reference to Varāhamihira's *birth*. None of our authorities, *e. g.*, Alberunī and the commentator in question, says anything that admits of an interpretation supporting the last surmise. The only facts beyond

1. Some scholars find in the word *navakā* of the passage *navakā vilasanti* in Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* a reference to the Navaratna. This suggestion, however, is extremely dubious and unconvincing.
2. Sachau, II, P. 7.

dispute are that Varāhamihira knew Āryabhaṭa who was born at Kusumapura in 476 A. D. and began to write in or about 499 A. D. This by itself does not preclude the possibility of Varāhamihira having begun his literary career in 505 A. D., as suggested by Alberunī. There is no reason why the evidence of the Khivan mathematician should be discarded in favour of a tradition recorded by a late commentator. If the date 505 A. D. for the *Pañchasiddhāntikā* be accepted, then the great astronomer must have witnessed the epoch of Budhagupta Śrī-Vikrama and perhaps also that of one or more of his predecessors who bore the title Vikrāmāditya. There is, it may be added here, no contemporary archaeological evidence regarding the existence of a king styled Vikramāditya in the sixth century.[1] Of the other eight gems Kshapaṇaka, Śaṅku, Vetālabhaṭṭa and Ghaṭakarpara are little more than mere names.[2] Tradition connects a Vararuchi with the Nandas. But Vararuchi, author of the *Prākṛitaprakāśa*, may plausibly be assigned to the age of the Imperial Guptas.[3] Dhanvantari, author of a medical glossary, is perhaps not later than the lexicographer Amarasiṁha who can hardly be placed before Kālidāsa.[4] Amara's lexicon is alleged to have been translated in China in 561-66 A.D.[5] Some scholars find reference to one or other of the Gupta Vikramādityas and to Kumāragupta in the titles respectively of the *Vikramorvaśīya* and the *Kumārasaṁbhava* of Kālidāsa; but these are of an extremely dubious value

1. For Yaśodharman, see *ante*. For the value of the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*, see Fleet, *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, P. 696f.
2. For the ascription, to some of these, of literary compositions see Keith, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, P. 76; cf., 152, 200f, 231.
3. D. C. Sircar, *Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, P. 3.
4. Keith, *op. cit.*, P. 76.
5. Max Muller, *India, What It Can Teach Us*, P. 328.

in determining chronology. There is no clear and unambiguous reference in the genuine works of Kālidāsa to his intimate relation with the Gupta court. It is, however, possible that the great poet lived in the fifth century in the age of one or more of the Gupta Vikramādityas and thus came to be associated in popular mind with the tradition relating to Vikrama's patronage of literature. The first historical notice of Kālidāsa to which a definite date can be assigned is that in the Aihole inscription of 634 A. D.[1] He is also mentioned about the same time by Bāṇa in the *Harshacharita*. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* Kālidāsa refers to Bhāsa as a dramatist of established repute. If this Bhāsa can be identified with the author of the Trivandrum Plays, the reference may serve as marking the upper limit of Kālidāsa's date. The author of the Trivandrum Plays has been considered by competent scholars[2] to be later than Aśvaghosha (*c.* second century A. D.). The verse

> *Imāṁ sāgaraparyantāṁ Himavadvindhyakuṇḍalām /*
> *Mahīm ekātapatrāṅkām Rājasiṁhaḥ praśāstu naḥ //*

accords well with the age of the Imperial Guptas, even if Rājasiṁha is not actually the same as *Siṁhavikrama*, or *Narendrasiṁha*, Chandragupta II. And scholars therefore may be right in placing the author of the plays nearer to the age of Kālidāsa than to the epoch of Aśvaghosha.[3] Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 67-68, cf. Vallabhadeva's commentary)[4] suggests that at the time of its composition the Hūṇas were still living on the Vaṅkshu or Oxus with its affluents, immediately to the

1. Kālidāsa mentioned in the Tirodi Plates can hardly be identified with the great poet without further evidence.
2. Cf. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, P. 93.
3. Keith, *op. cit.*, P. 94.
4. Cf. Pathak, *Ind. Ant.*, 1912, Pp. 265ff.

north of the saffron-producing country of Kapiśā[1] through which the war-steeds of Raghu had evidently to pass (cf. *lagnakuṅkumakesarān*). This fact would point to a date earlier than that of the Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta.[2] The description of Indumatī's *svayaṁvara* in the same work points to a period when the king of Magadha occupied a position of pre-eminence and was held in special honour. Attention may be invited to the passage :—

Kāmam nṛipāḥ santu sahasraśo'nye
rājanvatīm āhur anena bhūmim /
nakshatratārāgrahasaṁkulāpi
jyotishmatī Chandramasaiva rātriḥ // (*Raghu.*, VI. 22).

The Magadhan king alone, of all the rulers assembled, is represented as receiving a *praṇāma* from the princess of Vidarbha (VI. 25) or Berar. Reference in the works of Kālidāsa to astronomical terms like *horā*, *uchcha* and *jāmitra* has been taken by scholars to suggest a date later than 350 A. D.[3] It is also believed that the Mandasor inscription of Vatsabhaṭṭi (473 A. D.) is later than the great poet's work.[4] Above all it is significant that according to mediaeval commentators like Dakshiṇāvartanātha (twelfth century) and Mallinātha (fourteenth century), who were presumably free from the predilections of modern theorists, Kālidāsa was a contemporary of the *āchārya* (Buddhist logician) Diṅnāga (cf. *Meghadūta*, 14) who is usually assigned to the fifth century. These facts taken together suggest that Kālidāsa lived in or about the fifth century and may have been a contemporary of one or more of the

1. Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, P. 122.
2. Cf. Verse 8, *Select Inscriptions*, P. 315.
3. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, P. 146.
4. Keith, *op. cit.*, P. 176; Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, XLII, 1912, P. 8 (reprint).

Gupta Vikramādityas. He sings the glory of a great empire which had its seat in Ayodhyā (cf. the Gayā Plate of Samudragupta and the story of Paramārtha) and probably lived to see its downfall and temporary restoration which put off for a time the final collapse. At the same time he gives sufficient hints that in the State-system known to him Magadha occupied the place of honour.

We have already strayed somewhat from the main line of our enquiry. Vikramāditya is a prominent figure in the annals and tales of our land. The ages have not blurred his memory or dimmed the halo that surrounded his majestic features. Fascinating in history he is simply superb in legend. The *Vikramādityacharita* sums up the achievements of a glorious epoch rather than those of an illustrious reign—an epoch when India enjoyed the blessings of peace and good government, when foreign invaders could not violate the frontiers of the country with impunity, and the muses poured forth in spontaneous abundance all that arms the breast and charms the soul.

ANCIENT INDIAN LIFE AS DEPICTED IN THE WORKS OF KALIDASA

By

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It is not an easy task to draw the line between fact and fiction in Kālidāsa's writings since they are, for the most part, imaginative in character. The rich and glowing imagination of the poet is sure to mislead us, at every turn, if we take his works as nothing but records of pictures of contemporary life. If, on the other hand, we treat them as the products of pure imagination, we shut our eyes to very precious facts about the life of the times. The safest course, therefore, is to consider them as idealised pictures of contemporary society.

Though the date of Kālidāsa is still a matter of controversy, we may safely infer from his works that he lived under some benevolent imperialism and in an age of marked Brāhmaṇical influence. Stray encounters with foreigners like the Greeks and Persians there might have been; but these did not interfere with the material prosperity and happiness which gave rise to art and literature of the highest excellence. Kālidāsa's age was, certainly, not that of any kind of upheaval—political, economic, or religious.

Political Conditions.—

A good insight into the number and distribution of the kingdoms into which the India of Kālidāsa's time was divided can be had from the description of Raghu's 'Digvijaya' or 'World-conquest'. There is a strong body of critical opinion which maintains that this description is based on the conquests of the patron of Kālidāsa. Whatever be the truth underlying this view, there can be no doubt that in describing the countries conquered by a Purāṇic king like Raghu Kālidāsa fully utilises his knowledge of the various kingdoms constituting the India of his day. This Digvijaya as well as the descriptions of the different kings by the companion of Indumatī as she leads the princess along in the marriage pavilion give us an interesting glimpse into the main kingdoms and their leading characteristics. The Suhmas,[1] in the East, are represented as believers in the doctrine that discretion is the better part of valour. We learn that the people of Vaṅga[2] (Bengal) had a strong navy. The Utkalas[3] (Orissa) exhibited great readiness in showing the way to Kaliṅga (Northern Circars) than in opposing Raghu. The king of Kaliṅga was more manly and offered opposition with a strong force of elephants.[4] We hear of Raghu's soldiers 'drinking cocoanut wine in betel leaves'[5] in the Kaliṅga country. Raghu then marches to the South and reaches the slopes of the Malaya mountain[6] (South-Eastern boundary of Mysore). The fragrance of cardamom trodden to dust by the horses is

1. *Raghuvaṁśa* (=*R.*) IV. 35 (N. S. Edition).
2. *R.*, IV. 36.
3. *R.*, IV. 38.
4. *R.*, IV. 40.
5. *R.*, IV. 42.
6. *R.*, IV. 46.

referred to.[1] The Pāṇḍyas[2] (Tinnevelly) unable to give battle to the invader instead gave offerings of valuable pearls. The Keralas[3] (Canara) were then subdued with equal ease. The invasion of the Pārasīkas[4] (Persians and North-West Frontier tribes) was next undertaken by Raghu. Kālidāsa's description in this context leads us to wonder whether the Pārasīkas were regarded as identical with the Yavanas. We get a picturesque description of the battle-field strewn with the severed heads of the Pārasīkas which, with their long and thick beards, resembled bee-hives.[5] The reference to the removal of the head-gear by the Pārasīkas in token of acknowledgement of their defeat clearly points to the western origin of the tribe.[6] Raghu's march to the North and North-East takes him to the banks of the Sindhu (a river in Kashmir) where his horses shook off from their manes the saffron flowers that had clung to them.[7] The Hūṇas were next encountered in the North and subdued.[8] The Kāmbojas (inhabitants of Hindu Kush Mountains) who were next attacked are described as possessed of splendid horses, the best of which they presented to Raghu.[9] The Himālayan hill tribes were then encountered.[10] The king of Prāgjyotisha (Western Bhotan and Eastern Assam) was next subdued[11] and he was followed by the king of Kāmarūpa (Upper Assam), who made a present of excellent elephants.[12]

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1. *R.*, IV. 47.
2. *R.*, IV. 49.
3. *R.*, IV. 54.
4. *R.*, IV. 60.
5. *R.*, IV. 63.
6. *R.*, IV. 64.
7. *R.*, IV. 67.
8. *R.*, IV. 68.
9. *R.*, IV. 69-70.
10. *R.*, IV. 77.
11. *R.*, IV. 81.
12. *R.*, IV. 83.

In the course of the description of Indumatī's 'Svayaṁvara' we find references to some more kingdoms. Mention is made of Magadha[1] (Bihar) with its capital Pāṭaliputra whose women are noted for their beauty.[2] Aṅga[3] (near Bhagalpur) country is not associated with any special excellence. But Avantī (near Dholpur) kingdom with its capital at Ujjain is described with Kālidāsa's characteristic love and pride.[4] The kingdom of Anūpa on the banks of the Jumna[5] and the country of Śūrasena[6] are described as noted for their Purāṇic importance.

Parties of marauders who attacked tourists and caravans were not unknown. We get in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* a vivid picture of the onslaught of such a tribe "wearing peacock plumes which hung down to their ears and with quivers strapped between their shoulders they charged with bows in hand. Their attack was irresistible."[7] The frontiers of kingdoms were protected by fortresses in which garrisons were stationed.

Royal Life : Its Duties and Pleasures.—

Kālidāsa's conception of an ideal king can be inferred from his descriptions of Purāṇic monarchs like Dilīpa and historical rulers like Agnimitra. Administration is, after all, a burden and the man who successfully shoulders this burden renders a great service. Unlike the average ruler who miserably clings to power and wealth at all costs, the ideal kings of Kālidāsa are ever ready to renounce power and pomp and

1. *R.*, VI. 20.
2. *R.*, VI. 24.
3. *R.*, VI. 27.
4. *R.*, VI. 32 ff.
5. *R.*, VI. 37.
6. *R.*, VI. 45.
7. *Mālavikāgnimitra* (=*Māl.*) V. 10 (N. S. Edition).

adopt an ascetic mode of life. Fearless of death and boldly welcoming dangers and difficulties they are great heroes and conquerors. They lead a saintly life in their old age and voluntarily cast aside their mortal coil by a Yogic process.

We may be sure that this conception of the ideal king was not far removed from actuality and to a large extent consisted in the idealisation of existing conditions. The ruler is endowed with splendour, majesty, pomp and power. No amount of familiarity can lead a subject to take liberties with the king who is regarded as almost a superman. The observations of the two dancing-masters in the court of Agnimitra about their ruler are significant. One of them says, "The king is neither unfamiliar nor repellent. Yet I approach him with trepidation. Like the mighty ocean he appears new to me at every moment."[1] The remarks of the second confirm this impression from a different point of view. "My entrance to the court-hall has received the approval of the officer stationed at the door. My escort is one whose duties keep him very near the royal throne. Yet the majesty emanating from the person of the king is such that it beats down my gaze and silently but forcibly keeps me aloof."[2]

The life of the king was one of very heavy responsibilities and risks. When he undertook a Digvijaya either with the object of performing a sacrifice like the Aśvamedha which symbolised the supremacy of his sway or with the object of extending and consolidating his kingdom by subduing his rivals and neighbours, failure to win victory was attended with disastrous consequences. With the danger of foreign invasion ever present

1. *Māl.*, I. 11.
2. *Māl.*, I. 27.

in the horizon it was necessary to be perpetually vigilant to protect oneself against treachery, captivity, or death. Such vigilance presupposes a life of intense activity and a high degree of efficiency in all branches of personal as well as state activity. Such a life will naturally have the effect of leading one to make the most of the present which is real, in preference to a future which is uncertain. This state of things helps us to understand the atmosphere of adventure, heroism and romance in which the king moved from day to day.

Testimony to the personal valour of the king is afforded by the description of incidents like the combat of Prince Aja against his disappointed rivals during his journey back from the Svayaṁvara pavilion, the frequent allusions to the assistance rendered by mortal kings even to a divinity like Indra, and constant reference to the mighty arm of the king ensuring perfect peace and security in the remotest corners of his dominions. A more tangible and conspicuous evidence of such heroism is, of course, afforded by the descriptions of the Digvijayas which, as already stated, are idealised pictures of actual events. The season generally chosen for such Digvijayas was the Śarad or Autumn when the rains have ceased and the earth, free from mire, can be safely traversed by the army. On an auspicious day selected by the astrologers the prescribed religious rites would be performed around the sacrificial fire, the state horse duly worshipped, omens consulted and the procession would start through the capital along streets gaily decorated with flowers, banners and streamers, and lined on both sides by lofty balconies. Handfuls of 'lāja' or fried paddy were showered on the king by aged ladies.[1] The king would be escorted by six kinds of forces com-

1. R., IV. 27.

posed of elephants, horses, chariots, soldiers, sailors and foresters. The chief weapons of warfare were the sword, the bow and arrow, and the spear. The wild tribes appear to have depended chiefly on slings, in the use of which they were so skilled that they could successfully oppose even regular armies by deluging them with a shower of stones.[1] Whenever an enemy submitted to the conqueror without opposition, it was an invariable chivalrous custom to restore the kingdom to him. In the case, however, of monarchs who offered opposition, the booty which might consist of gold, precious stones, elephants, horses, chariots and, sometimes, accomplished girls would be collected and transported to enrich the capital. It is noteworthy that we find no reference to the enslavement or dishonouring of wives and daughters of the vanquished kings. At the conclusion of such conquests the king is generally represented as celebrating a grand sacrifice and distributing the wealth on a lavish scale. This seems to indicate that the guiding motive of these expeditions was not avarice so much as assertion of power.

Side by side with such heroism and adventure there was a good deal of romance in the daily life of the king. The immemorial custom of polygamy was the order of the day. This institution had been so long established and the king's right to a multiplicity of wives so unquestioningly accepted that the utmost that even the relatives of a girl newly added to an already populous harem could expect was that she should be treated on a footing of equality with the other royal wives. The presence of such an institution together with the numerous conventional restrictions inevitably associated with the exalted position of a king lent a spice of

1. *R.*, IV. 77.

charm and adventure to the love-intrigues which would otherwise be drab and commonplace. The social code of the day required that even when he was actually engaged in new adventure of love a king should not ride roughshod over the feelings of the women already married to him. It was natural that, in these circumstances, he should depend upon the help of a number of intermediaries the most important of whom was the Vidūshaka or the court-jester who is often referred to by the significant epithet of Narma-Sachiva (Pleasure-Minister). The maid-servants and companions of the hero and the heroine often play an equally important part in the furtherance of such intrigues. Yet, in spite of the cleverness and resourcefulness of these intermediaries, there arose situations escape from which taxed the ingenuity of the king to the utmost. Among the many aspects of these intrigues that may not appeal to modern taste there is one outstanding and glorious fact that distinguishes these love-episodes from their European counterparts. The most scrupulous regard was paid to the honour of a married woman. Even a notoriously debaucherous king like Agnivarṇa is described as confining all his amours to his queens and members of the prostitute class.

Kālidāsa gives us a number of interesting glimpses into the daily life of the king. The king would be awakened in the morning from his slumber by the sweet strains of the bards. The ablution and decoration would then follow and would not be missed even when the king was out hunting in the forests. The ruler would then probably occupy the seat *Dharmāsana* from which he administered justice to his subjects. A group of Yavana ladies is described as waiting upon the king even in his camps. As the approach of midday

was announced by the conches and beat of drums as well as by the bards the king would leave the judgement seat and proceed to take his food. Here is a picturesque description of a noon in the palace.[1] "The swans repose with half-closed eyes in the shade of the lotus leaves in the pleasure-ponds; on account of the oppressive heat the sloping roofs of the palaces, the usual haunts of the pigeons, are shunned by them; the thirsty peacock follows the movement of the water-wheel eager to catch the drops as they are thrown out. The sun is blazing with the full force of all his rays." This was the hour of the day which the king might call his own. But even this was sometimes encroached upon as on the occasion of Śakuntalā's arrival at the court. The evening scene in the palace is described as lovely even by the chamberlain himself.[2] "The peacocks appear carved, as it were, as they rest on their perches languid with sleep; the thick fumes of incense issuing out of the lattices are indistinguishable from the pigeons reposing under the sloping roofs. The venerable matrons of the harem, diligent in the discharge of their duties, are allotting auspicious evening lights to their appointed spots decked with floral offerings."

Arts and Letters.—

The society pictured to us in the works of Kālidāsa appears to have reached the high-water mark of cultural and artistic achievement. The details relating to sculpture and architecture are meagre as compared with the flood of information bearing on the arts of painting, music and dancing. We find mention of frescoes, group-portraits and free-hand drawing. A

1. *Māl.*, II. 12.
2. *Vikramorvaśīya* (= *V.*) III. 2 (N. S. Edition).

remarkable fact common to every variety of painting is the absence of all reference to copying from a model. The artist is expected to carry in his mind a vivid image of the scene or person to be portrayed and the skill consists in the extent to which he succeeds in making his picture faithful to his mental image. Defects in the picture are invariably attributed to slackness in concentration. Thus, when King Agnimitra finds Mālavikā even lovelier than her portrait he charges the artist with defective concentration. A very high degree of excellence was often achieved in landscape painting. We find, in the *Śākuntala,* an interesting reference to the skill with which King Dushyanta has brought out the elevations and depressions in his picture of Kaṇva's hermitage. "My gaze stumbles, as it were, at the heights and depths in the picture" says the Vidūshaka in appreciation.[1] The chief method of consolation open to the separated lover was the drawing of the beloved's portrait. The degree of realism which was achieved in the painting of animal figures is indicated by the reference to the ferocity with which the lion attacked the elephants in the frescoes of ruined Ayodhyā.[2] An invariable item in the elaborate ritual of women's decoration was the painting of the cheeks and artistic application of lac-dye round the soles of the feet. There are frequent allusions to elephants whose bodies were painted in vivid colours in artistic designs. The wide prevalence of such a high degree of excellence in painting was in no small measure due to the royal patrons who were themselves excellent artists or at any rate able connoisseurs of art.

The great art of music flourished in no less degree than painting. Sweet melodies could keep an entire

1. *Śākuntala*(=*Ś.*) VI, P. 208 (N. S. Edition).
2. *R.*, XVI. 16.

audience spell-bound in admiration. Women who may not have been lettered were nevertheless cultured enough to be able to compose songs about their sweet-hearts, set them to new melodies and play them on the Vīṇā. The tendency of sweet strains to induce sadness is alluded to.[1] Music was often combined with dancing and the meaning of the musical piece conveyed in a highly elaborated language of gesture. Music formed an integral part of dramatic representation and elaborate musical melodies were employed to heighten the emotional effect. The mansions of the rich, especially the royal palaces, contained separate apartments called music-halls, which very probably often served as theatres also. The chief musical instruments mentioned are the Vīṇā, the flute and the drum.

Perhaps the most highly developed of the arts was that of dancing which for the greater part consisted in a combination of graceful movement, melodious music and expressive gesture. The art was cultivated by the young ladies in the households of the rich and an elaborate course of instruction invariably preceded any public exhibition of the art. In some of the royal households the king and the queen had separate dancing-masters attached to their establishments. Most of these teachers cultivated the art as one of hereditary profession and were consequently deeply attached to it with the result that they were keen on maintaining a high standard of excellence. Even more than the salary[2] and the frequent presents paid to such dancing-masters the chief incentive to the progress of the art was provided by the personal interest taken by the ruler who often arranged for exhibitions of the art and wit-

1. *Ś.*, V. 2.
2. *Māl.*, P. 7.

nessed them along with the elite of the court. Dancing in its threefold aspect entered into theatrical representation to such a degree that both of them were designated by the same term. Dancing was not merely a matter of secular interest but formed an integral part of the daily religious worship in the temples. This religious dancing, strangely enough, was confined to the women of the prostitute class. We are fortunate in possessing in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* a description of an ideal dance as well as an ideal dancer. Paṇḍitā Kauśikī, who was appointed to judge the relative merits of the two dancing-masters of Agnimitra's court on the basis of the training imparted by them to their respective pupils, expresses her appreciation of the dancing of Mālavikā, the pupil of Gaṇadāsa, in the following words.[1] "The sense of the piece was well brought out by her limbs which were eloquent with expression; the movement of her feet kept perfect time; the artist identified herself with each mood; graceful were the gestures of the hands; gesture and sentiment were so closely allied that the least change in the one indicated a change in the other, while the interest of the piece remained unabated." The following description of Mālavikā by the king, in the same drama, helps us to get a clear conception of the physical excellences of a female dancer.[2] "With wide eyes her face is as lovely as the autumnal moon; her arms slope down from the shoulders; her chest is small, the breasts high and compact; the sides of the body are planed, as it were; her hips are full and her toes curved. In short, her body is fashioned to suit the ideal figure in a dancing-master's mind." That this art enjoyed a high status is shown by the famous tribute found in

1. *Māl.*, II. 8.
2. *Māl.*, II. 3.

the same play.[1] "The sages describe this (art of dancing) as a peaceful sacrificial ritual appealing to the eyes of the gods; the two styles of this art find expression in Śiva's manifestation as Ardhanārīśvara; the activities of the world springing from the three Guṇas are all found mirrored here with all their emotional colouring; this is the one art that pleases all in spite of their varied tastes."

It is a pity that only fragmentary information is available to us about the stage of the time. We have references to cultivated and critical audiences, directors skilled in the training of actors, enactment of female parts by women, the use of curtains, the existence of a green-room, the custom of beginning a drama with a song about one of the seasons, and the overwhelmingly important part that gesture played in the representation. From some of the stage directions found in Kālidāsa's plays we can safely conclude that the science of gesture had been developed and cultivated to a remarkably high degree. The fact that the audience was well trained in understanding this gesture-language helped the actors to keep the stage clear of a good deal of rubbish which, under the guise of realism, disfigures the present-day stage. From the prologue in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* we learn that Bhāsa, Saumilla, and Kaviputra were amongst the celebrated dramatists whose plays were usually enacted. We must however guard against the impression spread by superficial readers that Kālidāsa himself entertained a high regard for these dramatists of old. No one whom the gods have endowed with the literary sense, as distinguished from the literal sense, can fail to see that the whole spirit of the prologue is one of a challenge to the current celebrity of these authors

1. *Māl.*, I. 4.

and a subtle but firm confidence on the part of youthful Kālidāsa in the superiority, or at any rate non-inferiority, of his own work to those of the ancients.

Kālidāsa's scholarship as distinguished from its poetic genius may be taken to typify the learning of a highly educated Brāhmaṇa of his time. If we remember that Kālidāsa was primarily a poet, his astonishing width of learning helps us to imagine the depth and profundity of the erudition of those who devoted their whole life to two or three branches of learning. There is no doubt that Kālidāsa had great veneration for the Vedas, especially for Upanishadic thought. His close acquaintance with Manu and the *Bhagavadgītā* is beyond dispute. Of the Darśanas, the Yoga and the Sāṅkhya receive special attention. It is curious that of the two Epics practically little attention is paid by him to the *Mahābhārata* in comparison with the *Rāmāyaṇa* which, along with its author Vālmīki, is more than once mentioned with great love and respect. The works of Kālidāsa are studded with references to various Purāṇic episodes. There is no doubt that he was a keen student of Pāṇinian grammar, though we find a few instances of departure from the rules of that celebrated grammarian. No careful reader of the poet's works can fail to observe Kālidāsa's knowledge of astrology and astronomy. Allusion has already been made to his mastery of the arts of music and dancing, and his insight into the arts of painting and sculpture. His close knowledge of Kāmaśāstra is evidenced by his erotic descriptions. The very fact that he was a celebrity probably even in his own time is ample testimony to the critical capacity and literary judgement of his contemporaries. If the culture of his time can be compared

to a mighty tree, Kālidāsa may be aptly described as its best and most delicious fruit.

The Position of Women.—

It is worthy of note that the women describedby Kālidāsa mostly belong to two categories, divine beings and aristocratic humans. Subject to this limitation the place of woman in society, her ideals, hopes, aspirations and trials are vividly portrayed. The first point that strikes a close student of Kālidāsa is the high regard in which he holds women. He says in his own words that "It is a matter of unconcern whether a person is male or female. It is character which good men admire."[1] Nevertheless it would be incorrect to assume that woman was regarded as having a destiny of her own and enjoyed in every respect a status equal to that of man. As a wife her life is linked at every step with that of her husband. In an isolated passage she is even referred to as a mere object of sensual pleasure. In his praise of the *Pativratā* or the 'faithful wife' Kālidāsa is only voicing the sentiment of the entire Hindu people. Pārvatī, as a young bride, is led to the marriage pandal by Pativratās.[2] The feet of Sītā, the Pativratā par excellence, are described as so holy that the head of Bharata, as he touches them in salutation, is hallowed.[3] A Pativratā never fails to further the interests of her husband or follow his path. A special sanctity attaches to a woman whose husband and children are alive. Such a woman is generally selected from among relatives to deck a young bride.[4] It is the Purandhrīs or matrons that are described as having a

1. *Kumārasambhava* (=*K.*) VI. 12.
2. *K.*, VII. 12.
3. *R.*, XIII. 78.
4. *K.*, VII. 6.

special knack in the matter of fixing up marriages.[1] The wife is the chief guide for the husband in the choice of a son-in-law.[2] The frequency of ill-assorted couples is a favourite notion of Kālidāsa.[3]

In Hindu social life the daughter occupies a unique position that cannot be easily realised by outsiders. The early age at which the girl begins to undertake even onerous household tasks, the seclusion from the turmoils of the outside world, the consequent closeness of attachment to the family, the naturally patient and loving disposition of the girl as compared with the turbulence, aggressiveness and possessiveness of the average boy, the necessity of marrying her at a relatively early age, the unknown persecutions that may await her at her mother-in-law's home, the thought that a tenderly reared girl may be subjected to numerous minor and major cruelties without even the relief of giving expression to them before sympathetic ears—these and a number of similar considerations invest the occasion of the daughter's departure for her husband's home with an atmosphere of peculiarly poignant sorrow. Well may Kaṇva, the bachelor sage, have exclaimed: "If I an ascetic should feel so much grief at the parting from a foster-daughter, how great should be the suffering of householders when they are to send away, for the first time, daughters who are their own flesh and blood." Any loving Hindu father may feel confident that the saintly foster-father of Śakuntalā, for all his affection for her, could not have felt half the grief experienced by him at the first parting from his daughter. It is because Kālidāsa has painted the pathos and tenderness of such parting in immortal words that the critical pub-

1. *K.*, VI. 32.
2. *K.*, VI. 85.
3. *Ś.*, V. 15.

lic of India have acclaimed that act to be the best of the best of dramas. It is difficult to resist the temptation to dwell on the beauties of this act but exigencies of space render such resistance imperative.

The main general lessons conveyed in this act may be briefly summarised. The daughter should be regarded as a trust and the father cannot consider the responsibility for the trust as discharged until she is suitably married and sent to her husband's home. The most cherished wish of the newly wedded wife would be to win the love of her husband. However poignant a daughter's grief may be at leaving her parental home for the first time, she is sure to become absorbed in the new duties of her husband's family and feel the grief to a gradually diminishing extent. Romantic love where the two parties pledge their affection without the knowledge of elders and relatives is apt to turn to bitter hatred later on.

We may now turn to Kālidāsa's treatment of the love-intrigues in the polygamous environment of the royal circles. The existence of a well-populated harem was no bar to the king's ardent wooing and winning of a maiden on whom his heart is set. Kālidāsa's handling of this theme often suggests that the hero, in spite of being much married, is experiencing the turbulence of true passion only in the episode that is being described. We have ample evidence to show that this love was far removed from mere lust. True romantic love cannot easily be better expressed than in the following words: "If the two parties are assured of mutual love, even death without hope of meeting each other is preferable to a union between the eager and the indifferent." In the world of such romance the lover feels inclined to

envy even a tree like the Aśoka which is believed to flower when it is gently kicked by a lovely maiden. We find that these coy and demure damsels that shrink from the slightest suggestion of forwardness are the first to assert their power over the hero the moment they are sure of their ground. The heroines of Kālidāsa's dramas are highly cultured and refined and are incapable of the slightest meanness and vulgarity.

The ideal of physical beauty in woman finds expression in the Yaksha's description of his wife: "Slim, youthful, with pointed teeth, possessing lips looking like the ripe Bimba fruit, slender-waisted, with eyes like those of a frightened fawn, with deep navel, with languid gait due to heavy hips, with her form slightly bent by her breasts, she is the first and the best work, as it were, of the Creator in the line of youthful women."[1] The frequent reference to the grace of movement and charm of look indicate the prevalence of an ideal of female beauty which discouraged fatness and uncouthness. A girl cannot expect a more charming personal compliment than to be told, as Śakuntalā was by her friends, that with her by its side the tree appears to be companioned by a creeper. The sentiment underlying the statement that "beauty unadorned is adorned the most" was very popular and finds expression in various charming ways. Before the women began to decorate Pārvatī the bride, they are said to have tarried a while, their gaze overpowered by the unadorned beauty of her form.[2] Genuine loveliness of form is described as lending charm to ornaments themselves. Innate beauty is described as pleasing in all situations and possessed of the power to make anything serve as an embellishment of itself.

1. *Meghadūta* II. 21.
2. *K.*, VII. 13.

In spite of this, the inborn and immemorial love of women for dress, decoration and ornaments found the fullest possible expression. A favourite material of dress was silk and we find an actual reference to the prevalence of China silk though not in the context of woman's dress. Armlets, bracelets, ear-rings, anklets, pearl necklaces, elaborately carved girdles were all common. The custom of painting the cheeks, finger nails and the fringe of the soles of the feet has been already mentioned. Young sprouts and fresh flowers figured largely in the daily ritual of personal adornment. Scented water was used for bathing. Even when a number of ladies enjoyed water sports, various fragrant articles such as sandal powder were used and lent their fragrance to the entire pond or lake. The hair was often dried by the fumes of burning incense. Flowers were used not only for garlands but also as ear-ornaments. In the *Meghadūta* we find a reference to the pollen of the Lodhra flower being used as a kind of face-powder. The tender tresses at the top of the forehead appear to have been artistically fastened with flowers. Kālidāsa is fond of describing flowers as secured within the flowing tresses before they were braided or plaited. Collyrium was applied to the eyes with a slender stick. The animation of youthful beauty is described as reinforced by the charm lent by wine. This seems to suggest that convivial gatherings of men and women in pleasure-gardens, especially in the evening, were familiar scenes at the time. Frequent allusion is made to a naive, though charming, belief that different varieties of trees would cease to be barren of flowers if young maidens administered the prescribed kinds of treatment such as a gentle kick for one, embrace for another, dance for the third and so on. Among the

favourite games of young girls was what may be termed "Sandheap Hide and Seek". Some object would be hidden in one of several sandheaps and the chosen player would be required to discover the object. Dolls and balls were also common.

In spite of all that has been said in praise of chastity we may be sure that the society of Kālidāsa's day was, in no sense, puritanical. Woman played her full part in the social pleasures. The recurring mention of women secretly repairing to the haunts of their lovers is significant. One striking feature of this side of social life is that all these women of pleasure were, as far as we can gather, the women of the hetaera class or one's own wives. The sanctity of married life appears to have been kept inviolate as has been already noted.

Government.—

Detailed information about government is not available. We know that the caste system as well as the four orders of life were respected very highly by the king and all violations of the rules relating to them severely punished. The king was himself trained in the science of Polity and was assisted by able ministers whose advice he rarely set aside. Many of these ministers were hereditary and were prepared to lay down their life for their king. Though Kālidāsa does not refer by name to any writer on the science of Politics, we may safely assume that the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya was well known to him. In a verse in the *Raghuvaṁśa* where there is a reference to the king making the extra population of a city settle in suburbs, Kālidāsa employs the very phrase found in this context in Kauṭilya. As has been already noted, a king was advised to strike the mean between cold reserve and excessive familiarity.

He should guard his counsels very carefully and should not betray them by word or gesture. In fact the result alone should help the people to infer the planning of the enterprise. The king should cultivate the habit of persisting in his efforts till the attainment of success. He is expected to do for his subjects everything that a loving parent does for his children, training them, protecting them from danger, cherishing them, settling their disputes, and chastising the wicked among them. He was expected to encourage even outsiders if they were worthy and cast off the wicked even if they happened to be related to him. He was required to cherish the aims of duty, wealth and pleasure in a balanced manner without undue stress on any one of them to the exclusion of the other two. His revenue was derived from the taxes which consisted of one-sixth of the produce, tributes from feudatory chiefs and forfeiture of the property of those that died heirless. The notion that the king's wealth was not to be used merely for his personal enjoyment but should be employed for the good of the people was accepted by the ruler and the ruled alike. Even at the summit of temporal power the king never allowed himself to be intoxicated by wealth and often voluntarily undertook the celebration of sacrifices that helped to distribute the wealth over a wide area. Many of the kings gloried in the title of 'Rājarshi' *i. e.* 'Royal Saint', the need for the frequent employment of which is one of the glories of Hindu civilisation. As soon as the heir-apparent was found capable of shouldering the responsibilities of the kingdom the ruling monarch would hasten to transfer it to younger shoulders and betake himself to the forest to lead a life of asceticism and meditation. We do find in Kālidāsa a reference to

princes desiring to possess the kingdom by nefario means, but this is intended not as a statement of curre practice but to enhance the greatness of the particul prince who was reluctant to deprive his father of t kingdom even when the father himself insisted on t transfer.

Social and Religious Conditions.—

Even if we bring together all the scattered referenc of a social character in Kālidāsa's writings we shall not l able to construct a complete picture of the social life his day. We can only hope to get a glimpse here and glimpse there at points where the life of the commo man impunges on the life of the upper classes. W have, of course, much more information on the life an habits of royal folk. In the *Śākuntala* we come acros a fisherman who is more than a match in wit and clever ness to the police officers who charge him with the thel of the royal signet-ring. He has all the impudence o his station in life and, in addition, the courage of the in nocent man. He is not, in the least, ashamed of hi profession. When his innocence is established and th officers whose 'fingers were itching to impale him' viev with disappointment and envy the fat purse presentec to him by the king, he slyly asks them what they *now* thought of the profession which they had ridiculed ir sarcastic terms. The removal of all misunderstanding and the establishment of friendly relations as soon as the fisherman offers fifty per cent of his acquisition as 'the price of flowers',[1] a euphemistic epithet for 'bribe', indicate that human nature, especially in certain situations and contexts, has remained practically unaltered. The fisherman's evasion of direct answers to the queries

1. Ś., VI, P. 187.

put to him, the impatience of the police constable at the prevarication of the supposed culprit and the administration of a rebuke to the constables by the higher officer, the king's brother-in-law, are all characteristic.

The period was marked by the celebration of natural festivals such as the spring festival. In this festival people freely squirted coloured water over one another from syringe-like contrivances. A favourite royal sport was the swing in the pleasure-garden attached to the palace. Gardens, both public and private, were a notable feature of the times. They contained, besides various kinds of fruit and flower trees, long rectangular ponds whose view was commanded by the windows of the palace apartments. The 'Jalakrīḍā' or 'water-sport' in the company of ladies was another favourite pastime. There are references to 'pleasure-hills, which were, probably, artificial hillocks with terraces, walks, etc. Mention is made of mansions which were so constructed as to prove comfortable during all the seasons of the year. The inner apartments were rendered fragrant by burning incence in a censer carried around. In the *Vikramorvaśīya* we get the description of a lovely scene in which the queen awaits on the terrace of a crystal mansion the arrival of the king, as a preliminary to the worship of the rising moon. The heat of summer was, as it were, attacked from various points. Shower-baths, fans, sandal water, the moon-stone, pleasure-gardens, moonlit terraces, perfumed wine consecrated by the lips of the beloved,—these were some of the means adopted to make life pleasant and enjoyable in a season that saps the vitality and induces enervation. It was a common practice for kings and nobles to keep parrots, minas, swans, pigeons, and sometimes monkeys in the premises of dwelling

houses. Chariots drawn by horses were the common mode of conveyance. Special chariots suited for ladies are referred to. Palanquins of a square type were some times used. Princess Indumatī is said to have gone round the marriage pavilion seated in such a palanquin. We do not get many details about the delicacies of the time. We find reference, however, to pudding and savoury liquid preparations of the mango.

Hunting was a sport, which, though theoretically condemned, was popular in practice. Both in the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Śākuntala* we find it defended in almost identical terms. The chief virtues associated with it are the slimming effect on the body, the opportunity given to the hunter to watch the conflict of the hunted animal between fear and anger and the triumph experienced when the arrow succeeds in hitting a moving target.[1]

Coming to religious conditions, the most striking point is the total absence of reference to Buddhism and Jainism. Hinduism was, of course, at its zenith. The recognition of the power and superiority of the Brāhmaṇa and the ascetic was universal. The belief in the potency of curses and in the truth of prophesies was equally common. Temples are referred to, but only of Śiva. We know that Kālidāsa himself was a devotee of Śiva, though he was too cultured to be a fanatic. The belief in the power of Yoga to give supernormal powers was recognised. The efficacy of Yajñas or religious sacrifices was undoubted. The belief in rebirth and the power of the mind to recall, though subconsciously, the experiences of past birth are articles of faith with Kālidāsa. In the case of good men the promptings of

1. *Ś.*, II. 5.

the heart can be taken as guides for conduct. Holy places and their power to remove sin are alluded to. The cow enjoyed great sanctity. Omens and favourable constellations were consulted and determined one's attitude to new undertakings. The effect of the moon on herbs and their phosphorescent radiance at night are frequently mentioned. On the whole, the society may be described as saturated with Hindu ideals, customs and beliefs. The crowning point of this ideal, namely, the desire for freedom and escape from rebirth, forms the concluding prayer of the king in the *Śākuntala*. We may safely believe that it was the cherished prayer also of Kālidāsa—the beloved poet of National India.

HISTORICITY OF VIKRAMADITYA

By

H. C. SETH, Amraoti

In a paper 'Khāravela and Gardabhila' published in the *Nagpur University Journal* (No. 8), I have suggested that Khāravela belonged to the 1st century B. C. and that Khāravela and Gardabhila may be identical. The following points suggest this identification :

(1) The name 'Gardabhila' may be reminiscent of 'Khāravela'. One of the versions of the *Kālakāchārya-Kathā* directly suggests that 'Gardabhilla' was the nick-name of the king.[1] Jayaswal had shrewdly observed: "As to the name 'Gardabhila' we may take the Purāṇic readings 'Gardabhila' and 'Gardabhin' and the Jain 'Gaddabhilla' or 'Gaddabhila' and 'Rāsabha' as Sanskritization of 'Khara' (ass) in 'Khāra-vela,' and 'vela' was probably turned into 'bhilla' or 'bhila' alternatively, which finds echo in Somadeva's story of the marriage of Vikramāditya with the daughter of Bhila, sovereign of Kaliṅga. Compare the Orissa stories making Kharabhila I and Kharabhila II the last of the seven Bhila

1. W. N. Brown: *The Story of Kālaka,* P. 106. This and some other versions of the Kālaka story give Darpaṇa as another name of Gardabhila.

Vaṁśa kings of Orissa beginning with Airabhila.[1] The Jainas gave the derivation from 'ass' as the story of she-ass of Gaddabhila at Ujjayinī is given in *Kālakāchārya-Kathānaka,* and Jinasena in 783 A. D. translated it by 'Rāsabha-rājānaḥ' ('ass Kings'), to whom he assigned 100 years. 'Khara' was equated with 'Garddhabha', 'Garddhabhin' and 'Garddhabhi-la' (Prākṛita: born of a she-ass). I think, the forms 'Garddabha-bhila', 'Gaddabhila', 'Gardhabhin', are contemporary, popular, probably caricatured, forms of unfamiliar 'Khāra-vela' in Western India. The name could be easily caricatured.......The process of translation is evident throughout; *e. g.,* Jinasena—— 'Rāsabha-rājānaḥ' ('the assine Kings')."[2] Jayaswal did not realise the full implication of this suggestion, perhaps, because of his preoccupation with the idea that Khāravela of the Hāthigumphā inscription belonged to the second century B. C. If Khāravela is a figure of the 1st century B. C., he may be the founder of the Gardabhila dynasty of the Purāṇas. He and the dynasty founded by him were, perhaps, first nicknamed as Gardabhilas in the Purāṇas because of their patronisation of Jainism, as is fully evidenced in the Hāthigumphā and the Mañchapurī cave inscriptions. The later-day Jain traditions also re-echoed the same nickname.

(2) From the Jain sources we gather that Gardabhila flourished in the first half of the first century B. C. According to the *Kālakāchārya-Kathā,* which is generally believed to have a nucleus of historical truth, Gardabhila was overthrown by the Śakas, whom Kālaka brought to Saurāshṭra and thence to Ujjain from the western bank of the Indus. According to the Jain traditions, before

1. *JBORS,* XVI, P. 191.
2. *JBORS,* XVI, Pp. 306-307.

the commencement of the Vikrama era which synchronises with 58 B. C., we have 4 years assigned to the Śakas and before the Śakas 13 years to Gardabhila.[1] This will place Gardabhila's reign from 75 to 62 B. C., almost the same period which could be assigned to Khāravela of the Hāthigumphā inscription.

(3) It seems that Gardabhila snatched Malwa from the Śuṅgas, and also stemmed in that region the rising tide of the Āndhras, whose influence had reached Central India, as indicated by the Sanchi inscription of Kṛishṇa and Śātakarṇi, second and third kings respectively of this dynasty. Khāravela's inscription also informs us of his westward conquests in disregard of Śātakarṇi. His arms reached westwards as far as the land of the Bhojakas and the Rāshṭrikas. It is probable that his conquest also covered the region of Malwa, and he must have destroyed the influence of the Āndhra king Śātakarṇi from this region also.

(4) We may also compare the 13 years reign assigned to Gardabhila in the Jain traditions to the account of the activities of the thirteen years of Khāravela's reign given in the Hāthigumphā inscription. What actually happened to Khāravela in the fourteenth year, his inscription does not help us to make out. But one thing is clear that his career of conquest suddenly came to an end with the thirteenth year of his reign. If he lived beyond that he must have led exclusively a religious life. If the surmise that Khāravela is identical with Gardabhila is correct, then likely his defeat at the hands of the Śakas in Malwa, as is suggested by *Kālakāchārya-Kathā*, brought his victorious career to an end.

1. Merutuṅga's *Vichāraśreṇi*.

(5) The Purāṇas suggest that there were seven kings in the Gardabhila dynasty.[1] With this we may compare the seven kings mentioned in certain manuscripts, found in Orissa, as belonging to the dynasty to which Kharabhila (Khāravela) belonged.[2]

(6) Both the Gardabhila dynasty and the dynasty founded by Khāravela appear to be great patronisers of Jainism. The inscriptions of Khāravela, of his queen, and of Vakradeva, perhaps his successor, found in Udayagiri hill caves bear testimony to their intimate association with Jainism. The story of Kālaka brings Gardabhila in close connection with the Jain community and his son Vikramāditya is made out in the Jain traditions as an ardent follower of Jainism.

(7) Another important fact may be mentioned which may throw light on the identification of Gardabhila with Khāravela. According to the *Kālakāchārya-Kathā* Gardabhila abducted and brought into his harem Kālaka's sister, which enraged the latter and made him seek the help of the Śakas to destroy the powerful Gardabhila. Kālaka, according to the traditions preserved in the various versions of the *Kālakāchārya-Kathā*, was the son of Vajrasiṁha[3] (Prākṛita: Vairisiṁha), king of Dhār (in Malwa). In one of the versions of the *Kālakāchārya-Kathā* this Vajrasiṁha, king of Dhār, is mentioned as hailing from Magadha.[4] This may indicate that Vajrasiṁha perhaps belonged to one of the branches of the Śuṅga dynasty of Magadha. It may be surmised that Vajrasiṁha may be Vajramitra

1. Pargiter: *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, P. 72.
2. *JBORS*, Vol. XVI (1930), P. 191.
3. Brown: *The Story of Kālaka*, P. 98, and P. 52, Note 2.
4. *Ibid*, Pp. 71 and 78.

mentioned in the Purāṇas as the 8th king of the Śuṅga dynasty.

We gather from Khāravela's inscription that one of his queens was of Vajra family.[1] The part of the inscription mentioning this queen has become obscure. It is difficult to say whether it means that in the seventh year of his reign Khāravela married this lady or that she gave birth to a son. In the light of our suggestion that Gardabhila and Khāravela may be identical, it may be surmised that Khāravela's queen of the Vajra family may be the sister of Kālaka and the daughter of Vajrasiṁha, king of Dhār, according to the *Kālakāchārya-Kathā*. This will then suggest that Kālaka was annoyed with Gardabhila not only because he abducted his sister, but perhaps also because he snatched the kingdom of Dhār or Eastern Malwa from his family.[2]

The identification of Khāravela and Gardabhila may give a new interest to the question of the historicity of Vikramāditya, who according to persistent Indian traditions destroyed the Śakas and thereby earned the title of Śakāri and who also started the Vikrama (or Mālava) era, reckoned from 58-7 B.C. *Kālakāchārya-Kathā* informs us that the Śakas, who defeated Gardabhila, themselves after some time were defeated and driven out of Ujjain by Vikramāditya, who established his own era. According to other Jain traditions Vikramāditya was the son of Gardabhila and, four years after Gardabhila's defeat, he drove the Śakas out of Ujjain.[3] According to the reckoning common amongst the Jainas

1. *JBORS*, Vol. XIII, P. 227.

2. Some of the stories in popular tradition connected with Vikramāditya and his father Gandharvasena make out the latter as the king of Dhārānagara. Penzer: *Ocean of Stories*, Vol. VI.

3. Merutuṅga's *Vichāraśreṇi*.

it happened in 58-7 B. C., the initial date of the Vikrama era. That a certain Vikramāditya well-known for his liberality did flourish about this period is attested by the reference to him in the Prākṛita work *Gāthāsaptaśati*[1] attributed to the Sātavāhana king Hāla who belonged to the first or second century A. D.

In the Udayagiri hill, which contains the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, we have also in the Mañchapurī cave an inscription of Khāravela's queen and another of Vakadepasīrī (Śrī Vakradeva), who like Śrī Khāravela styles himself Aira Mahārāja Mahāmeghavāhana Lord of Kaliṅga.[2] It is generally surmised that Vakadepa or Vakradeva is the son and successor of Khāravela.[3] In the light of our conclusion that Khāravela and Gardabhila are identical, identification of Vakradeva (Vikramadeva ?)[4] with Vikramāditya may be hinted at. The *Yugapurāṇa* appended to the *Gargasaṁhitā* suggests a conflict between the king of Kaliṅga and Śat (Śatavāhana ?) on the one hand and the Śakas on the other, in which the Śakas were completely destroyed.[5] The reference to Śiprā in the

1. Ch. V, Verse 64.
2. Lüders: *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, App.), No. 1347.
3. *Cam. Hist. of India*, Vol. I, Pp. 602 and 639.
4. The inscription of Vakradeva has become so obscure at the place where the name occurs that it has become difficult to make out exactly what the original reading may have been. 'Vikramadeva' may have been the original form, of which the worn out form now remains as Vakadepa or Vakradeva. R. D. Banerji was inclined to read it as Kudepasiri in place of Vakadepasiri. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, P. 161.)
5. शकानां च ततो राजा ह्यर्थलुब्धो महाबलः ।
दुष्टभावश्च पापश्च विनाशे समुपस्थिते ।
कलिङ्गशतराजार्थे विनाशं वै गमिष्यति ॥
केचद्रकण्डैः शबलैर्विलुपन्तो गमिष्यति ।
कनिष्ठास्तु हताः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ॥
—*JBORS*, Vol. XIV (1928), P. 404.

same text would also suggest that this took place near Ujjain. This reference in the *Yugapurāṇa* may be to the events which led to the destruction of the Śakas in 58 B. C. It may then seem likely that Vikramāditya, son of Gardabhila, who according to our conclusion is the same as Khāravela, started for the reconquest of Malwa from Kaliṅga, and in alliance with the Sātavāhanas, as is also implied in the popular traditions,[1] drove the Śakas out of Ujjain and established his own rule there. In commemoration of this victory over the Śakas was, perhaps, started the Mālava era commonly associated in the Indian traditions with Vikramāditya. Under Vikramāditya the seat of the Gardabhila or Khāravela dynasty may have been removed from Kaliṅga to Ujjain which the political events connected with the period had made so important.

1. In the popular traditions Vikrama is represented as coming from Pratishṭhāna to Ujjain. This will suggest his association with the Āndhras or Sātavāhanas whose seat was at Pratishṭhāna. Compare Penzer: *Ocean of Stories*, Vol. VI, P. 232.

AVANTI DEŚA BIRTH-PLACE OF MAHĀRĀSHṬRA

By

SHANKAR RAMCHANDRA SHENDE, Sangli

I. Introductory

A student of history or geography will find the title of this article a surprising one, because no book on either of these subjects has ever taught him that Avanti had any connection with Mahārāshṭra. This makes me write the present article. An attempt has recently been made to fix the extent of Mahārāshṭra of the sixth century,[1] wherein not only Avanti Deśa, *i. e.*, Mālava, but still northern regions, *i. e.*, Gurjarātra[2] or Gurjara Deśa and half of Rajputana, were parts of Mahārāshṭra. These parts lying to the North of the Vindhya mountain and the Narmadā river ceased to be so, it seems, sometime between the 7th and the 12th centuries of the Śaka Era, a reference to which effect is available in **नर्मदाकर्णाटकयोर्मध्ये महाराष्ट्रविषयः**[3] ('Mahārāshṭra lies between Narmadā and Karṇāṭaka'), indicating that Mahārāshṭra has since lost these parts. This article while

1. *Annals* of B. O. R. I., Vol. XXIII, Pp. 494 to 509.
2. *Ibid*, P. 501, Foot-note 4.
3. P. 103 of the *Jayamaṅgalā* Commentary (12th century) on the **वात्स्यायनकामसूत्र** published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series

showing how Avanti Deśa gave birth to Mahārāshṭra is adding strength to the former statement pertaining to the extent of Mahārāshṭra.

2. To prove that Avanti was the birth-place of Mahārāshṭra, we have to see that it had regional, linguistic and social affinity with Mahārāshṭra.

3. Since Avanti was dismembered from Mahārāshṭra more than 600 years ago, traces of either of these points are very few and far between. That it was regionally a part of Mahārāshṭra has already been proved in an article; hence I will try here to show its linguistic affinities to support this issue. To do so I have to trace the history of the colonization of Bhāratavarsha by the Āryas, Mahārāshṭra being their last and fourth colony, and that of their languages, Mahārāshṭrī being that of Mahārāshṭra, and to prove that Mahārāshṭrī and Marathi were prevalent in Avanti.

II. Four Colonies of Vaidika Āryas

4. The theory of river-side colonization is a recognized one and the praises of rivers in Vedic literature[1] go to support it. सप्तसिन्धवः,[2] *i. e.*, शुतुद्री, परुष्णी, असिक्नी, मरुद्वृधा, वितस्ता, आर्जीकीया and सुषोमा, described along with others in—

इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचता परुष्ण्या ।

असिक्न्या मरुद्वृधे वितस्तयार्जीकीये शृणुह्या सुषोमया ॥[3]

have given birth to the colony of सप्तसिन्धवः country,[4] the present Punjab, the battlefield of दाशराज्ञ and other battles. This is the first colony the Vaidika Āryas have

1. *Ṛigveda* III. 33, VII. 50 and X. 75.
2. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, P. 424. *Ṛigveda* I. 32. 12; I. 34. 8; IV. 21. 2; and VIII. 96. 1. Also *Atharvaveda* IV. 6. 2.
3. *Ṛigveda* X. 75. 5.
4. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, P. 424; *Ṛigveda* VIII. 24. 27.

made in Bhāratavarsha. The second colony was created in the doabs of Gaṅgā and Yamunā. This is the land where the epoch-making story of Mahābhārata took place. The third colony can be said to be Magadha Deśa, further on, on the Easterly course of Gaṅgā, the birth-place of two new Vedānta Schools preached by Buddha and Mahāvīra. And the last and fourth colony began to come into being from the mouths of Charmaṇvatī (*i. e.*, the river Chambal) but actually established in Avanti Deśa, the greatest seat of learning, culture and art. Reference to the first three colonies is made here to show the course of colonization of Bhāratavarsha by the Vaidika Āryas. Now we will go into details about the colonization of Avanti Deśa, the subject-matter of this article.

III. Colonization of Avanti Deśa

5. As we have seen, the Vaidika Āryas after having colonized सप्तसिन्धवः country began to do so in the doabs of Gaṅgā and Yamunā and, while passing by the course of the latter, reached a place, some miles East of Agra, where a new river merged into it. It was Charmaṇvatī. It cannot be either impossible or impracticable that some of the colonists took fancy to proceed by the banks of the new river. But unfortunately for them the region through which the new river passed was a hilly tract and desert of Rajputana, unsuitable to reside in, and therefore they were forced to march on till they reached the fertile land and settled down there to form a colony of the name of Avanti Deśa.

6. There is no direct reference anywhere to whatever has been said above. But we have a strong support to say so in the history of the Prākṛita languages to which we will turn a little later. The colony that

came into being in Avanti Deśa spread in due course of time, with its peculiar type of society, modes of living, characteristics, language and customs, over the half of the Southern regions below Narmadā, under a common name of Mahārāshṭra. The Vedic literature has no mention of Charmaṇvatī, Vindhya, Avanti, Narmadā or any other division or river of Mahārāshṭra, and, therefore, no one is inclined to say that the colonization of Mahārāshṭra took place in the days when the Vedas were being composed.

IV. Is it a Colony of Vedic Age ?

7. I have also no direct evidence, but it is a matter for consideration whether चर्मशिरस् referred to in the *Nighaṇṭu*[1] has any bearing on the name Charmaṇvatī. Similarly whether the words क्षिप्रा in 'अतिक्षिप्रेव विध्यति'[2] and दक्षिणापदा[3] have any connection with क्षिप्रा river on the banks of which Avanti town is situated and the name दक्षिणापथ of the Southern half of Bhāratavarsha.

V. Colony of Vidarbha of Brāhmaṇa Period

8. We will get another clue if we can fix up the age of the colonization of विदर्भ. We find references to Revā *i. e.* Narmadā in 'Revottaras'[4] and to Vidarbha in 'वैदर्भीकौण्डण्य'[5] and in 'वैदर्भिभीम'[6] and to Nishadha Deśa in 'नैषिध',[7] and from all these references we can safely say that the Āryas had crossed Vindhya and Narmadā and reached and colonized Vidarbha by the time when the *Śatapatha* and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇas* were composed.

1. A compilor of the *Nighaṇṭu* (*Nighaṇṭu* 3. 35). Vide प्राचीन चरित्रकोश by Chitrava Shastri, P. 182.
2. *Ṛigveda* IV. 8. 8.
3. *Ṛigveda* X. 61. 8.
4. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XII. 8. 1. 17 and 9. 3. 1.
5. *Ibid*, XIV. 5. 5. 22 and 7. 3. 28.
6. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VII. 34. 9.
7. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* II. 3. 2. 1-2 (*Calcutta Review*, Oct. 1924, P. 68).

9. Nay, we can even say that the colonization of Vidarbha took place when the last portion of the Vedas was, as is presumed, under compilation and when the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the oldest and earliest of all the Brāhmaṇas, was being composed.

VI. Date of Colonization of Avanti Anterior to that of Vidarbha

10. That colonization of Vidarbha must have taken place after Avanti Deśa was completely colonized need not require any evidence. It is a matter for common sense to guess. The route to Vidarbha goes *via* Avanti and Oṅkāra-Māndhātā. This has been elaborately dealt with in a paper recently read by me before the Sixth Session of the Indian History Congress held at Aligarh. This route is an easy passage and hence used ever since by Agastya, Rāmachandra, pupils of a Buddha Bhikshu, Mahomedan travellers and conquerors while coming to the South and by the Marathas while going to the North.

11. From this we may safely take that the Āryas went to Vidarbha from Avanti Deśa after they had completely colonized it. Another record supports our view by the fact that the southern capital of Avanti Deśa was Oṅkāra-Māndhātā, *i. e.* Māhisatti,[1] a few centuries before Christ. All this goes to substantiate that Vidarbha was colonized through and after the colonization of Avanti, which is therefore anterior to that of Vidarbha, and certainly by the time of composition of the Brāhmaṇa literature and most probably when the last portions of the Vedas were being compiled.[2]

1. *Carmichael Lectures* 1918 by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Pp. 53-54.
2. (*a*) *Ibid*, P. 2; (*b*) *Calcutta Review*, Oct. 1924, P. 68; (*c*) *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, P. 273, Footnote 17.

VII. Four Languages of the Four Colonies

12. Now let us tackle the issue of linguistic evidence. The four main colonies had four main languages of their own. Chhando-Bhāshā is the name of the language used in the Vedas while Sanskrit is that of literature of the later period. These two forms of languages were used for literary and religious purposes by the literary personages while the spoken languages were unpolished and uncultured, had provincial or rather colonial forms in each colony for daily purposes with slight differences. We get reference to these in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as: तेऽसुरा "हेऽलयो हेऽलय" इति कुर्वन्तः पराबभूवुः। तस्मात् ब्राम्हणेन न म्लेच्छितवै नापभाषितवै । म्लेच्छो ह वा एष यदपशब्दः ॥[1] Similarly in the *Pātañjala-Mahābhāshya* we find: भूयांसोऽपभ्रंशाः अल्पीयांसः शब्दाः । एकैकस्य शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशाः ॥[2] Here the unpolished form is termed as अपशब्द, अपभ्रंश, अपभाषा, and अल्पीयस् शब्द. These types of languages have received the name "Prākṛita" in the *Śikshā*.[3] And at a subsequent date we get a Prākṛita Grammar which is an evidence to show that these Prakrits reached a literary stage. These Prakrits as described by Vararuchi are four. They are given in a geographical sequence as under :—

Names of Prakrit Languages	Provinces where Spoken	Vaidika Colonies	Present Day Provinces
पैशाची ..	पिशाच्च देश ..	सप्तसिन्धवः ..	पंजाब.
शौरसेनी ..	शूरसेन देश ..	..	संयुक्त प्रांत and राजपूताना.
मागधी ..	मगध देश ..	..	बिहार.
महाराष्ट्री ..	महाराष्ट्र देश..	..	मध्य भारत and महाराष्ट्र.

1. *Pātañjala-Mahābhāshya* (N. S. P. Edition, 1901), P. 8.
2. सायणाचार्यकृत ऋग्वेदभाष्योपक्रमणिका (Calcutta Ed.), P. 70.
3. प्राकृते संस्कृते चापि स्वयं प्रोक्ताः स्वयंभुवा ।—*Pāṇinīya Śikshā*.

Since these colonies must have been a connected course of moving further and further, we are right in taking the course of Charmaṇvatī as a starting point of Mahārāshṭra and settlement and coming into being of it in Avanti Deśa; from which central place it spread in all directions and particularly in the South of नर्मदा upto महिषमंडळ. First Marathi sentence of the 10th century is available at श्रवणबेळगोळ in Mysore State[1] and inscriptions in महाराष्ट्री of the 3rd century B. C. are there.

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1. Mysore State is said to be the home of Kannaḍa language but the linguistic data of it is quite different. Rao S. Hayavadana Rao, editor of the *Mysore State Gazetteer* (1930 Ed.), states in Vol. II, Part I, Chapter IX :

Page 401 (*a*) Output of Sanskrit is not by any means negligible;

(*b*) while that in Prakrit leads us to infer that there should have been a great deal more before Sanskrit re-asserted itself and Kannaḍa attained the upper hand.

(*c*) The Jainas and the Brāhmaṇas translated Sanskrit literature into Kannaḍa (after the 9th century).

Page 402 (*d*) Before the 9th century Sanskrit and Prakrit were cultivated.

(*e*) Kannaḍa literature was not there before this period.

Page 403 (*f*) Chitaldrug inscriptions date 252 B. C. There is one inscription of Śālivāhana and two of Kadamba and coins of the 1st and the 2nd century. This Prakrit is Mahārāshṭrī.

Page 404 (*g*) Prakrit inscriptions are available upto the 5th century A. D.

(*h*) The Jainas have written in Prakrit upto the 11th century and thereafter in Sanskrit.

All these statements go to prove that the Mahisha-Maṇḍala, *i. e.*, Mysore, was a land of Dravidians long before the Vaidika Āryas reached there and colonized it and took along with them and spread Sanskrit and Prakrit, languages of their own, for use in their new colonies. Since the literature available written by the Āryas dates 3rd century B. C. it can be surmised that they must have reached and settled there some more centuries earlier than this date.

VIII. Mahārāshṭrī and Marathi Language of Avanti Deśa

13. I have to show here that the language of Mahārāshṭra was prevalent in Avanti Deśa.

(*a*) Alaṅkāra-Śāstra written by Bhojadeva of Dhārā (Śaka 932 to 977) incorporated in the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*[1] (Kāvyamālā, 94) contains Marathi words of the present day type, in the commentary on Verse 11 on Pages 126-127, which are described there as **सिद्धिर्महाराष्ट्रीतः** and **महाराष्ट्रदेशीयत्वात् देशीपदानाम्.**

(*b*) Many common words and grammatical forms were the same in Hindi and Marathi, North and South of Vindhya, in the 13th century literature.[2]

(*c*) Common origin traced of proverbs in Hindi of Gwalior and Marathi of Mahārāshṭra current to-day[3] is a conclusive evidence to establish sociological and cultural oneness of the two societies residing in these two lands. The proverbs mentioned above are the remnants of that former oneness of the people who used these.

(*d*) An inscription in Mahārāshṭrī dated[4] Śaka 1132 has been found at Dhar.

(*e*) There was a dialect named Āvantī naturally prevalent in Avanti Deśa. This dialect has been described as **आवन्ती स्यान्महाराष्ट्री शौरसेन्यस्तु संकरात्.**[5]

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1. Baroda Oriental Library Department, Sanskrit Series—6529.
2. पुरुषार्थ (मराठी मासिक), Sept. 1941, P. 82.
3. *Ibid*, Pp. 76-82.
4. *Epi. Ind.*, April 1906.
5. *Prākṛitasarvasva* by Mārkaṇḍeya.

(*f*) Prof. Patankar in a paper read by him at Ujjain in 1906 showed affinity[1] of Rāṅgaḍī dialect of Malwa towards Marathi.

IX. Antiquity of Avanti Deśa

14. I have no reference to take the antiquity of Avanti beyond a few centuries prior to Śaka Era. I am, therefore, inclined to seek it by some other source, *i. e.*, by giving the date of Vidarbha and thence calculating that of Avanti.

15. (*a*) The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* which refers to Vidarbha is dated 3100 years before the Saka Era.[2]

(*b*) Rukmiṇī, daughter of a king of Vidarbha, had married Kṛishṇa who was a party to the Bhāratīya War which is dated 3735 years in Verse 33 of the Aihole inscription[3] of Śaka 556:—

त्रिंशत्त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाहवादितः ।
सप्ताब्दशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु ॥

(*c*) The date of the Mahābhārata War is corroborated in a different way, *i. e.*, the year of the Yudhishṭhira Śaka which is to-day 5044 as is being given in the Pañchāṅga Calendar of orthodox method. This is exactly the date given

1. Preface to *Dnyāneśvarī* by V. K. Rajwade, P. 55.
2. (*a*) भारतीय ज्योतिषशास्त्र by S. B. Dikshit (1931 Edn.), P. 128.
   (*b*) A letter by V. B. Ketkar on P. 409 of महाराष्ट्रीय ज्ञानकोश, Vol. II.
   (*c*) *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXIV, P. 245.
3. (*a*) *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. VI, P. 1.
   (*b*) *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions* by Diskalkar, Part II, Pp. 130-134.

in the Aihole inscription. When the date of the colonization of विदर्भ is 3100 years before the Śaka Era, we can safely assume that the date of the colonization of Avanti can be one millenary earlier than that of Vidarbha.

X. Conclusion

16. (*a*) Avanti is the last and fourth colony of the Vaidika Āryas in Bhāratavarsha and commenced from the mouths of Charmaṇvatī and settled down in the fertile plain which was named Avanti Deśa.

(*b*) The language of Avanti Deśa was Āvantī, a mixture of Mahārāṣhṭrī and Saurasenī. It shows that Mahārāshṭrī was prevalent in Avanti Deśa.

(*c*) Avanti, *i. e.*, Mālava, was geographically a part of Mahārāshṭra.

(*d*) Mahārāshṭrī and its third stage Marathi were current in Central India till the 13th century.

(*e*) Common proverbs of Hindi and Marathi now in use in Central India and Mahārāshṭra prove sociological and cultural affinity of both these lands.

(*f*) Antiquity of Avanti dates as far bacl as 6 millenaries.

Taking all these facts into consideration, we can take that the fourth colony *i. e.* Mahārāshṭra of Vaidika Āryas came into being in Avanti Deśa 6000 years ago.

THE VIKRAMA SAṀVAT

By

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, Calcutta

The earliest documents of the indigenous kings of India bear no trace of the use of any era. Many of them contain no date at all. But some of the official records of the independent rulers as well as those belonging to their officials and subordinates and persons residing in their dominions are dated. The date is, however, always expressed in the reckoning of the kings' regnal years. A few of the numerous instances may be cited.

(1) R. E. III of Aśoka (*c.* 272-32 B. C.)—*dvādasa-vās-ābhisitena mayā idaṁ āñapitaṁ* (Girnar),[1] "I have ordered this when 12 years have passed after my installation to the throne." *Cf.* the same date in R. E. IV.[2]

(2) R. E. V of Aśoka—*tredaśa-vash-abhisitena maya dhrama-mahamatra kaṭa* (Mansehra),[3] "I have appointed Dharma-Mahāmātras when 13 years have passed after my installation."

1. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, P. 19.
2. *Ibid*, P. 22.
3. *Ibid*, P. 23.

(3) R. E. VIII of Aśoka—*devānaṁpriyo piyadasi rājā dasa-vas-ābhisito saṁto ayāya saṁbodhiṁ* (Girnar),[1] "King Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin (Aśoka) visited Saṁbodhi (Mahābodhi, *i. e.*, Bodhgayā) when 10 years had passed after his installation."

(4) R. E. XIII of Aśoka—*aṭha-vasha-abhisitasa devanapriasa priadraśisa kaliga vijita* (Shahbāzgarhi),[2] "Kaliṅga was conquered when 8 years had passed after the installation of Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin."

(5) Besnagar inscription of the time of Bhāgabhadra (*c.* beginning of 1st cent. B. C.)—*raño kosīputrasa bhāgabhadrasa trātārasa vasena chatudasena rājena vadhamānasa,*[3] "......King Kautsīputra Bhāgabhadra, the saviour who was prospering with his sovereignty (or, realm) and with 14 years (*i. e.*, when 14 years of his reign had passed)."

(6) Pabhosa inscription of the time if Ūdāka (*c.* end of 1st cent. B. C.)—*ūdākasa dasama-savachhare,*[4] "in the tenth regnal year of Ūdāka."

(7) Nasik inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (*c.* 106-30 A. D.)—*savachhare* 18 *vāsa-pakhe* 2 *divase* 1,[5] "on the 1st day of the 2nd fortnight of the rainy season in the 18th regnal year."

(8) Nasik inscription of Puḷumāvi (*c.* 130-59 A. D.) —*puḷumāvisa savachhare satame* 7 *gimha-pakhe pachame* 5 *divase pathame* 1,[6] "on the 1st day of the 5th fortnight of summer in the 7th regnal year of Puḷumāvi."

1. *Ibid,* P. 28.
2. *Ibid,* Pp. 35-36.
3. *Ibid,* P. 91.
4. *Ibid,* P. 98.
5. *Ibid,* P. 192.
6. *Ibid,* P. 195.

(9) Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription of Śāntamūla II (*c.* 270-85 A. D.) *ehuvula-chaṁtamūlasa saṁvachharaṁ bitiyaṁ gimha-pakkhaṁ chhaṭhaṁ* 6 *divasaṁ dasamaṁ* 10,[1] "on the 10th day of the 6th fortnight of summer in the 2nd regnal year of Ehuvula Śāntamūla."

(10) Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela (*c.* end of 1st cent. A. D.) *abhisitamato cha padhame vase*,[2] "during the 1st regnal year of the installed monarch."

A study of the above and other instances would suggest that originally the Indian custom was to refer to the past or current regnal year of the king without specification of the day. A little later the day is found mentioned in some parts of India with reference to the specific fortnight of a season. The year seems to have been divided into 3 seasons, *viz.*, summer, the rains and winter, each consisting of 8 fortnights.[3] The seasons ended with the *chāturmāsī* which was usually identified with the full moon *tithi* of the months of Ashāḍha, Kārttika and Phālguna. According to popular tradition, summer consisted of the *pūrṇimānta* months of Chaitra, Vaiśākha, Jyaishṭha and Ashāḍha; the rains of Śrāvaṇa, Bhādra, Āśvina and Kārttika; and winter of Mārgaśīrsha, Pausha, Māgha and Phālguna.[4] A South Indian epigraph of *c.* 300 A. D.[5] suggests the later inclusion of *śarat*, autumn, in the list of seasons.

The dates found in the earliest records of the indigenous kings of India thus point to the absence of the

1. *Ibid*, P. 229.
2. *Ibid*, P. 207.
3. Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1186. Cf. *hemaṁtāna pakho 7 divasa 1.*
4. Sircar, *op. cit.*, Pp. 63, 119n, 134n.
5. Lüders, *op. cit*, No. 1196. Cf. *sarada-pakkhaṁ bitiyaṁ divasaṁ paḍamaṁ*; cf. also Sircar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, P. 223.

custom of dating royal documents in the years of an era and probably also to the non-existence of any popular era in ancient India. There are, however, some Indian eras with their epochs falling before the 4th century B. C. These are the Kaliyuga era of 3102 B. C., the Śrī-Harsha era of 457 B. C. and the Parinirvāṇa eras of the Buddhists and the Jainas. Purāṇic passages like *mahāpadm-ābhishekāt=tu yāvaj=janma parikshitaḥ |*
evam varsha-sahasram tu jñeyam pañchāśad-uttaram ||
(var. lect. *pañcha-daś-ottaram* and *pañcha-śat-ottaram*)[1] no doubt suggest that the chroniclers of ancient Indian historical traditions attempted to base their chronological scheme on such important events as the birth of Parikshit (placed by some authorities immediately after the battle of Kurukshetra and at the beginning of the Kaliyuga) and the accession of the *sarva-kshatrāntaka* Imperial ruler Mahāpadma Nanda. But the facts that the chroniclers do not always begin their computation from a point near about the supposed beginning of the Kaliyuga and that there is absolutely no uniformity among the traditions go to show that the reckoning from the starting of the Kali age (which itself belongs to the domain of mythology, as the *yuga* division is not noticed in early literature) was not a regular, far less a popular, era. The contemporaneity of the last Nanda king with Alexander (336-23 B. C.) and the Purāṇic traditions regarding the predecessors of the Mauryas suggest that Mahāpadma Nanda is not to be assigned to a period earlier than 400 B. C. Different versions of the Purāṇic tradition quoted above thus place the birth of Parikshit (and therefore the beginning of the Kali age)

1. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, P. 58; Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist.*, 4th ed., Pp. 25-26.

1015 or 1050 or 1500 years before that date, *i. e.*, about 1415 B.C. or 1450 B.C. or 1900 B.C. According to the evidence of the Aihole inscription (634 A. D.)[1] and certain other sources, however, the first year of the Kali-yuga era corresponds to 3102-01 B. C. Another tradition supported by authorities including Kalhaṇa[2] says that the battle of Kurukshetra (and therefore the birth of Parikshit) occurred 653 years later than the beginning of the Kali age, *i. e.*, about 2449 B. C. Thus, whatever may have been the value attached by Purāṇic chroniclers to the event of Parikshit's birth, there was apparently no regular and uniform reckoning from that chronological point. As to the Kaliyuga era of 3102 B. C., scholars have satisfactorily demonstrated that it is not a real historical era, but is an invented one devised by Indian astronomers for the purposes of their calculations some 35 centuries after that date.[3] The use of Al-Bīrūnī's Śrī-Harsha era of 457 B. C.[4] is unknown to Indian epigraphy; but the fact that its epoch is just 400 years earlier than that of the Vikrama Saṁvat strongly suggests that this reckoning was also invented by astronomers for the purposes of their calculations. Al-Bīrūnī does not mention the Buddhist and Jain Parinirvāṇa reckonings. There is, however, evidence to show that the Buddhists had a sort of rough reckoning calculated from the Buddha's death. It is however to be remembered that in ancient India the dates of this reckoning were usually referred to not by individual years, but by centuries. A few instances may be noticed.

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, P. 7.
2. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, 51f, 56.
3. Cf. Fleet, *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, P. 479.
4. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, II, P. 7.

(1) The *Milindapañho*[1] on the date of Milinda usually identified with the Indo-Greek king Menander—*parinibbāṇato paṁcha-vassa-sate atikkaṁte,* "at a time when 500 years elapsed from the death of the Buddha," *i. e.*, in the sixth century (in between 500 and 599 years) after the Buddha's death.

(2) The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*[2] on the date of Vyāsa, the Bhāratas, *viz.*, the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, and the Nandas—*mayi nirvṛite varsha-śate,* "100 years after my (Buddha's) death," *i. e.*, in between 100 and 199 years after the Parinirvāṇa.

(3) Paramārtha's (499-569 A. D.) 'Life of Vasubandhu (*c.* 5th cent. A. D.)'[3] on the date of the Sāṅkhya philosophers Vṛishagaṇa (or, Vārshagaṇya) and Vindhyavāsa who was a rival of Vasubandhu's teacher Buddhamitra and a contemporary of King Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā—"in the 900 years" (*i e.*, in between the years 900 and 999) after the Buddha's death.

(4) The same work[4] on the date of Aśvaghosha—"in the 500 years" (*i. e.*, in between the years 500 and 599) after the Parinirvāṇa.

(5) Tradition recorded by Hiuen Tsang[5] about the date of Kaṇishka—"400 years (*i. e.*, in the 5th century between the years 400 and 499) after my (Buddha's) decease."

(6) Tradition recorded by the same[6] about the date of Vasubandhu's teacher Manoratha and King

1. Trenckner, *Milindapañho*, P. 3.
2. *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, P. 835.
3. *Ibid*, P. 51 and Note.
4. *Ibid*, P. 52.
5. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, P. 203.
6. *Ibid*, P. 211.

Vikramāditya of Śrāvasti—"within the 1000 years (*i., e.* in the 11th century between the years 1000 and 1099) after the Buddha's decease."

The indication of the dates of the Buddhist reckoning in ancient India only by centuries has to be coupled with the fact that a large number of different epochs of the Parinirvāṇa is recognised in different parts of the world;[1] cf., *e. g.*, the absurd chronological position created by the traditions assigning Kaṇishka to the 5th and Menander to the 6th century after the Buddha's death. These facts show that the use of the Parinirvāṇa reckoning was limited within the Buddhist church and that it was never used as a popular era in ancient India. The absence of any use of the reckoning in the records of the early[2] Indian Buddhists also points to the same direction. Some scholars, however, believe that the Minor R. E. of Aśoka refers to year 256 of the Buddhist Parinirvāṇa era,[3] although they are unable to explain why Aśoka used the era only in one of his many records which are usually dated according to his regnal reckoning. The theory seems to be based entirely on misunderstanding. There can hardly be any doubt about the interpretation of the passage in question, if only the different versions of the record are read together. The explanation of the figure 256 is clearly given in the Sahasram version where we have *duve*

1. S. C. Vidyabhushan (*Buddhadeva*, P. xi) notices the Ceylonese tradition of 543 B. C., a Japanese tradition of 947 B. C., a Tibetan tradition of 433 B. C. and a Chinese tradition of 770 B. C. The Cantonese dotted record suggesting 486 B. C. is now usually relied on by scholars.

2. The Chronicles of Ceylon use the reckoning as an era. In India however the Nirvāṇa reckoning is used as an era only in the medieval period; cf. the Gayā inscription of Aśokachalla.

3. *E. g.* Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 2nd ed., P. 372.

sapaṁnā lāti-satā vivuthā ti 256[1] (=*dve shaṭpañchāśad rātriśataṁ vyushitaḥ* (*aham*) *iti* 256). It will be seen that 256 was the number of nights which, as the word *vivāsa* of the Rupnath version[2] proves beyond doubt, Aśoka passed away from the capital apparently in connection with a tour or a *dharma-yātrā* (pilgrimage). Thus the Buddha-Parinirvāṇa era is entirely unknown to the early period of Indian epigraphy. The Jain ecclesiastical reckoning has even less claim than the Buddhist one to be taken as anything like a regular era in the early history of India.

The absence of any trace of the use of an era in the dated records of the early indigenous kings of India is to be taken with the fact that the earliest use of the regular era in India is noticed in the epigraphic and numismatic records of foreigners. The two facts together would doubtless point to the extraneous origin of the custom of dating records according to the years of an era. It seems very probable that the use of era in royal as well as private records was introduced and popularised in India by kings belonging to non-Indian extraction such as the Scytho-Parthians and the Kushāns.

According to some scholars, "it is an indisputable axiom that nobody but an anointed king can initiate a Saṁvat of his own."[3] But the suggestion is rather misleading. An early era appears to have been nothing more than the regnal reckoning of an independent king (who was not bound to use the regnal date of a suzerain) continued by his successors. When the successors of an

1. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Pp. 51n, 52n. Note the slight modification in the Sanskritization.
2. *Ibid*, P. 51.
3. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, P. 420.

early Gupta king count the year of a date not from their own first regnal year but from that of the particular ancestor, the reckoning comes automatically to be an era and the ancestor of later Gupta kings becomes the founder of an era without beating of drums. Years of the era are usually referred to just like regnal years and, for some time to come, without any specification[1] at all. Soon, however, the reckoning comes to be distinguished as the era of the Guptas. There is late evidence of the institution of era by beat of drums (cf. the Chālukya-Vikrama-Kāla of 1076 A. D.); but in the early cases the above appears to have been the usual process. The causes leading to the continuation of the regnal reckoning of a king after his death may be different in diverse cases.[2] According to a late tradition recorded by Al-Bīrūnī[3] the Gupta era (320 A. D.) whose epoch was 241 years later than that of the Śaka era (78 A. D.) started when the Gupta emperors ceased to exist. The legend which is palpably absurd seems to stand on the fact that the word *kāla* not only indicates 'an era', but also 'death' or 'destruction'.

The earliest historical era in the true sense of the term seems to be the Seleukid era of 312 B.C. prevalent in the Greek empire of Western Asia which lay just to the north-western borders of the Maurya empire of India. About the end of the 3rd century B. C. the Greek emperor had to acknowledge the practical independence of the province of Bactria (mod. Balkh) and the subordinate state of Parthia (mod. Khorasan) both

1. The Mathurā inscription which makes a distinction between the Gupta era and the regnal reckoning of Chandragupta II simply calls the former *kāla*, "era" (Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, P. 270).

2. Sircar, *op. cit.*, P. 132n.

3. Sachau, *op. cit.*, P. 7.

of which had revolted about the middle of the same century. The Parthians conquered many districts of the eastern part of the Greek empire and instituted an era that starts from 248 B. C.[1] The Greeko-Bactrians poured into north-western India and established their sovereignty in the Panjab and the adjoining regions. No official document of the Indo-Greek kings has so far been discovered. The Shinkot inscription[2] belonging to the Indian feudatories of Menander is dated in the Indian fashion, *i. e.*, in the 5th regnal year of the Indo-Greek king. A large number of coins belonging to the Indo-Greek rulers, about 40 in number, has been discovered; but they do not bear any date. A unique silver tetradrachm of Plato, copied from the tetradrachm of Eukratides, is said to have the date 147 of the Seleukid era corresponding to 165 A. D. But the letters of the date are not altogether clear,[3] and doubts may reasonably be entertained as to the existence of any date on the coin in question, especially in view of the fact that the absence of date on other Indo-Greek coins then becomes wholly inexplicable. It is not impossible that the Greeko-Bactrian kings neglected the Seleukid era owing to its association with the hostile imperial house. As a matter of fact Diodotos of Bactria might have initiated an era as Arsaces did in Parthia; but this Bactrian era would have died out owing to the dynastic revolution brought in by Euthydemos.[4]

The Indo-Greek power soon declined as a result of internal dissentions and the rise of the Scytho-Parthians. We have seen that the Parthians had an era of their

1. Smith, *Classical Dictionary*, s. v. Arsaces.
2. Sircar, *op. cit.*, P. 102.
3. Cf. *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, P. 456.
4. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, P. 316.

own. It is interesting to note that several epigraphic records discovered in the north-western part of India appear to have been actually dated according to the Parthian era of 248 B. C.[1] The Scythians on the other hand lived for some time on their way to India in the eastern provinces of the old Greek empire where they must have been acquainted with both the Seleukid and the Parthian eras. It is therefore not at all curious that documents of the time of the Scytho-Parthian rulers of north-western India are found to be dated in an era unlike the indigenous Indian records dated in the regnal reckoning. Coins of the early Scytho-Parthian rulers, however, donot bear any date. It is unknown why the Scytho-Parthians did not stick to the Parthian reckoning; but it may have been due to their hostile relations with the Parthian emperors. There is no doubt that the epoch of the Scytho-Parthian era falls later than that of the Parthian era. A few dates may be quoted from the documents of the Scytho-Parthian rulers of India.

(1) Mathurā inscription[2] of the time of Śoḍāsa—*mahākshatrapasa śoḍāsasa saṁvatsare* 72 *hemanta-māse* 2 *divase* 9, "on the 9th day of the 2nd month of winter of the year 72 during the rule of the great satrap Śoḍāsa."

(2) Taxila inscription[3] of the time of Moga (Maues) —*saṁvatsaraye aṭhasatatimae* 78 *maharáyasa mahaṁtása*

1. According to Lüders (*D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, Pp. 281, 286) the Mathurā inscription of the year 292 and the Girdharpur record of the year 270 are dated in the Parthian era. Sten Konow believes (*op. cit.*, P. 306) that the Charsadda inscription of 303, the Loriyan Tongai inscription of 318, the Hashtnagar inscription of 384 and the Skārah Ḍherī inscription of 399 have also to be referred to the same era.

2. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, P. 118.

3. *Ibid*, P. 120.

mogasa panemasa masasa divase pamchame 5, "on the 5th day of the Greek month of Panemos (roughly corresponding to Āshāḍha) of the 78th year during the reign of the great king Moga the Great."

(3) Takht-i-Bāhī inscription[1] of the time of Gondopharnes—*maharayasa guduhvarasa vasha* 26 *samvatsarae tiśatimae* 103 *veśakhasa masasa divase prathame,* "on the 1st day of the month of Vaiśākha in the year 103 and in the 26th regnal year of the great king Guduhvara (Gondopharnes)."

(4) Panjtar inscription[2] of the time of the Kushāns —*saṁ* 122 *śravaṇasa masasa divase praḍhame* 1 *maharaya-gushaṇa-rajami,* "on the 1st day of the month of Śrāvaṇa of the year 122 during the reign of the great King the Kushān."

(5) Kalawan inscription[3] referring to the time of Azes—*savatsaraye* 134 *ajasa śravaṇasa masasa divase treviśe* 23, "on the 23rd day of the month of Śrāvaṇa of the year 134 during the rule of Aja (Azes)."

(6) Taxila inscription[4] referring to the time of Azes—*sa* 136 *ayasa ashaḍasa masasa divase* 15, "on the 15th day of the month of Āshāḍha in the year 136 during the rule of Azes."

Besides the use of an era, *i. e.*, a continuous reckoning, there are some other interesting features in the dating of these records. We notice the month (*māsa*), but not yet the *tithi*, introduced into the date. It is sometimes seen in connection with the season exactly as the *paksha* or fortnight in some indigenous records.

1. *Ibid*, P. 122.
2. *Ibid*, P. 126.
3. *Ibid*, P. 127; cf. especially Note 2.
4. *Ibid*, P. 129.

This no doubt proves the influence of the Indian system of dividing the year into seasons. It is not known if the introduction of the *māsa* in the date or at least its popularity was due to the foreigners; but the occasional use of the names of months of the Indo-Greek calendar may possibly point to that direction.

Before entering into a discussion of the epoch of the Scytho-Parthian era we have to take notice of another reckoning instituted by a foreign dynasty. It is the era of Kaṇishka, *i. e.*, the regnal reckoning of a Kushān king named Kaṇishka continued by his successors. The evidence of palaeography and the attested facts of early Indian history suggest that the epoch of the Kaṇishka era, *i. e.*, the first regnal year of Kaṇishka, has to be assigned to a period later than the epoch of the Scytho-Parthian reckoning. What led Kaṇishka to avoid the already established Scytho-Parthian era cannot be definitely determined; but it may have been due to his hostile relations with the Scytho-Parthians and the early Kushāns. A few dates from the records of the Kaṇishka group of Kushān kings may be cited.

(1) Sārnāth inscription[1] of the time of Kaṇishka—*mahārajasya kaṇishkasya saṁ* 3 *he* 3 *di* 22, "on the 22nd day of the 3rd month of winter in the 3rd regnal year of the great king Kaṇishka."

(2) Sui Vihār inscription[2] of the time of Kaṇishka —*kaṇishkasya saṁvatsare ekadaśe saṁ* 11 *daisiṁkasya masasya divase aṭhaviśe di* 28, "on the 28th day of the Indo-Greek month Daisios (roughly corresponding to Jyaishṭha) in the 11th regnal year of Kaṇishka."

1. *Ibid*, P. 132.
2. *Ibid*, P. 135.

(3) Zeda inscription[1] of the time of Kaṇishka—*saṁ* 11 *ashaḍasa masasa di* 20 *utaraphaguṇe*, "in the *nakshatra* Uttaraphālguna, on the 20th day of the month of Āshāḍha in the year 11."

(4) Sanchi inscription[2] of the time of Vāsishka—*shāhi-vāsishkasya saṁ* 28 *he* 1 *di* 5, "on the 5th day of the 1st month of winter in the year 28 during the reign of the Shāhi Vāsishka."

(5) Mathurā inscription[3] of the time of Huvishka—*maharajasya huvakshasya savasare* 44........*gṛisya-masa* 3 *divisa* 2, "on the 2nd day of the 3rd month of summer in the year 44 during the reign of Huvishka."

(6) Mathurā inscription[4] of the time of Vāsudeva—*maharajasya vāsuḍevasya saṁ* 80 *hamata* 1 *di* 12, "on the 12th day of the 1st month of winter of the year 80 during the reign of the great king Vāsudeva."

Of the Scytho-Parthian and Kaṇishka eras, the founder of the latter is the earliest of the several Kushān kings named Kaṇishka. The initiator of the earlier reckoning is not apparent from the Scytho-Parthian records themselves. We have not been able to trace as yet dates in the first half of the 1st century of the Scytho-Parthian era. It is interesting to note that the earliest extant historical eras of India, *viz.*, the Vikrama and Śaka Saṁvats of 58 B. C. and 78 A. D. respectively, have epochs falling exactly in the Scytho-Parthian and Kushān periods of Indian history. There is no doubt that these foreign dynasties established themselves in India some time after the early Indo-Greek kings

1. *Ibid*, P. 136.
2. *Ibid*, Pp. 144-45.
3. *Ibid*, P. 150.
4. *Ibid*, P. 156.

Demetrius and Eukratides who belonged to the first half of the 2nd century B. C. On the other hand the rule of the later Kushān kings who held Mathurā has to be placed considerably earlier than 380 A.D., the date of the Mathurā inscription[1] of Chandragupta II, as the Purāṇic traditions assign seven generations of Nāga rulers to Mathurā immediately before the Guptas.[2] The suggestion is not only supported by a study of Kushān and Gupta palaeography, but also by the fact that the Sanchi inscription of Vāsishka is palaeographically earlier than the Sanchi (Kanakhera) record[3] of the Śaka Śrīdharavarman dated 279 A. D.

Considering the facts that the early indigenous kings of India used no era, that the foreign kings who ruled in India between the 2nd century B. C. and the 3rd century A. D. are known to have used two different eras separated from each other by a period of time, and that the epochs of the earliest extant historical eras of India, *viz.*, the Vikrama and Śaka Saṁvats separated from each other by 135 years, fall in the 1st century B. C. and the 1st century A. D., it is only natural to think that the Vikrama and Śaka reckonings may after all be the same as the two foreign eras known from epigraphs. Of course it may be suggested that the Scytho-Parthian and Kaṇishka eras have died out and that the Vikrama and Śaka Saṁvats are different. But the identification of the two with the two is certainly more logical, if the attested facts of Indian history can be reconciled with it. As regards the Śaka era, moreover, the very name points to its foreign origin. The identification of the

1. *Ibid*, Pp. 269 ff.
2. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, P. 402; cf. *Vāyu-Purāṇa* (Baṅgabāsī ed.), 99,382—*mathurām cha purīm ramyām nāgā bhokshyanti sapta vai* /
3. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Pp. 180-81o; f. *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, P. 232.

Scytho-Parthian era with the Vikrama Saṁvat is again supported at least by one evidence. The Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, as we have seen above, is dated in the year 103 of this era and in the 26th regnal year of Gondopharnes. It is interesting to note that a Parthian king named Gondopharnes, called King of India in some versions, is represented in an old Christian tradition as a contemporary of Saint Thomas, the apostle (one of the 12 disciples of Jesus Christ, 4 B. C.—29 or 33 A. D.) who flourished in the 1st century A. D.[1] It will be seen that, if year 103 of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription be referred to the Vikrama Saṁvat, the reign of Gondopharnes falls exactly in the same epoch, *i. e.*, in the period 121-46 A. D. It should be pointed out that no difficulty that may be supposed to stand in the way of the identification of the Scytho-Parthian reckoning with the Vikrama Saṁvat and the Kaṇishka era with the Śakābda is insurmountable.

The identification of the Śakābda with the Kaṇishka era primarily involves two questions, *viz.*, the date of Kaṇishka and the attribution of the era to the Śakas and not to the Kushāns.

As to the first point, the beginning of Kaṇishka's reign has been assigned by different scholars to different epochs, *viz.*, 58 B. C., 78 A. D., 120-30 A. D., 248 A. D. and 278 A. D.[2] The first of these dates, 58 B. C., was suggested by Fleet who believed that Kaṇishka instituted the Vikrama era and that he ruled earlier than the other group of Kushān kings represented by Kadphises I and Kadphises II. Fleet's theory has now been given up after Marshall has shown that in

1. Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., Pp. 245-50, 260-62.
2. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, Pp. 388 ff.

course of the excavations carried at Taxila coins of the Kaṇishka group of Kushān kings were found in the upper, and therefore later, layers of the earth than those of the Kadphises group. Moreover, epigraphy and numismatics make it difficult to place the reigns of Kadphises I and Kadphises II in the 1st and 2nd centuries of the Kaṇishka era. The 1st century of this era is covered by the inscriptions of kings bearing the names Kaṇishka, Vāsishka or Vajeshka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva, all of the Kaṇishka group, while at least parts of the second century are covered by coins bearing the names of later princes called Kaneshko and Vāsu (Vāsudeva), doubtless belonging to the same group of kings.[1] Some scholars believe that Kadphises II was the founder of the Śaka era.[2] It may however be pointed out that there is absolutely no evidence to connect this king with any era, *i. e.*, his regnal reckoning is not known to have been continued by his successors. As he was succeeded in sovereignty by the Kaṇishka group of kings it is impossible to think that the regnal reckoning of Kadphises II could have been continued to make it a regular era. Even eras instituted by beat of drums are known to have died out owing to the absence of a long line of followers of the initiator (cf. the case of the Chālukya Vikrama era).

The other dates, *viz.*, 78 A. D., 120-30 A. D., 248 A. D. and 278 A. D., suggested to be the epochs of the Kaṇishka era stand usually on different interpretations of the traditions regarding Kaṇishka. But the evidence of the catalogues of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*[3], according to which An-Shih-Kao (148-70 A. D.) trans-

1. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, I, Pp. 64, 87-88.
2. Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., P. 293.
3. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, P. 391.

lated the *Mārgabhūmi-sūtra* by Saṅgharaksha who was a chaplain of Kaṇishka, points to the existence of at least one king named Kaṇishka much earlier than the dates 248 A. D. and 278 A. D. It has also to be remembered that there is no justification to place any other Kaṇishka earlier than the founder of the Kaṇishka era. The facts that Vāsudeva ruled over Mathurā upto year 98 of the Kaṇishka era and that seven generations of Nāga kings have to be placed at Mathurā before 380 A. D. also stand in the way of the dates 248 A. D. and 278 A. D. to be the epochs of the Kaṇishka era. We have thus to assign the epoch of the Kaṇishka era either to 78 A. D. or to 120-30 A. D. if, of course, we limit ourselves to the dates already suggested by scholars. That 120-30 A. D. was the epoch of any era cannot be proved by any evidence. On the other hand, 78 A. D. is the epoch of the Śaka era which appears to have been identical with the Kaṇishka era. Nevertheless, without going into the arguments of different scholars in favour of the above four epochs, it is possible to suggest that the existence of a king named Kaṇishka in each of all the epochs does not necessarily prove the identity of that Kaṇishka with the founder of the Kaṇishka era. There is no doubt about the existence of more kings than one bearing the name Kaṇishka in the Kushān dynasty of India. If the identity of the Śaka and Kaṇishka eras is accepted, Kaṇishka I founder of the era has to be placed according to epigraphic evidence in 78-102 A. D. As to kings bearing this name in the 2nd century A. D., we have Kaṇishka of the Āra inscription of the year 41 (119 A. D.)[1] and Kaṇishka of the Mathurā inscription of the year 94

1. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, P. 149.

(172 A. D.).[1] If the kings mentioned in these two records are not identical, they may be styled Kaṇishka II and Kaṇishka III. Numismatists are definite as to the existence of one or more kings named Kaneshko (Kaṇishka) long after Vāsudeva[2]. This no doubt points to a Kaṇishka who ruled in the 3rd century A. D. It is clear that as the activities of a number of kings styled Vikramāditya, especially those belonging to the Imperial Gupta dynasty, contributed to the dynamic growth of the saga of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, the legends that clustered round the name of Kaṇishka must have absorbed a good deal of the achievements of his different namesakes. It would therefore be unwise to attribute all the activities of the traditional Kaṇishka to a particular king of that name.

As has already been pointed out, an era which was practically the continuation of a regnal reckoning did not get a name immediately after its institution. But a specific name was attached to it when it became popular and had to be distinguished from other reckonings. Even then, however, the years of the era may often be referred to without specification simply as *saṁvatsara* (contracted to *saṁ* or *saṁvat*) or *varsha, i. e.*, "year". It is therefore not unnatural that a year of the Kaṇishka era was at first simply styled "the year". The earliest records that connect this era explicitly with the Śakas belong to the Chālukyas of Badāmi. The Chālukya records of the 6th and 7th centuries A. D. use expressions like *śakanṛiparājyābhisheka-saṁvatsara* and *samāsu samatītāsu śakānām api bhūbhujām.*[3] There can

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, P. 97. The date is wrongly read as 14. The decimal figure cannot be 10; it is either 80 or 90, probably the latter.

2. Smith, *Catalogue*, loc. cit.

3. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, VI, P. 7.

be no doubt that the Śaka kings referred to in these passages, are those who held sway over Western India for about 3 centuries before their extirpation by Chandragupta II about the end of the 4th century A. D. As a matter of fact, the Śaka satraps of Western India are known to have used a continuous reckoning from year 41 to year 310[1] and there is no doubt that this has to be identified with the so called Śaka-kāla, Śakābda or Śaka-saṁvat, the era of the Śaka rulers. These Śakas styled themselves *Kshatrapa* (literally, "provincial governor") and *Mahākshatrapa* (literally, "great provincial governor"), which fact points to their original subordinate position, although the humble title continued in use even when the rulers became practically independent. We know that Nahapāna was ruling in the years 41-46 of the era with the titles *Rājan* and *Kshatrapa* or *Mahākshatrapa*.[2] The facts that his overlord is not mentioned in the records of his time and that he had an extensive coinage appear to suggest that Nahapāna was enjoying a certain amount of autonomy. He was overthrown about the year 46 (124 A. D.) by the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who pushed the northern boundary of his dominions beyond Kathiawar and Malwa. Soon after the Sātavāhana success, however, a new satrapal dynasty of the Śakas, instigated by the nominal overlords or by their own desire to reassert Śaka domination of Western India, came to recover the lost provinces. By 130 A. D., the date of the Andau inscriptions of the joint rule of Chashṭana and Rudradāman,[3] Kathiawar was reconquered by the new comers. Reference in Ptolemy's

1. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Pp. 157, 182.
2. *Ibid*, Pp. 157-66.
3. *Ibid*, P. 167 f.

Geography (*c.* 140 A. D.)[1] to Tiastenes (Chashṭana) as ruler of Ozene (Ujjain) points to the recovery of Malwa and the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman dated year 72 (150 A. D.)[2] proves the re-occupation of territories as far south as the North Konkan and the Narmadā Valley. Most of the regions conquered by Gautamīputra from Nahapāna seem to have been recovered by the Śakas during the closing years of his reign, as he is represented in the Junagarh inscription as having been twice defeated by Rudradāman.[3] In the same record Rudradāman calls himself *svayamadhigata-mahākshatrapanāmā*, "one who has himself acquired the title of Mahākshatrapa," *i. e.*,one who did not owe his position to any overlord. This Śaka ruler thus appears to have become practically independent, though he still did not consider it wise to assume imperial titles.

The era used by the Śakas of Western India could hardly be of their own institution. Firstly, they were originally feudatories, as their satrapal title shows, and therefore were required to use the reckoning of their overlords. Secondly, no record of any date in the first forty years of the era can be traced to the Śakas of Western India. It is therefore very probable that the early West Indian Śakas used the reckoning of their overlords and their successors simply continued its use. Who could these overlords be ? From the facts already considered it appears that they were Kushān kings of the Kaṇishka group. The suggestion is strongly supported by the fact that the rule of Vāsishka, immediate successor of Kaṇishka I, over East Malwa can be established by epigraphic evidence (cf. his Sanchi

1. VII, i, 63.
2. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Pp. 169 ff.
3. *Ibid*, P. 172.

inscription of the year 28)[1]. Assuming the identity of the Kaṇishka and Śaka eras, we may, on the basis of the known dates of the Kushān records, assign Kaṇishka I to *c.* 78-102 A. D., Vāsishka to *c.* 102-06 A. D., Huvishka to *c.* 106-38 A. D., Kaṇishka II to *c.* 119 A. D., Vāsudeva to *c.* 152-76 A. D. and Kaṇishka III to *c.* 172 A. D. On the other hand, the rule of Nahapāna has to be ascribed to *c.* 119-24 A.D., that of Chashṭana to *c.* 130 A.D. and that of Rudradāman to *c.* 130-50 A.D. It appears that the Śaka satraps of Western India were completely subordinate to the Kushāns during the vigorous rule of Kaṇishka I; but they became semi-independent after his death owing possibly to the division of power between Vāsishka and Kaṇishka II on the one hand and Huvishka (and Kaṇishka III ?) on the other.[2] About the middle of the 2nd century A. D. when the central government of the Kushāns began to decline, Rudradāman became practically an independent sovereign without, however, completely throwing off the Kushān yoke. The above would explain why the Kushān reckoning of Kaṇishka came to be known as the era of the Śaka kings. It should also be remembered in this connection that the family name Kushān is entirely unknown to Indian literature, while the term *Śaka* is known to have been often applied even to the Muslims who were not Scythians. It is therefore not impossible that the Indians confused the Kushāns with the Śakas, especially because

1. Sanchi lies very near the ancient Vidiśā, capital of the Ākara or Daśārṇa *janapada* in East Malwa.

2. It may be conjectured that Vāsishka and Huvishka were sons of Kaṇishka I. Kaṇishka III may have been Huvishka's son. Of course it is impossible to prove the suppositions in the present state of our knowledge.

the Kushān emperors are known to have usually appointed Śaka provincial governors.[1]

In later times, people tried to forget the foreign association of the Śaka era and the word *śaka* began to be used in the sense of a year or era. The same tendency is apparently noticed in the 13th century and later when the era was sometimes associated with Śālivāhana, famous in Indian tradition and folklore as a great popular hero. The earliest reference to the Śakābda as the era of Śālivāhana is found in the Thana grant of Yādava Rāmachandra dated in the year 1194 (1272 A. D.).[2] This popular fiction seems to have rested on the memory of the great Sātavāhana (=Śālivāhana) king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who was a *nisūdana* of the Śakas and other barbarians.[3] The association of the Scytho-Parthian era with the name of another popular hero of Indian tradition and folklore should not therefore be looked upon as a unique case in the history of India.

If however the Scytho-Parthian era has to be identified with the Vikrama Saṁvat, we have to determine as to how it came to be associated with the name of Vikramāditya. The earlier records bearing dates in this era naturally do not call it by a specific name. The earliest epigraphs that have a name for the reckoning have been discovered in Rajputana. Slightly later records associate the era with the Mālava tribe and afterwards with the lord or lords of Mālava. Finally in the 8th century A. D. the reckoning was connected with the name of King Vikramāditya. A few instances may be quoted to illustrate the different stages.

1. Cf. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Pp. 132-33.
2. Kielhorn, *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No. 370.
3. Cf. Sircar, *op. cit.*, P. 197.

(1) Year 282—Nandsa (Udaipur State, Rajputana) inscription[1] of Śaktigaṇaguru—*kṛitayor=dvayor =varsha-śatayor=dvyaśītayoḥ* 282.

(2) Year 295—Badva (Kotah State, Rajputana) inscription[2] of the Maukharis—*kritehi* (*kṛitaiḥ*) 295.

(3) Year 428—Bījaygarh (Bharatpur State, Rajputana) inscription[3] of Vishṇuvardhana—*kṛiteshu chaturshu varsha-śateshv=ashṭāviṁśeshu* 428.

(4) Year 461—Mandasor (Gwalior State, Central India) inscription[4] of Naravarman—*śrī(r)-mālava-gaṇ-āmnāte praśaste kṛita-saṁjñite / ekashashṭy-adhike prāpte samā-śata-chatushṭaye //*

(5) Year 480—Gaṅgdhār (Jhalawar State, Rajputana) inscription[5] of Viśvavarman—*yāteshu chaturshu kri (kṛi) teshu śateshu sausaisā (saumyeshvā) śītasottara-padeshv=iha .vatsareshu.*

(6) Year 481—Nagari (Udaipur State, Rajputana) inscription[6] of some Vaiśyas—*kṛiteshu chaturshu varsha-śateshv=ekāśīty-uttareshv=asyām mālavapūrvāyām.*

(7) Year 493—Mandasor inscription[7] mentioning Bandhuvarman—*mālavānām gaṇa-sthityā yāte śata-chatushṭaye / trinavaty-adhike=bdānām ri(ṛi)tau sevya-ghanastane //*

1. Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1.
2. Sircar, *op. cit.*, Pp. 92-93.
3. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 2.
4. Sircar, *op. cit.*, P. 377.
5. *Ibid*, P. 382.
6. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 5.
7. Sircar, *op. cit.*, P. 295.

(8) Year 524—Mandasor inscription[1] of the time of Prabhākara—*vikhyāpake mālava-vaṁśa-kīrtteḥ / śarad-gaṇe pañcha-śate vyatīte tri-ghātit-āshṭābhy-adhike krameṇa //*

(9) Year 589—Mandasor inscription[2] of Yaśodharman-Vishṇuvardhana—*pañchasu śateshu śaradām yāteshv=ekānnanavati-sahiteshu / mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt kālajñānāya likhiteshu //*

(10) A number of epigraphs[3] from the 5th century of the era refer to the year simply as *śarat, varsha, saṁvatsara* (often contracted to *saṁ* or *saṁvat*) and also *rājya-saṁvatsara.*[4]

(11) Year 770—Chitorgarh (Udaipur State, Rajputana) inscription[5] of Māna—the year apparently of "the lord of men, the king of Mālava". Possibly the original had *mālaveśa* or *mālavendra* in the singular or in a compound wherein the word could be interpreted either as singular or as plural.

(12) Year 794—Dhiniki (Okhamandal State, Kathiawar) inscription[6] of Jāikadeva—*vikrama-saṁvatsara-śateshu saptasu chatur-navaty-adhikeshv=aṅkataḥ* 794.

(13) Year 795—Kaṇaswa (Kotah State, Rajputana) inscription[7] of Śivagaṇa—*saṁvatsara-śatair yātaiḥ sapañchanavaty-argalaiḥ saptabhir=mālaveśānām.*

1. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 7.
2. Sircar, *op. cit.*, P. 391.
3. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, Nos. 10-15, 19, 21-23, 26, etc.
4. Cf. Mandasor inscription of Naravarman of the year 474, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, Pp. 131-32.
5. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 16.
6. *Ibid*, No. 17.
7. *Ibid*, No. 18.

(14) Year 898—Dholpur (Rajputana) inscription[1] of Chaṇḍamahāsena—*vasu-nava-ashṭau varsha-gatasya kālasya vikramākhyasya.*

(15) Year 936—Gyaraspur (Gwalior State) inscription[2]—*mālavakālāch=chharadām shaṭtriṁ (triṁ) śatsaṁyukteshv=atīteshu navasu śateshu.*

(16) Year 973—Bijapur (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) inscription[3] of Dhavala—*rāma-giri-kalite vikrama-kāle gate.*

(17) Year 1005—Bodhgayā (Bihar) inscription[4]—"year of the era of Vikramāditya." Cf. another record which has *vikramādityotpādita-saṁvatsara.*[5]

(18) Year 1086—Radhanpur (Bombay Presidency) inscription[6] of Bhīma I—*vikrama-saṁvat* 1086. Cf. other records[7] referring to the king as Vikramendra and Vikramārka.

(19) Year 1103—Tilakwara (Baroda State) inscription[8] of Jasorāja—*vatsarair=vikramādityaiḥ śatair=ekādaśais=tathā try-uttaraiḥ.*

It will be seen that the reckoning was at first known as the Kṛita era and was prevalent in Rajputana and Malwa. Soon it began to be associated with the Mālava tribe and was styled "era handed down by the Mālava Republic," "the year counted in accordance with the custom established by (or, from the foundation of) the Mālava Republic" and "the date

1. *Ibid*, No. 27.
2. *Ibid*, No. 37.
3. *Ibid*, No. 48; cf. also Nos. 67, etc.
4. *Ibid*, No. 63; cf. also Nos. 80, etc.
5. *Ibid*, No. 141.
6. *Ibid*, No. 117.
7. *Ibid*, Nos. 134, 169, etc.
8. *Ibid*, No. 128.

(*pūrvā*) of the Mālavas". Then it was also known as the era "that speaks of the glory of the Mālava dynasty," and later as the era (*kāla*) belonging to the Mālava country and to the king or kings of Mālava. About the latest epoch the era was further associated with King Vikramāditya. When Alexander invaded India in the 4th century B. C., the Mālava (Malloi) tribe lived on the Ravi in the Panjab which was under Scytho-Parthian domination in the 1st century B. C. and the 1st century A. D. Owing probably to foreign pressure the Mālavas[1] moved towards Rajputana where their existence is proved by an inscription[2] of Ushavadāta (*c.* 119-23 A.D.) and by the discovery of thousands of coins[3] with the legend *mālavānām jayaḥ* at Nāgar in the Jaipur State. The Mālavas must have also settled in the ancient *janapadas* of Ākara and Avanti which were known as Mālava after the tribe from before the 7th century A. D. It is possible to suggest that the Mālava Republic was subjugated by the early Guptas in the 4th century A. D. and that the Aulikara family which enjoyed the viceregal position in Malwa under the Imperial Guptas, but which used the Kṛita and not the Gupta era, was after all a Mālava family (*mālava-vaṁśa*). Thus it appears that the Mālava tribe carried the Kṛita *i. e.* the Scytho-Parthian era to Rajputana and Malwa from their original home in the Panjab. When the memory of the Mālava tribe and its Republic was dimmed and the name Mālava

1. It seems probable that the Maukharis also lived originally in the north-western part of India and were associated with the Mālavas. Elsewhere I suggested that the Maukharis of the Badva inscriptions owed allegiance to the Śakas (*Sel. Ins.*, P. 93). Since they donot use the Śaka era, it seems to be more reasonable to take them as subordinate to the *gaṇa* or Republic of the Mālavas

2. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, P. 162.

3. Smith, *Catalogue*, Pp. 161-62, 170 ff.

only indicated a particular *janapada*, the era came to be associated with the Mālava country or with the king or kings of Mālava. The whole of the Mālava region was annexed to the Gupta empire by Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (376-414 A. D.) who extirpated the Śakas of Western India about the end of the 4th century. From this time Ujjayinī in Mālava became a secondary capital of the Gupta emperors and Chandragupta II gradually became famous in Indian tradition and folklore as Vikramāditya Śakāri the Lord of Ujjayinī. Thus in the early medieval period "the lord of Mālava" *par excellence* was no other than Vikramāditya (Chandragupta II) and it was then quite natural to identify the Mālaveśa with whom the Kṛita era came to be associated after the extirpation of the Mālava-*gaṇa* with the great Vikramāditya of tradition. It must be remembered that there is no genuine evidence to prove the existence of a Vikramāditya, as a matter of fact of any king having a title ending in *āditya*, before the 4th century A. D. and that the epoch of an era is never associated with a Vikramāditya earlier than the 8th century A.D. It was only in the medieval period that, with the development of the Vikramāditya saga, the old Kṛita or Scytho-Parthian era introduced in Western India by the Mālavas began to be called "the era of Vikrama", "the era known as Vikrama or Vikramāditya" and later also "the era founded by Vikramāditya".

We have seen that the Vikrama Saṁvat was earlier known as Kṛita. The word is sometimes taken to mean "made", *i. e.*, created by astronomers. But

the theory is improbable as the era whose years can be traced from its first century was apparently the continuation of a regnal reckoning. Sometimes the word is taken to be actually *Krīta*[1], pointing to the origin of the reckoning with the barbarian kings of north-western India who according to a Buddhist tradition were known as "purchased". In spite however of the fact that we have early instances of the spelling of the word as *krita,* the suggestion, it must be admitted, cannot satisfactorily explain the substitution of *kṛita* for *krīta.* According to another theory, Kṛita was the name of a king who founded the era. Kṛita as the personal name of a king is no doubt known to Indian folklore;[2] but the name is not found among the known Scytho-Parthian kings who probably instituted the era. It may be surmised that the word *kṛita* is the Indianised form of a foreign name. It may also be conjectured that Kṛita was the name of a *gaṇamukhya* of the Mālava tribe or that it indicates an era supposed to have been handed down from the Kṛita-yuga or the Golden Age. These are, however, guesses that it is impossible to substantiate with any evidence in the present state of our knowledge. It must be admitted that the name Kṛita applied to the era of 58 B. C. cannot be satisfactorily explained until further evidence is forthcoming.

Who was the founder of the Kṛita-Mālava-Vikrama Saṁvat? We should naturally look for a powerful Scytho-Parthian king who began to rule in 58

1. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, P. 288n.
2. Penzer, *Ocean of Stories*, III, P. 19.

B. C. Some scholars have suggested the name of Azes I. Another name offered is that of Yin-Mo-fou (Mo-fou=Maues I ?)[1] who established his power over Ki-pin (Kafiristan-Peshawar regions) about the middle of the 1st century B. C. But in this case also it has to be admitted that the problem must remain *sub-judice* pending the discovery of new materials carrying fresh evidence.[2]

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1. Sircar, *op. cit.*, P. 109n, (read 10 for 90 in Line 18 of the page). Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, P. 359.
2. The author owes some suggestions and references to Prof. Raychaudhuri.

THE VIKRAMĀDITYA TRADITION IN PRAKRIT

By

G. V. TAGARE, Bhor

Unlike the legends of Rāma or Kṛishṇa, the romantic cycle of legends round the mysterious personality of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī is of MIA origin, though it has fascinated Indian writers—both mediaeval and modern—so much that, irrespective of their sects or medii of expression, they contributed a great deal to late OIA, MIA, NIA and Dravidian literature by epitomising, amplifying, altering, adapting and inventing a number of fairy tales round the personality of their hero and have enveloped him in such an impregnable shroud of mystery as to render him (*i. e.*, Vikramāditya) too dim and distorted to be recognised by a student of history. It is impossible to take a résumé of these legends in this short article, which I have to complete post-haste, at such a late stage of this Commemoration Volume. Much less is it possible to present a comparative study of the chronoregional development in these traditional stories down these centuries in different parts of India, not to speak of Greater India where these stories seem to have travelled along with the Indians who settled there. I propose to state

very briefly the development of Vikramāditya tradition in Prākṛita, though I am conscious that I cannot do full justice to the subject here.

The immense popularity of Vikramāditya stories is most probably due to their being enshrined in that rich mine of folk-stories of Mediaeval India—I mean the *Bṛihatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya. Unfortunately it is irrecoverably lost and now-a-days scholars doubt the authenticity of the so-called *Bṛihatkathā* quotations in the Prākṛita grammars of Hemachandra and Mārkaṇḍeya (Dr. A. N. Upadhye—*ABORI*, XXI. i-ii, P. 30), though once some believed them to be genuine (*ZDMG*, 1910, P. 106; *JRAS*, 1913, P. 391). It is, however, quite certain that a popular work called *Bṛihatkathā* written in a Prākṛita dialect (Paiśāchī) and attributed to Guṇāḍhya did exist, as it is unanimously and unmistakably referred to by Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa*, Subandhu in his *Vāsavadattā*, Bāṇa in his *Harshacharita* and *Kādambarī*, Uddyotana in his *Kuvalayamālā* (778 A. D.), Jinasena in his *Ādipurāṇa* (upto 825 A.D.), and Somadeva in his *Yaśastilaka-champū* (959 A. D.), to mention a few. We have, moreover, Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Dravidian (*e. g.* Konguvel's *Perunkathai* in Tamil in *circa* 500-600 A. D.) versions of the *Bṛihatkathā* according to all of which it was composed by Guṇāḍhya in Paiśāchī.

After carefully considering all the evidence collected by F. Lacöte in his *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛihatkathā* (Paris, 1908), A. B. Keith in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Pp. 266, etc., and Prof. A. N. Upadhye in his paper *Paiśāchī Language and Literature* (*ABORI*, XXI. i-ii, 1-37), we find very little information about the life and history of Guṇāḍhya. That he was born at

Pratishṭhāna (modern Paiṭhaṇ) on the Godāvarī in the Deccan, that he was a favourite Paṇḍita in the court of some Sātavāhana king who insulted him for his inability to teach Sanskrit in a brief period, that he went to the Vindhya mountains where he learnt some traditional stories (handed down from Vararuchi) from Kāṇabhūti and that due to his repulsion from Sanskrit he recorded them in a Prakrit dialect probably current in the Vindhya region at that time, and, perhaps due to this reason, the *Bṛihatkathā* was not properly appreciated in the court of the Sātavāhanas, may be historically true. These facts give us some clue to the probable date of Guṇāḍhya. The *terminus a quo* is of course the dates of the Tamil writer Konguvel (*circa* 500-600 A. D.), Daṇḍin (*Kāvyādarśa* 1.38) and Durvinīta (600 A. D.) who refer to his *Bṛihatkathā*. Vide R. Narasimhachar—*JRAS*, 1913, Pp. 389-90. The *terminus ad quem* is to be determined from circumstantial evidence. The following facts are clear: The Sātavāhana kings were patrons of Prakrit. The *Sattasaī* is a case to the point. It is only in the latter part of that dynasty (roughly after the 1st century A. D.) that they become partial to Sanskrit. If the depreciation of the *Bṛihatkathā* be due to that, it must be located somewhere in the latter half of the 2nd and the earlier half of the 3rd century A. D. We can approach the date from another line of evidence.

An attempt to reconstruct the Vikramāditya episode in the *Bṛihatkathā* from the extant Nepalese and Kashmirian versions of the work in Sanskrit, and the Prakrit versions of the same from Jaina sources, shows that Vikramāditya exercised supremacy over the Piśācha-chiefs, the Vetālas, who accomplished anything he commanded them to do. From the discussions of

Sten Konow (*The Home of Paiśāchī*, *ZDMG*, 1910, Pp. 95-118), Grierson (*Paiśāchī, Piśāchas and Modern Piśācha*, *ZDMG*, 1912, Pp. 49-86), and A. B. Keith (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, Pp. 28,269, etc.) it appears that, like the Mālavas and the Ābhīras, the Piśāchas were a wandering tribe in ancient India and they originally settled in the N. W. Frontier Province, whence some of their clans migrated to the Vindhya region, where they settled long before the Mālavas colonised the Avantī country. The traces of Paiśāchī are still found in the speech of their modern descendants. It appears that some popular hero from Avantī, or the country around it, organised a powerful army out of the obnoxious but warlike Piśācha tribes and was successful in driving back the Śakas. This popular hero was perhaps a generous ruler and is so praised in Hāla's *Sattasaī* 4·64 (Weber's ed.). Whether the defeat of the Śakas synchronised with the beginning of the Mālava Saṁvat is still a moot point. But if we admit the possible historical existence of some such hero, his transformation into a legendary hero, upto 150-225 A. D., is understandable in those credulous times, as we find a number of Mahārāshṭrians who can sincerely believe, in the 20th century, in Śivāji as an avatāra of the god Śiva. The assumption of this date of Guṇāḍhya also solves the question why Guṇāḍhya nimself is lost in a mythological atmosphere even in the earliest of the versions of the *Bṛihatkathā* which was composed sometime in the 5th century A. D. Weber's date of Guṇāḍhya (6th century A. D.) is unacceptable due to these reasons.

The proposed date of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛihatkathā* (somewhere between 150 to 225 A.D.) is a logical conclusion from the meagre evidence we have before us both regarding Vikramāditya and Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛihatkathā*.

I still regard it an open question and do not wish to be dogmatic. But my proposed date is definitely more reliable than that of Weber who put him in 600 A. D. More interesting for us is the development of this tradition in later period. It seems that Vikramāditya legends bifurcated into two sectarian currents, Brāhmaṇical and Jaina. The Brāhmaṇical tradition in Prakrit is now a thing of the past, as the *Bṛihatkathā* is now lost to us. It is, however, well preserved for us in the three versions of the *Bṛihatkathā* in Sanskrit : (1) The *Bṛihatkathāślokasaṁgraha* by Budhasvāmin (*circa* 800 A. D.), a Nepalese version; (2) The *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī* by Kshemendra (*c.* 1000 A. D.), a Kashmirian version; and (3) The *Bṛihatkathāsaritsāgara* by Somadeva (1063-81 A. D.), another Kashmirian version of the same. Out of these the Nepalese work appears to be more reliable as the numerous Prākṛitisms in that work show that the author must have tried to translate some portions from the original text. Of the next two, the *Bṛihatkathāsaritsāgara* is much more lucid and popular. The points of disagreement between the last two works show that, in spite of the obvious interpolations independently inserted between the two, the Kashmir poets did not try to translate some original parts, but tried to record the stories as traditionally known to them.

The Brāhmaṇical tradition makes him the son of a certain Gandharva (a semi-divine being) from a certain princess called Suśīlā. Bhartṛihari is said to be his brother. He was blest with certain divine powers whereby he could make the Vetālas obey him. He is said to have defeated the Śakas, after which the so-called Vikrama era was started. He was the most fortunate and just ruler. The number of his marriages and conquests is a common thing in any mediaeval romance

whether Sanskrit or Prakrit. The nine jewels (important personalities) in his court is an incredible myth. The variations and discrepancies in the details of his life need not detain us here as we are not directly concerned with the Vikramāditya tradition in Sanskrit and, secondly, such a variety is inevitable in such romances where the poets give full rein to their imagination and vie with one another in inventing such stories round a popular hero. It is hence that I do not attempt to give a digest of the Vikrama stories in these three Sanskrit versions noted above.

In reconstructing the history of Mediaeval India, Jaina records are generally helpful. Most of their literature being of the nature of religious prpaganda, a historian must not believe all the Jainistic colouring that they give to these historical episodes. If a student tries to go behind the evidence or to read between the lines, a rich mine of historical material is available in the Jaina Grantha Bhāṇḍāras. In the case of this tradition (*i. e.*, that of Vikramāditya) the published Prakrit works tell us but little that is of historical importance. For the reasons stated above (I have already discussed the peculiar characteristics of Mediaeval narrative literature in India in a separate article in the *Mahārāshṭra-Sāhitya-Patrikā*, Poona, July 1941, Pp. 25 ff.), I do not attach much importance to the conquests and marriages of Vikrama as noted by the Jainas. I shall try to take a very brief review of the Prakrit works dealing with this Vikramāditya.

The earliest Prakrit version of the *Bṛihatkathā* is a Jaina work called *Vasudeva-hiṇḍi* (Bhavnagar, 1930). It is, of course, a detailed and circumstantial Jaina version, but it is independent of the Nepalese version and Kashmirian adaptations of the *Bṛihatkathā*, and as such

may prove of very great use in reconstructing the lost text. In this connection I wish to attract the attention of scholars to Prof. Ludwig Alsdorf's paper *Eine neue Version der verlorenen Bṛihatkathā des Guṇāḍhya* read before the 19th International Oriental Conference held at Rome. This work was composed by Saṅghadāsa and Dharmasenagaṇin early in the 6th century A. D. Like the *Bṛihatkathā* this text is divided into "Lambakas" *i. e.* chapters (100 in all) and under the pretext of describing the transmigratory wanderings (*hiṇḍi*) of the hero and religious stories (*Dhammilla-hiṇḍi*) a rich variety of old folk-lore is presented to us. Its exact relationship with the original *Bṛihatkathā* is still a matter of guess. The importance of this work lies in the fact that it is earlier by two centuries than Budhasvāmin's *Bṛihatkathāślokasaṁgraha*. It is important to note that whenever the Jainas differ from us they are very consistent in maintaining their own tradition, and we have to consider if we have sufficient grounds to reject their traditional accounts if they are given in works older than our own. The Vikramāditya episode is an illustration of this.

The most important Prakrit work dealing with Vikramāditya is the *Kālakāchāryakathā*, a short narrative in prose, composed by some unknown author in the 10th century A. D. or thereabout. Though it directly concerned with the life of the Jaina sage Kālakāchārya, it is the Jaina traditional history of Vikramāditya in it that interests us most. As I have summarised the Jaina version of the life of this legendary hero below, I need not give its contents here.

A few centuries after this, we have a number of Prabandhas in Sanskrit and Prakrit, *e. g.*, Merutuṅga's

Prabandhachintāmaṇi, Rājaśekhara's *Prabandhakosha*, Prabhāchandra's *Prabhāvakacharita*. These contain nothing but a collection of fairy tales loosely woven round some semi-historical or legendary figure and, from our point of view, they contribute little to the history of Vikrama. These works being separated from the lifetime of the hero by something like 14 to 15 centuries at least, it is doubtful how much credence should be given to them. My learned friend Dr. A. N. Upadhye of Kolhapur kindly informs me the names of a few more Prakrit works for consultation and reference, but I could not go through them for want of time.

Putting together the bits of information that we can gather from the sources referred to above, we find that according to Jainas Vikramāditya was the son of Gardabhila (or, -lla), the King of Ujjayinī. It is alleged that he carried away perforce the sister of the sage Kālakāchārya. In order to wreak revenge, Kālaka went to Sāhis, the Śaka satraps, and with their help he conquered the kingdom of Avantī. Vikrama, the son of King Gardabhilla, succeeded him and he reconquered the lost territory and securely established himself on the throne at Ujjain. The Śvetāmbara Jainas suppose that Siddhasena Divākara, the author of the *Nyāyāvatāra*, was a contemporary of this king and he converted him to Jainism at about 57 B. C. (470 years after Vīra-nirvāṇa).

That Vikrama might be a prince of Ujjayinī appears much more historical than the semi-divine parentage attributed to him by Brāhmaṇical writers. The abduction of Sarasvatī, the younger sister of Kālakāchārya, and the overthrow of Gardabhilla by the Śakas who were persuaded to invade the kingdom of Avantī by some

person like Kālaka is not improbable. With the exception of the conversion of Vikramāditya, the Jaina tradition about Vikrama appears thoroughly reliable. It is not impossible that the Jainas had been more careful in preserving their own tradition as they were a compact community from olden times. It is the date of Siddhasena Divākara which is open to correction. The Digambara Jainas locate him in 187-271 A.D. Scholars place him now in the 6th century A. D., though Jacobi once placed him as late as 670 A. D.

I have broadly put forth the two traditions about the life and history of Vikramāditya as they have been recorded in Prakrit. A comparison of our traditional account with that of the Jainas leads us to believe in the possibility of the existence of some valiant prince who built his army out of the ferocious savages (Piśāchas) from the Vindhya region and reclaimed his ancestral kingdom from the Śakas. His achievements inspired the local bards and also some songsters among the wild Piśācha tribes and soon he became the centre of romantic ballads as had been the case with Charlemagne in Europe. I admit that there is no contemporary evidence for the assumption of a historical Vikramāditya, but we cannot forget that two independent, continuous, consistent traditions corroborate each other in positing such a prince in the 1st century B. C. Is it not desirable that the historian should reserve his judgement for the time being and explore the archives of the Jaina Grantha Bhāṇḍāras to collect more data on the problem of Vikramāditya from Prakrit sources?

MAHARAJA VIKRAMADITYA

By

UMRAO BAHADUR, Patiala

There are 36 Kulas or Royal dynasties of Kshatriyas. Their names are given in Tod's *Rajasthan* (Vol. I, Chapter 7). Of these 36 Kulas four are called Agni-kulas, and they are: Paramāra, Parihāra, Chauhān, and Śukla.

The *Bhavishya-Purāṇa* (*Pratisarga-parvan*, Khaṇḍa 1, Adhyāyas 6 and 7) narrates the legend of their birth as follows :—When the religion of Buddha arose and the Vedic Dharma began to decline a Brāhmaṇa of Kānya-kubja (Kanauj) performed a big Havana on the mount of Abu, and as the result thereof there emerged four figures from the Agni-kuṇḍa (fountain of fire), viz., Sāma-vedin *Paramāra*, Yajurvedin *Chāhumāna* (Chauhān), Trivedin *Śukla*, and Atharvavedin *Parihāra*. To Paramāra was assigned Avanti Deśa, and he settled at Ambāvatī; Chauhān took charge of Rajputana and settled at Aj-mere; Śukla was assigned Ānarta Deśa, and he founded Dvārakā anew and settled there; while Parihāra was given charge of the territory of Chitrakūṭa and he established himself at Kāliñjara. All the four com-

bined and destroyed the religion of Buddha and renewed the Vedic Dharma.

The ancient states of Rajputana also mention this legend in their annals, and Chandra-barda, the court-poet of the celebrated Chauhān prince Pṛithivīrāja, king of Indraprastha (Delhi), has narrated this legend in his *Pṛithivīrāja-Rāsa* in the following manner according to Tod :—

When Paraśurāma,[1] enraged by the misdeeds of the Kshatṛiyas, extirpated the latter twenty-one times in succession, and Rāja-bala (the power of the Kshatriya Rājās) declined and Daityas (demons) grew, Viśvāmitra thought of regenerating the Kshatriyas, and with this end in view he performed a great Yajña on the mount Arbuda[2] (Abu) and invited the deities Indra, Brahman, Vishṇu and Maheśa to help him in this task. They came, and from the essence of Indra there emerged a being out of the sacred fire with Gadā in hand and crying 'mār, mār (kill, kill)'. This being was called Paramāra, and Abu, Dhar and Ujjain were assigned to him. From the essence of Brahman there rose a being with sword in one hand and the Veda in the other, and with the sacred thread round his neck. He was called Chālook or Solaṅki, and was assigned Anhulpur Patan. From the essence of Maheśa there emerged a black figure with bow in hand. He was named Parihāra and was given Marusthala (Rajputana) in his

1. For this act of Paraśurāma see our *Bhāratapurāṇa* (Vol. I, Adhyāya 4, genealogy No. 2).

2. There is mention in the *Vana-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* in connection with the Tīrthayātrā (pilgrimage) of the Pāṇḍavas of Arbuda-parvata in the Ānarta Deśa. This name of Arbuda is now corrupted into Ābū. Arbuda is the Ṛishi of Sūkta 94 of the 10th Maṇḍala of the *Ṛigveda*, and perhaps the mount Arbuda is named after him. The name Arbuda has been mentioned in several places in the Veda itself.

charge. From the essence of Vishṇu emerged a being four-armed like Vishṇu. He was given the name of Chauhān and the territory of Macavati along the banks of the Narmadā as his charge. These four Agni-kulas, writes Chandra-barda, are the purest of all the 36 Kulas, because while all others are Yonijas (born from the womb of woman) these four are Ayonijas as they are not born from the womb of woman but from fire.

This legend of the *Bhavishya-Purāṇa* as well as this tradition of Chandra-barda[1] is evidently the narration of the historical fact of the purification in some remote age of certain races of Kshatriyas who had fallen from Dharma and who were now purified according to the rites prescribed by the Śāstras to lawfully undertake the duties of Kshatriya princes, to subdue the enemies of Vedic Dharma in India, and to save India from the aggression of outsiders.

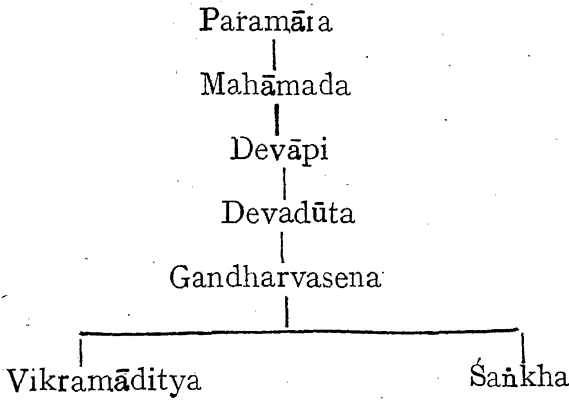
The *Manusmṛiti* (Adhyāya 10, Ślokas 43 and 44) says—"Gradually, from the non-performance of Vedic Karmans and from non-contact with the Brāhmaṇas the following Kshatriya tribes fell from Kshatriya Dharma: Pauṇḍrakas (the people of Puṇḍra or Bengal), Oudras (the people of Orissa), Kambojas, Yavanas, Paradas, Pahlavas, Chinis, Kirātas, Daradas and Khashās."[2] The *Mahābhārata* (*Anuśāsana-parvan*, Adhyāya 35, Ślokas 17 and 18) puts it in the same way. There is a Sūtra in the great grammarian Maharshi Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* (2.4.10) which says that in the dual compound of

1. Compare English 'bard' with this 'barda'=Sanskrit 'Varada' (=boon-giver).

2. For the description of these races see our *Bhāratapurāṇa*, Vol. I, Adhyāya 3, Note 11, and Vol. II, first half, Adhyāya 1, the history of Rājā Sagara. And for a detailed description of the particular jāti of Yavanas see this same *Bhāratapurāṇa*, Vol IV, Adhyāya 5, the history of Chandragupta Maurya and his grandson Aśoka.

words signifying such Śūdras as are not untouchables singular number is used, and Patañjali in his *Mahābhāshya* on this Sūtra instances "Śakayavanam" (Śakas and Yavanas) as an example of this. This shows that the Śakas and the Yavanas though they had fallen from their status of Kshatriyas were still not untouchables in the time of Pāṇini and Patañjali, and this time relates to a period more than five hundred years before Christ, The Greek historian Diodorus says that there was a son of Jupiter (Bṛihaspati) whose name was Scythis, that he settled a country in Central Asia which took the name of Scythia, and that his descendants were Scythians. These Scythians included amongst themselves Śakas, Jitas (Jāṭs) and others who subdued Assyria in Asiatic Turkey and Media in Persia and established their settlements along the banks of Jaihoon (Oxus). Strabo, another Greek historian, says that the races existing in the east of the Caspian Sea are called Scythic. In India the great settlement of these people was at the mouth of the river Indus, and its territory was extended down to the river Narmadā. The Greeks called this territory Indo-Scythia and the settlers therein Indo-Scythians. These Indo-Scythians were the people who helped the Persian king Darius against the Greek king Alexander and destroyed the Bactrian empire of Alexander after his death. Some historians think that several branches of Rajputs are descended from these Indo-Scythians. Tod has expressed this view in his *Rajasthan*, and Vincent Smith has supported this view in his *Ancient Hindu India.* My own view is that the legend of the *Bhavishya-Purāṇa* and the narration of Chandrabarda quoted above are the stories of purification of these same Indo-Scythians under the name of Agnikula Kshatriyas to fight the battle of Dharma against

the Buddhas on the one hand and against the foreign aggressors on the other.

Agni-kulas, as has been mentioned above, are four in number, and they are Paramāra, Chauhān, Solaṅki and Parihāra. Our Mahārāja Vikramāditya belongs to the Paramāra Kula and his genealogy, according to the *Bhavishya-Purāṇa,* runs as follows:—

Thus the first and the foremost Rājā of this Kula or dynasty was Paramāra who was born in the Kaliyuga Saṁvat 2710. The great devotee Paṇḍita Bopadeva lived in the time of Gandharvasena. He wrote out the *Māhātmya* or the greatness of *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* and recited the *Bhāgavata* with its *Māhātmya* to Gandharvasena. This recitation generated devotion to Divinity in the heart of Gandharvasena, and as the fruit of this devotion was born to Gandharvasena a son named Vikramāditya for the destruction of the Śakas and for the elevation of Ārya Dharma at the end of "full three thousand years after the terrible Kaliyuga"—पूर्णे त्रिशत्‌शते वर्षे कलौ प्राप्ते भयंकरे (—*Bhavishya-Purāṇa, Pratisarga-parvan,* Khaṇḍa 1, Adhyāya 7, Sloka 14).

Vikramāditya ascended the throne in place of his brother Śaṅkha when a person in the guise of a Vetāla appeared before Vikramāditya, put twenty-five questions to him in the form of stories on the subject of Rājaniti or political science, and demanded answers to them. Vikramāditya gave correct answers, and the Vetāla said that he had come simply to test his proficiency in the science of politics and that he had realized from the correct answers given by him that he would be a great and just ruler. There is a Vetāla mentioned amongst the Nava-Ratnas or Nine Gems of the Court of Vikramāditya, and we think that that gem is this same Vetāla, who might have been included amongst the Nine Gems later on. There is a booklet called *Vetālapañchaviṁśati* (the twenty-five stories of Vetāla) and it recounts the stories of this same Vetāla.

So Vikramāditya was born "full 3,000 years after the commencement of Kaliyuga." Kaliyuga commenced 3101 years before Christ (see my book *Bhāratapurāṇa*, Vol. II, first half, Adhyāya 3) and this means Vikramāditya was born 3101—3000=101 years before Christ. He was coronated at the age of 47 years in 57 B. C., and the present year 1943 A. D. denotes that his coronation took place 57+1943=2000 years ago. And this 2000th year or the 2nd millennium of the coronation of Vikrama we are celebrating today.

European scholars who are by religion the followers of the *Bible* think that the Creation of the World took place 4,004 years before Christ (See *Bhāratapurāṇa*, Vol. I, Adhyāya 1, Note 6) and so they do not and cannot believe that the Kaliyuga commenced 3,101 years before Christ, that the Mahābhārata War took place

36 years earlier and that the Rāmāyaṇa Period commenced even several thousand years before that—to say nothing of the Vedic Period—, for it would be falsifying the Biblical doctrine that the Creation of the World itself took place 4,004 years before Christ. Therefore they try to modernize as it were the chronology of Bhāratavarsha or Ancient India and to accommodate it as best they can to the dates of their Scriptures, and fix the Vedic Period at about 2,000 years before Christ, the Mahābhārata Period at about 1,100 or 1,200 years instead of 3,137 years before Christ, the Era of Buddha at 550 years instead of 1,800 years before Christ, and the Vikrama Era at 600 years after, instead of 57 years before, Christ, because as Elphinston says in his *History of India* (Vol. III, Chapter 3) these dates would be "more consistent with our notions".

Reviews on these views of European scholars which though they correspond with the doctrines of the *Bible* are against the researches of Modern Science have been made by us in detail in their respective places in the several parts of our *Bhāratapurāṇa.* The account of Vikramāditya comes in Part V of the *Bhāratapurāṇa* (which is still to be published; in fact no part other than Part I has yet been published and made available to the public), and we reproduce the following extract from it relating to Mahārāja Vikramāditya for the benefit of our readers.

Max Müller whose name is known to all scholars had delivered certain lectures in the Cambridge University on the subject of India. These lectures were afterwards published by him in the form of a book. The first edition of the book appeared in 1882 A. D. and it was mentioned therein that Vikramāditya

and Kālidāsa could not exist before Christ, for while on the one hand there had not been found any inscription bearing a date of the Vikrama Era before the year 543 A. D. on the other it could not have been possible for the Indians to get breathing time to write poetry like that of Kālidāsa for five or six hundred years after Christ on account of the constant raids of foreign races on India after Alexander the Great. And even this date of 543 A. D. was arrived at in the following manner :—

An Egyptian scholar, whose name is Abu Rehan but who is generally known as Al-Beruni after the name of his native village Berun in Sindh and who visited India in 1031 A. D., one year after the death of Mahmud of Ghazni, has written a book on India, and in that book he has written in one place that Vikramāditya led an attack on the Śaka-Rāja and defeated and killed him in a battle near Korur between Multan and the fortress of Looni. Al-Beruni has not given any date for this battle nor has he given any authority for this assertion. But Fergusson has somehow determined the date of this battle as 543 A. D. and laid down that this is the date of Vikramāditya and that the Vikrama Era of 57 B. C. has been forged out of this same 543 by carrying it 600 years back.

European scholars who wish to keep India behind in every matter took up this idea, which spread till at last our Indian scholars also like Bhau Daji and R. C. Dutt also adopted this as an axiom. None cared to see that if the date of the Vikrama Era was to be established on the authority of Al-Beruni then Al-Beruni himself has said in his book that in his time in the year

400 of Yazd Jard[1], corresponding to 1031 A. D., the Saṁvat year of Vikrama was 1088, *i. e.*, the Vikrama Era commenced 57 years before the Christian Era. How could then the Battle of Korur have taken place in 543 A. D. in the time of Vikramāditya ? This finding and such other findings of European scholars remind us of the following remarks of Sir William Jones on "the Musical Modes of the Hindus" :—

> "A man who knows the Hindus only from Persian books does not know the Hindus, and an European who follows the muddy rivulets of the Musalman writers on India, instead of drinking from the pure fountains of Hindu learning, will be in perpetual danger of misleading himself and others."

An inscription of 597 Vikrama Era corresponding to 540 A. D. or 3 years before Max Müller's 543 A. D. had already been found in 1820 A. D. and published in Tod's *Rajasthan* in 1832 or 50 years before the publication of Max Müller's book. Subsequently other inscriptions of even earlier dates were found and now in 1936 an inscription has been found in Kotah State bearing the date of Vikrama Saṁvat 295. It is inscribed not on one but on three pillars to commemorate the performance of three Yajñas (sacrifices) by three sons of a Senāpati Maukhari, and it explodes once for all the theory started by Fergusson and adopted by Max Müller. As regards the period of Sanskrit poetry of the high standard of Kālidāsa, verses bearing likeness to the style of Kālidāsa have been found in books dating as far back as 500

1. Yazd Jard (631 to 651 A. D.) was the king of Persia four generations after the celebrated King Nausherwan.

B. C. (See Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Chapter 11 on Kāvya.) An inscription also has lately been found at Daśapura (Mandasor) in Gwalior State which settles this point as well. It is dated Vikrama Saṁvat 529, and has inscribed on it 44 verses by a poet named Vatsabhaṭṭi consisting of 150 lines in commemoration of the erection of a temple of Sūrya, many of which reveal the style of Kālidāsa. These and other facts like these opened the eyes of Max Müller and in the Introduction to the second edition of his above-named book which appeared in 1892 he admitted his mistake. Subsequently Max Müller brought out his very learned work *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy* in 1899, and therein he admitted the Vikrama Era to date 57 years before Christ in the following words :—"The author, Haribhadra, died in 1055 of the Vīra Era, *i. e.*, 585 Saṁvat, that is 528 A. D." (—Chapter IX, Page 575.)

In a way Max Müller had already admitted in the very first edition of his *India—What it can teach us* that Vikramāditya lived much before 543 A. D. For, says he on Page 91 of this edition : "Kālidāsa is mentioned with Bhāravi as a famous poet in an inscription dated A. D. 585-6 (507 Śaka Era), and for the present I see no reason to place him much earlier. Avanīta, who wrote a commentary on 15 cantos of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*, is said to have lived about 470 A. D. But even if we accept this date, Bhāravi and Kālidāsa need not have lived before the fifth or fourth century A. D." Now Kālidāsa lived long before Bhāravi, and Vikramāditya, who was a contemporary and patron of Kālidāsa, as will be shown later on cannot be assigned even on Max Müller's description here to 543 A. D.

The inscription above referred to in which "Kālidāsa is mentioned with Bhāravi" has a queer history about it. It has been found in a Jain temple on a hill in Aiholenagar in the Kaldagi District of the Deccan. It was published by Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary* (1876, Pp. 67-71). Then Bhau Daji published it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1916 (Pp. 802-820). This inscription is couched in Sanskrit ślokas and, as reproduced in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, it means that when 3,735 years had elapsed after the Mahābhārata War and 556 years had elapsed of the Śaka Rājans in the Kaliyuga one Ravikīrti erected this temple through the kindness of (Mahārāja) Satyāśraya, and that this eulogy of Lord Jina was also composed by him, for in poetry Ravikīrti was *Kālidāsabhāravikīrti*, *i. e.*, had the kīrti or reputation like that of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi. European scholars and their Indian followers conclude from this that Kālidāsa and Bhāravi were contemporaries and that they both lived in 634 A. D., for while 3,735 of the Bhārata War *minus* 3,101 years of the Kaliyuga is equal to 3,735—3,101 or 634 A. D., Śaka 556+78 is also equal to 634 A. D. Accordingly R. C. Dutt speaking of Bhāravi in his *Civilisation in Ancient India* (Vol. II, P. 128) says that "he (Bhāravi) does not appear to have flourished in the court of Vikramāditya but an inscription has been found dated 637 A. D. (637 here is evidently a misprint for 634) in which his name and that of Kālidāsa are mentioned. If he was not a contemporary of Kālidāsa, he certainly lived in the sixth century A. D." But the mention of any two names in any one inscription cannot mean that they both lived as contemporaries. It can only mean that they both lived before the date of the inscription.

Nor has Ravikīrti mentioned these names in his inscription to denote any time. He has only played upon these names to denote his own name Ravikīrti from the phrase "Kālidāsabhāravikīrti".

But Narayana Shastri of Madras has something curious to say about this inscription. He has written a book on the *Age of Śaṅkara* and in Part I of this book he says that the verses of this inscription giving its date appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* as follows :—

"त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाहवादितः।
सहाब्दशतयुक्तेषु शतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु॥
पञ्चाशत्सु कलौ काले षट्सु पञ्चशतासु च।
समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम्॥"

"When 30 and 3,000 years had elapsed after the Bhārata War
Together with 100 years and 101 years and 5;
When in the Kaliyuga 50 and 6 and 500 years
Had elapsed after the Śaka Ruler of the Earth."

OR,

"When 3,235 years had elapsed after the Mahābhārata War and 556 years had elapsed after the Śaka Era."

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* however, 'sahābdaśata' of the second line meaning "together with one hundred years" was changed into 'saptābdaśata' meaning "seven hundred years", and 'śateshu' of the same line was changed into 'gateshu'; and thus by adding 600 years here and subtracting 100 years there the verse was made to signify 3,735 instead of 3,235 years

after the Mahābhārata War to make it correspond to Śaka 556 of the inscription thus :—

3,735—3,101=634 A. D.
and 556+78=634 A. D.

Here Śaka is taken to mean Śaka Śālivāhana and all these changes in the date of the Bhārata War have had to be made to make it correspond to it. But 'Śaka' does not necessarily mean Śaka Śālivāhana everywhere. It only means an era, whatever the era might be. (See Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary.*) So the 'Śaka' of the inscription is not Śaka Śālivāhana. What else then is it ?

Al-Beruni whose name has already been mentioned above says in his book that in 1031 when he visited India the following Saṁvats were current there :—

Kaliyuga Saṁvat	4132
Śrī-Harsha Saṁvat	1488
Vikrama Saṁvat	1088
Śālivāhana Saṁvat	953

and these Saṁvats *minus* 1031 would show that

Kaliyuga Saṁvat is equal to ..	3101 B. C.
Śrī-Harsha Saṁvat is equal to ..	457 B. C.
Vikrama Saṁvat is equal to ..	57 B. C.
Śālivāhana Saṁvat is equal to ..	78 A. D.

So the Śaka or the Era of 556 as given in the inscription is Śaka or Saṁvat of Śrī-Harsha corresponding to 556—457= 99 A. D., and it would exactly tally with the years 3235 of the Bhārata War as originally given in the *Indian Antiquary* and as shown above. For, 3235 of the Bhārata War is 3200 of the Kaliyuga which began 35 or 36 years after the War and 3,200 of the Kaliyuga is 3200—3101=99 A. D.

Therefore even according to this inscription, as we read it, Kālidāsa and his royal patron Vikramāditya lived before 99 A. D. and actually lived 57 years before Christ as we shall see anon. Efforts made by scholars to make the year of the Bhārata War as given in this inscription correspond to 634 A. D. are very ingenious indeed, but they do not account for the difference of 35 or 36 years that lies between the Kaliyuga and the Great War of the *Mahābhārata*. Our explanation covers this as well. Vincent Smith and others identify Satyāśraya of the inscription with the Chālukya prince Pulakeśin II, but on what authority is not shown.

The Saṁvat of Śrī-Harsha which is 457 years before Christ, full 400 years before the Saṁvat of Vikrama, was current even in Nepal. Bhagwan Lal Indraji has published a genealogy of the Mahārājas of Nepal in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XIII). This genealogy begins from 600 or 700 years before Kaliyuga and ends with 1768 A. D. The fifth dynasty of this genealogy which is a branch of the Solar dynasty begins with Rājā Bhūmivarmā in 1389 of the Kaliyuga Saṁvat, and the 27th Rājā of this dynasty is Śivadevavarmā who ascended the Rāj Gaddi in 2764 of Kaliyuga. Now a copper-plate of this Śivadevavarmā has been found showing that Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śivadevavarmā ascended the throne in Harsha Saṁvat 119, and it is clear from this that the Kaliyuga Saṁvat 2764 corresponds to 119 Harsha Saṁvat on the one hand and to 3101—2764=338 B. C. on the other, and that Harsha Saṁvat begins from 119+338=457 B. C. The Saṁvat of Vikrama took the place of Harsha Saṁvat in the time of Rājā Aṁśuvarmā who lived 101 to 33 B. C., and this proves that there is nothing wrong in holding that the Saṁvat of Vikrama began in 57 B. C. and that the

sovereignty or the political influence of Vikramāditya extended upto Nepal in the North.

Let us see now what Kālidāsa, the court-poet of Vikrama himself, says in this matter. An inscription has been found in Bodh-Gayā dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1015 bearing these words :—

"Vikramāditya has been a celebrated Rājā in this world and his Sabhā had nine learned men known as Nine Gems." (—*Vide* R. C. Dutt's *Ancient Civilization in India*, Vol. II, Chapter 1, P. 128.)

And the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* which is known as a work of Kālidāsa gives the names of these Nine Gems in a verse as follows :—

"Dhanvantari, Kshapaṇaka, Amarasiṁha, Śaṅku,
Vetālabhaṭṭa, Ghaṭakarpara, Kālidāsa,

Celebrated Varāhamihira and Vararuchi were
Nine Gems of the Sabhā of Vikrama."

Kālidāsa was therefore one of the Nine Gems of Vikramāditya, and in this same work *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* he says that he wrote this book in the Kaliyuga Saṁvat represented by Sindhura (8), Darśana (6), Ambara (0), Guṇa (3), *i. e.* 3068. Now as Kaliyuga commenced 3101 years before Christ, the date of this work in terms of the Christian Era is 3101—3068=33 B. C. and it demonstrates the existence of Kālidāsa and his Royal patron Vikramāditya in 57 B. C.

There are several works ascribed to Kālidāsa. Of these the following sixteen are best known :—

1. *Ṛitusaṁhāra*, 2. *Meghadūta*, 3. *Kumārasaṁbhava*, 4. *Raghuvaṁśa*, 5. *Śākuntala*, 6. *Vikramorvaśīya*, 7. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, 8. *Jyotir-*

vidābharaṇa, 9. *Śrutabodha*, 10. *Śṛiṅgāratilaka*, 11. *Śṛiṅgārarasāshṭaka*, 12. *Setubandha* or *Setukāvya*, 13. *Nalodaya*, 14. *Pushpabāṇavilāsa*, 15. *Śyāmalādaṇḍaka*, and 16. *Praśnottaramālā*.

Out of these sixteen, again, the first eight are celebrated. Out of these first eight the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* has already been mentioned. The *Vikramorvaśīya* is a drama of a very high order, and by associating the word 'Vikrama' with Urvaśī Kālidāsa has immortalized the name of his patron in Sanskrit literature. The *Śākuntala* is that drama of Kālidāsa which set the German dramatist Goethe in ecstasy and elicited the following unqualified praise from him :—

"Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline,

And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed ?

Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine ?

I name thee, O Śakuntalā, and all at once is said."

There is a Bengali edition of the *Śākuntala* and I have seen it stated that it associates the name of Vikramāditya with this drama in no uncertain words. For, while in the *Vikramorvaśīya* Kālidāsa only leads us to guess the name of Vikramāditya from the association of the word Vikrama (meaning 'valour') with the name Urvaśī in the title of the drama, in the *Śākuntala* the Sūtradhāra says : "This great company of learned men here is the company of our celebrated Mahārāja Vikramāditya who so appreciates merit, and before this company we have to stage today a new play of Kālidāsa

called *Abhijñānaśākuntala.*" If so, it sets all doubts at rest in this matter.

Ujjayinī (Ujjain) was the capital of Vikramāditya, and both the loyalty and patriotism of Kālidāsa demanded some praise for Ujjain from him. And he complied with this demand in his *Meghadūta* where, in the course of his praise of Ujjain, he says in Śloka 31 that the good men who after having enjoyed the fruits of their good actions in heaven (Svarga) return to the earth to complete their enjoyment come to Ujjain, and thus Ujjain is a 'Kāntimat Khaṇḍa' (bright part of Svarga itself). What praise could be higher than this? Further description of Kālidāsa's works relates to Sāhitya, and that is not our topic here.

Varāhamihira, the great astronomer of India, was also a gem of the court of Vikramāditya, as has been mentioned in Kālidāsa's śloka quoted above. He has written a work on Astronomy called *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, and in it he has given the position of Solstices, Uttarāyaṇa and Dakshiṇāyana, of his time. These positions have now receded owing to the Precession of the Equinoxes in the Ecliptic by several degrees, and by a calculation of the time required for this recession we find that Varāhamihira and with him his Royal master Vikramāditya lived somewhere in the neighbourhood of the commencement of the Christian Era. European scholars differ in this respect as well. But as the subject is too abstruse for the general reader, we refrain from entering into it any further here.

We have now to see what was the political condition of Bhāratavarsha when Vikramāditya was born and commenced his rule. There is a doctrine of Hindu Astronomy that the constellations of Seven Stars (Ṛikshas),

called Sapta-Ṛishis in Sanskrit and Ursa Major or the Great Bear in Latin and English (for the word 'ṛiksha' in Sanskrit means both 'ṛishi' and 'bear'), remain conjoined with each Nakshatra or lunar asterism in the ecliptic for one hundred years and then enter into the next Nakshatra and remain conjoined with it for the next hundred years and so on till the Ṛishis complete their revolution in the 27 Nakshatras of the Nakshatra-Maṇḍala or the ecliptic in 2,700 years and then begin their revolutions anew. Taking this Saptarshi cycle as its standard of time the work *Kaliyuga-Rāja-Vṛittānta* (an account of the Rājās of Kaliyuga) sums up the political condition of India from the time of the Mahābhārata War till the beginning of the Pāla dynasty as follows :—.

"When Yudhishṭhira reigned in Indraprastha (Delhi) then the Saptarshis were in the Nakshatra Maghā, and these Ṛishis had entered Maghā 75 years before Kaliyuga. Twenty-five years after Kaliyuga they entered Āśleshā and then the Dharmaputra (Yudhishṭhira) ascended to heaven (Svarga), and from that time the Saptarshi or the Laukika Saṁvat was introduced in commemoration of Yudhishṭhira. In the time of Nanda (the predecessor of Chandragupta Maurya) the Ṛishis were in the Nakshatra of Śravaṇa (the 15th from Maghā in the reverse order), and in the time of Śivaśrī, the 27th Rājā of the Āndhra dynasty, the Ṛishis re-entered Āśleshā after completing their revolution in the Nakshatra-Maṇḍala. When they reached Punarvasū (in their next revolution), then the reign of the Gupta dynasty declined; and when they entered Pūrvā-Bhādrapadā, then the sovereignty of Magadha passed from the Gupta dynasty into the hands of the Pāla dynasty."

According to this account, it was the time of the end of the Āndhra and the beginning of the Gupta period in Indian History when the Sapta Ṛishis after commencing their revolution from Aśleshā at the beginning of the Kaliyuga re-entered it after completing their round of all the 27 Nakshatras in 2,700 years or in the year 2700 of Kaliyuga. Just at this time was born Paramāra, the progenitor of the dynasty of Vikramāditya, and three hundred years after this, or "when full 3,000 years of the Kaliyuga had elapsed", was born Vikramāditya according to the authority of the *Bhavishya-Purāṇa* quoted above. And we have no right to ignore this authority simply because it is the authority of a Purāṇa. For whatever may be said of the legends and mythologies of the Purāṇas, the genealogies of the Royal dynasties given in them bear the stamp of historical truth. Wilson in the Introduction to his translation of the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* says as follows in this respect :—

"The fourth book contains all that the Hindus have of their Ancient History. It is a tolerably comprehensive list of dynasties and individuals; it is a barren record of events. It can scarcely be doubted, however, that much of it is a genuine chronicle of persons if not of occurrences........ After the date of the Great War the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, in common with the other Purāṇas which contain similar lists, specifies Kings and dynasties with great precision and offers political and chronological particulars to which on the score of probability there is nothing to object. In truth their general accuracy has been incontrovertibly established. Inscriptions on columns of stone, on rocks, on coins, deciphered only of late years through the extraordinary ingenuity and perseverence of

Mr. James Princeps, have verified the names of races and titles of Princes, the Gupta and the Andhra Rājās mentioned in the Purāṇas, thus giving us a fixed point from which to compute the date of other persons and events."

So Paramāra was born 2,700 years after Kaliyuga or in 3101—2700=401 B. C., and Vikramāditya was born full 3,000 years after Kaliyuga or 3101—3000= 101 B. C. The *Gargasaṁhitā* describes the political condition of Bhāratavarsha at this time as follows :—

"Then (that is, in the time of Śāliśūka the fourth Rājā in succession from Aśoka the Great) the vicious but valiant Greeks after reducing Sāketa (Oudh), the Pañchāla country and Mathurā, will reach Kusumadhvaja (=Kusumapura=Pushpapura=Pāṭaliputra= Patna); Pushpapura being taken, all provinces will undoubtedly be in disorder. The unconquerable Yavanas (Greeks) will not remain in the middle country. There will be a cruel, dreadful war amongst themselves. Then after the destruction of the Greeks *at the end of the Yuga* seven powerful kings will reign in Oudh." (—R. C. Dutt in his *Ancient Civilization of India*, Vol. II, Book IV, Chapter XII, P. 121.)

European scholars interpret Yavanas as Greeks and particularly as Bactrian Greeks. And R. C. Dutt, following them, interprets Yavanas in this passage also as Greeks, and would have us believe that after the Maurya dynasty of India the Greeks invaded India and extended their dominions upto Patna. But in this same Volume he says further on (Book V, Chapter IV, P. 173) as follows :—

"It would seem that the last of the Buddhist kings (of Orissa) were called Yavanas; but it is not

known if they were so called because they descended from the Bactrian Greeks, or simply because they were Buddhists."

We may then dismiss the illusion from our minds that the Yavanas of Garga were Greeks, and that the Greeks invaded India upto Patna. They were simply Buddhists of Orissa who were called Yavanas both because they had fallen from the Kshatriya Dharma and had originally come from the island of Yava (the present Java), a prominent colony of Ancient India. We have discussed this question of the identity of the Yavanas in detail in our *Bhāratapurāṇa* or *Ancient History of India* (Vol. IV, Adhyāyas 4 and 5) while narrating the history of Chandragupta Maurya and his grandson Aśoka. European scholars identify this Chandragupta with 'Sandracottus' whom the Greeks found reigning in India in the time of their Bactrian king Seleukos in 320 B. C. But it is also a myth. Sandracottus is Chandragupta but not Chandragupta of the Maurya dynasty who lived in 1537 B. C., but Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty who lived in 320 B. C. in the time of Seleukos as shown in our book.

But to return to Garga's account of the Yavanas. The words "at the end of the Yuga" employed by Garga clear this matter, but scholars have not given their careful attention to these words. Garga commences this portion of his account in his *Saṁhitā* by saying that "when Rājā Yudhishṭhira was reigning on the earth, Munis (Sapta Ṛishis) were in the Nakshatra of Maghā." And this shows that in giving his account as he does here Garga is taking into consideration and calculation the cycle of the Sapta Ṛishis. The "end of Yuga" in Garga's

account therefore is the end of this cycle or the end of the Āndhra Dynasty about the year 2700 of Kaliyuga. "After this," says Garga, "seven powerful kings will reign in Oudh," and there were exactly seven kings of the Gupta dynasty after the destruction of the Āndhra Vaṁśa. And Vikramāditya completed the work, initiated by this powerful dynasty, of driving the Śakas and others out of India and gained for himself the titles of both 'Śaka-Kartā' (the founder of an era) and 'Śakāri' (the enemy of the Śakas).

Vikramāditya died about the commencement of the Christian Era at the age of about one hundred years. His son Jaitrapāla was a pious man. He considered Vikramāditya's throne (Siṁhāsana) as too sacred for him or for anybody else to mount and got it buried under the earth. This piety led to the dismemberment of Akhaṇḍa Bhāratavarsha into 18 Khaṇḍas under separate rulers as follows :—

1. Indraprastha (Delhi), 2. Pañchāla, 3. Kurukshetra, 4. Kapila (the country of Kapila or Bengal), 5. Antarvedi, 6. Vraja (Mathurā), 7. Ajmere, 8. Marudeśa (Rajputana), 9. Gurjara (Gujarat), 10. Mahārāshṭra, 11. Draviḍa (Deccan), 12. Kaliṅga, 13. Avanti (Ujjain), 14. Uḍupa (Orissa), 15. Vaṅga (Bengal), 16. Gauḍa (Bengal), 17. Magadha, and 18. Kośala.

Seeing this the foreigners again began to make inroads into India but Śālivāhana, who was the grandson of Vikramāditya (see *Bhavishya-Purāṇa, Pratisarga-parvan*, Khaṇḍa 3, Adhyāya 27, Śloka 18) and was as chivalrous and valorous a prince as Vikramāditya, advanced with his armies against them and expelled them from India in quick succession.

In the course of these expeditions of his Śālivāhana came into contact with Christ, and the *Bhavishya-Purāṇa* gives the story of this contact in the following manner. While Śalivāhana was hunting for his enemies he came across a holy-looking person on the top of a hill in the country of the Hūṇas in a plateau of the Himālayas. He had a white complexion and was wearing white clothes. Śālivāhana asked him who he was and he replied: "I am Īśaputra (the Son of God) and am born of a virgin. I teach Religion to Mlechchha (or Anārya) people, and I observe truth." Hearing this, Śālivāhana asked him what his religion was, and he replied: "My religion is that man should contemplate with concentrated mind on the Spirit that resides in the Sun and should worship it, and recite the hymns prescribed in the Scriptures with truth and sincerity. By so doing the "masi" (Sanskrit: blackness) of the mind is "hata" (Sans.: killed), and on account of this teaching they call me Masihā (Hebrew: Messiah=anointed, Sanskritized into Masi-hā=blackness-killer)." Hearing this the King (Śālivāhana) bowed to the Teacher of the Mlechchhas, and having installed him in the Mlechchha Deśa returned to his capital, performed the Aśvamedha Yajña, and after a very glorious reign of 60 years ascended to Heaven in 78 A. D.

The year 78 A. D. therefore is the first year of Śālivāhana Śaka, which was introduced by the Astronomers of India after his death not only because it commemorated the death of the great Śālivāhana, the grandson of the still greater Vikramāditya, but also because it coincided with a very interesting and important event in Astronomy. This event is Mahā-Vishuva, which is different from the Mesha Vishuva and the Tulā Vishuva which occur every year in the signs of Mesha

(the Aries or Ram) and Tulā (the Libra or Balance) making days and nights equal in the months of March and September respectively. The Mahā-Vishuva is a phenomenon which occurs once in 18,000 years. (See *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, Aṁśa 2, Adhyāya 8, Ślokas 76 and 77, and Śrīdhara's commentary on them.) This phenomenon just happened to coincide with the death of Śālivāhana, and the Astronomers of India who care more for astronomical events than for the events of life and death of Kings adopted the date of this phenomenon as an era. There is a tradition that Śālivāhana Śaka or the Era of Śālivāhana will continue for 18,000 years, and what gave currency to this tradition is this same Mahā-Vishuva.

The celebrated Rājā Bhoja was tenth in succession from Śālivāhana, and the *Bhavishya-Purāṇa* says that, just as Sālivāhana met Christ, Rājā Bhoja met Mohammed. Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* gives the date of Bhoja as Vikrama Saṁvat 541. But Tod has discovered an inscription of Rājā Māna, son of this Bhoja, near Chittoor in Udaipur State and in noting on this inscription in his *Rajasthan* he says that there have been three princes of the name of Bhoja, one in Saṁvat 631 (whose date Abul Fazl has given as Saṁvat 541), the second in Saṁvat 721, and the third in Saṁvat 1091. Mohammed was born in 578 A. D. and died in 632 A. D. So there is nothing improbable, so far as chronology is concerned, in the *Bhavishya-Purāṇa*'s statement that Rājā Bhoja met Mohammed about Saṁvat 631 or 574 A. D. The account of Rājā Bhoja might appear as irrelevant here, but its relevancy will appear from what follows apart from this very interesting fact of the meeting between Rājā Bhoja and the prophet Mohammed as described in a Purāṇa.

The throne of Vikramāditya which had been buried by his son Jaitrapāla as mentioned above came out of the earth in an excavation at Ujjain in the time of Rājā Bhoja. The throne was very artistically made and was a splendid pattern of the fine art of tracery in gold and silver of the time of Vikramāditya. It was called *Siṁhāsana-Battisī* because it had 32 images made of gold around it so skilfully designed as to look life-like ready to speak. And, in fact, the author of the work *Siṁhāsana-Battisī* has made them speak. For he says that when Rājā Bhoja after having necessary repairs done to the throne wanted to mount it, the images dissuaded him from doing so by recounting to him 32 stories (one story by each image) of the chivalry and charity of Vikramāditya and telling him plainly at the end of each story that he (Bhoja) was not worthy of setting his foot on the throne. Bhoja acknowledged it and renouncing the idea of ever mounting it got it buried again as Vikramāditya's son had done before.

One of the stories told by these images is pretty interesting and runs as follows :—

Vikramāditya was in the habit of making a round of his capital (Ujjain) in disguise at night. One night he came across a party of robbers, and wishing to see what they intended to do he joined them as another robber. The robbers raided the house of a millionaire and robbed him of his all. When the time of division of booty came, Vikramāditya quietly slipped away and informed the Police. When the day dawned the robbers came in handcuffs and fetters before Vikramāditya. One of them recognised Vikramāditya and said, "Were you not one of us, Mahārāja ?" "Yes," said Vikramāditya, "and that is why you are here today.

Now tell me plainly if you are prepared to abandon on oath the vicious occupation of robbery. If so, I will release you at once and make provision for your honest living. Otherwise here is the Police and I will send you to jail for rigorous imprisonment." The robbers took oath never to commit robbery again. Vikramāditya released them and made suitable provision for their honest living in future and returned the robbed property of the millionaire to him, with compensation for all the trouble he was put to.

These stories show the popularity of Vikrama, as do these celebrations of the 2nd Millennium of Vikrama Era which are taking place in the various parts of India. Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior is the lucky inheritor of Vikramāditya's *gaddi*, and it was in the fitness of things that he should have sponsored the movement of his people for due celebration of this unique event in the history of India, mainly by the publication of these scholarly Commemoration Volumes and in other gracious ways. May the Maharaja's name go down to posterity as the name of Vikramāditya has come down to us as the symbol of patriotism, chivalry and patronage of learning.

WORKS OF KALIDASA

By

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At the time when descendants of Aśoka the Great of the famous Mauryan dynasty resorted to 'Dharma-vijaya' and adopted the policy of general amnesty to conceal their cowardice, then the Brāhmaṇahood of Central India rose in rebellion against these misguided and irreligious[1] kings. The head of the last king of the Mauryan dynasty, Bṛihadratha, was lopped off by his commander Pushyamitra, who, usurping the throne, revived the ancient ceremony of Aśvamedha Yajña by re-establishing the Vedic ideal of universal sovereignty, which is a landmark in the history of the age. That is why it has been termed by many historians as the "age of the revival of Aśvamedha". According to the testimony proffered by the *Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa*, Janamejaya was followed by Pushyamitra in reviving the Aśvamedha practice. From this time onward for nearly seven hundred years almost all the founders of different empires deemed it as their duty to perform the Aśvamedha Yajña. The revival of Aśvamedha

1. मोहात्मा, धर्मवादी-अधार्मिक.

meant the revival of Vedic ideals. The *Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra*, which was composed during the reign of Śuṅga dynasty, is a most lucid exposition of this ideal. This was the period of religious turmoil and transition, when Buddhism was in part influenced and in part even replaced by the Vedic religion. Sanskrit was enjoying the position of both the court and the state language. The inscriptions of Aśoka were written in Pāli, whereas those of the Guptas are in Sanskrit. The literature of Mahāyāna, the leading sect of the Buddhists of that age, was also written in Sanskrit. The rulers and kings were more inclined towards Vedic religion. Among the Kushāna emperors only Kanishka and Huvishka were Buddhists, while Śaivism found favour with Vāsudeva and Kadphises II. Buddhism which was the dominant religion of India in the time of Kanishka began to lose its popularity in the Gupta period. The caste system was fast breaking up, social distinctions were disappearing, and a new rejuvenated Hinduism was being reborn. In the Gupta period the Hindu religion, art and literature grew to their highest summit of glory. Therefore this period is remembered as the "Golden Age" of Indian history. In this very period the rules of Spiritualism, Science, Politics and other multifarious Arts and Crafts were framed, the Indian Philosophy was systematised and the Purāṇas were being composed on the basis of the Upanishads. Painting, Music, Dancing and Architecture reached the climax of their perfection.

In this way the stage was already set when Kālidāsa appeared on the scene in Ujjayinī, the capital city of the Vikrama empire. We find a beautiful delineation of contemporary feelings and tendencies in the works of Kālidāsa. Although Kālidāsa is credited with

more than thirty works, the historians accept only seven as authentic, of which four are poems and three dramas. They are as follows :—

(1) Ṛitusaṁhāra, (2) Kumārasaṁbhava, (3) Meghadūta, and (4) Raghuvaṁśa.

(1) Mālavikāgnimitra, (2) Vikramorvaśīya, and (3) Abhijñānaśākuntala.

The *Ṛitusaṁhāra* gives us a picture of the early Kālidāsan period. The *Raghuvaṁśa* is a heroic epic, the *Meghadūta* the finest example of melancholy lyricism and the *Śākuntala* a romantic play. The *Kumārasaṁbhava* is a religious and philosophical work, in which the attainment of Godhood has been indicated through the mortal love story of Śiva and Pārvatī. In Kālidāsa we find a beautiful depiction of the many aspects of social life as it then was, and he represents the civilisation of his age like Vālmīki and Vyāsa.

The social structure of Kālidāsa's age was based on Varṇāśrama system. Intercaste marriages were in vogue. Marriages in the same Varṇa were encouraged, but Varṇa-saṁkara was looked down upon. Society was divided into four Varṇas, the Varṇa-saṁkaras and the Chāṇḍālas. Their functions were quite distinct. For example, when a Śūdra named Śambūka tried to do penances, he was considered transgressing the bounds of his proper functions and was killed by King Rāma (तप:स्वनधिकारित्वात्, स्वमार्गविलङ्घिना—*Raghuvaṁśa* XV. 51, 53). The Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas were two dominant classes of the society, the Kshatriyas for physical valour and the Brāhmaṇas for intellectual power. Knowledge was regarded as superior to the strength of arms or the influence of wealth. Still, the two classes worked in the closest harmony (सहितं ब्रह्म

यवस्त्रतेजसा—*Raghu.*, VIII. 4). In Canto 1 of the *Raghuvaṁśa* King Dilīpa goes with Queen Sudakshiṇā to the hermitage of Guru Vaśishṭha. There they are received with cordiality. After the evening prayer they approach Vaśishṭha. The King and the Queen touch his feet and pay their homage to him. The King told the purpose of his visit and was ordained to serve the cow. It is to be noted that the Royal visit was free from all ceremony and caused no unusual stir in the hermitage. Similarly there is no hustle and bustle when Dushyanta goes to the hermitage of Kaṇva. He is received with the hospitality due to a guest. These instances indicate the relations between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas. Even the King was bound by the regulations of the hermitage. When, in Act 1 of the *Śākuntala*, Dushyanta tries to shoot a deer with his arrow, he is suddenly stopped by three hermits, who shout out: "O King ! the deer belongs to the hermitage, so it should not be killed. Your missiles are intended for the protection of the distressed and not for harming those who are innocent."[1] In the works of Kālidāsa there are more references to the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas than to the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. There is a passing reference to them in the *Śākuntala*. From what is said of the Vaiśyas in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, we gather that they lived in perfect luxury. They kept their houses cool through special cooling apparatuses.[2]

The other basis of social structure in the works of Kālidāsa was the Āśrama system. The life was divided

1. राजन्! आश्रममृगोऽयं न हन्तव्यो न हन्तव्यः। —*Śākuntala*, I;
आर्त्तत्राणाय वः शस्त्रं न प्रहर्त्तुमनागसि। —*Ibid*, I. 11.

2. यन्त्रप्रवाहैः शिशिरैः परीतान् रसेन धौतान्मलयोद्भवस्य।
शिलाविशेषानधिशय्य निन्युर्धारागृहेष्वातपमृद्धिमन्तः॥ —*Raghu.*, XVI. 49.

into four stages. The first was Brahmacharyāśrama, which was a stage of preparation for future life (**शैशवेऽभ्यस्तविद्यानाम्**—*Raghu.*, I. 8). The second was Gṛihastha, in which the people enjoyed the pleasures of life (**यौवने. विषयैषिणाम्**—*Ibid*, I. 8). The third was Vānaprastha. They did not leave the worldly life under any compulsion whatsoever, but of their own accord (**वार्धक्ये मुनिवृत्तीनाम्**—*Ibid*, I. 8). The last was Saṁnyāsa, when they kept away from worldly affairs and devoted themselves to quiet meditation for the welfare of humanity. The people of those times were not afraid of Death. They faced it bravely and cheerfully (**योगेनान्ते तनुत्यजाम्**—*Ibid*, I. 8). When Rāma had reigned for a very long time, Death came to him in the disguise of a hermit and told him to return to heaven in obedience to the command of the Creator and then Rāma, saying "so be it", accompanies him.[1]

The sages of those times were both Gṛihastha and Vānaprastha and the former were in no way less revered. They were all held in the highest esteem. Raghu rises up when Kautsa enters his court. The sages were quite well off. The armies of Śatrughna and Bharata were entertained by Vālmīki and Bharadvāja respectively. Their life was not one of ease, but of austerity. When, after the death of Subāhu, Viśvāmitra congratulated Rāma, his palm was bleeding on as a result of an injury received during the collection of wood for Agnihotra (**—दर्भपाटिततलेन पाणिना**).

In the works of Kālidāsa there is special stress on Śiva worship. In the benedictory verse of the *Raghu-*

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1. उपेत्य मुनिवेषोऽथ कालः प्रोवाच राघवम् ।

....

आचख्यौ दिवमध्यास्स्व शासनात्परमेष्ठिनः ॥ —*Raghu.*, XV. 92-93.

vaṁśa, Pārvatī and Parameśvara have been saluted. In its second canto, in the episode of Dilīpa and the lion, the greatness of Śiva has been described. In the Svayaṁvara of Sītā the bow is referred to as given by Śiva. In the *Meghadūta* there is a description of the Mahākāla temple of Ujjayinī, the Aṭṭahāsa of Śiva and the wedding of Śiva and Pārvatī. These facts testify to the popular inclination towards Śaivism. Yajñas, rituals, sacred vows and sacraments were very much in vogue. Kings used to perform the various Yajñas like Aśvamedha, Viśvajit, Putreshṭi, etc. People were fond of festivals.[1] Although animal sacrifice was discouraged, yet it had not disappeared altogether.[2] Meet-eating was on the whole hated, but low-caste people did earn their livelihood by fish trade. Drinking was also prevalent in the lower strata of the society.[3] The practice of Śrāddha was there and the issueless had to worry on account of discontinuation of oblations.[4]

Polygamy was common in those days. Kings married many queens.[5] In all the three dramas of Kālidāsa, Kings are represented as having many wives. Besides the Kings the rich also married more than once.[6] Even so, monogamy was the ideal of the society. After Sītā was turned out by Rāma, she is made to say "even in the next life I may have you as my husband and there

1. उत्सवप्रियाः खलु मनुष्याः। —*Śaku.*, VI.
2. पशुमारणकर्मदारुणोऽनुकम्पामृदुरेव श्रोत्रियः। —*Śaku.*, VI. 1.
3. कादम्बरीसाक्षिकमस्माकं प्रथमसौहृदमिष्यते। —*Ibid*, VI.
4. अस्मात्परं बत यथाश्रुति संभृतानि को नः कुले निवपनानि नियच्छतीति। —*Ibid*, VI. 25;
   न प्रकामभुजः श्राद्धे स्वधासंग्रहतत्पराः। —*Raghu.*, I. 66.
5. परिग्रहबहुत्वेऽपि। —*Śaku.*, III. 18.
6. बहुधनत्वाद् बहुपत्नीकेन तत्रभवता भवितव्यम्। —*Ibid*, VI.

may be no separation."[1] At the same time Rāma says that afraid of the public scandal he had turned Sītā out of his home, but not out of his heart.[2] So also in the *Vikramorvaśīya* King Purūravas says: "Although my heart is set on Urvaśī, I have the same regard for the Queen as before." The Gāndharva system of marriage was also current in society. Dushyanta married Śakuntalā through this system. Svayaṁvaras were also held in some cases. In the *Raghuvaṁśa* the Svayaṁvara of Sītā and of Indumatī and in the *Vikramorvaśīya* that of Lakshmī has been described. In Canto 7 of the *Kumārasaṁbhava*, pleased with penances of Pārvatī, Śiva promised to marry her. Pārvatī, however, conveyed her wish to him through her friend that her father should be requested to celebrate their union. Śiva then sent the Seven Celestial Sages, along with Arundhatī, to Himālaya, who was seated with his wife Menā and daughter Pārvatī.[3] The sages started the topic of marriage in their very presence. From this we come to know that boys and girls were free to choose their life-partners, but the consent of parents was also essential. Mother's decision was final in settling the marriage of a daughter (**प्रायेण गृहिणीनेत्राः कन्यार्थेषु कुटुम्बिनः ।**—*Kumārasaṁbhava* VI. 85). It also proves that the bridegroom party could also initiate marriage negotiations. That is why Śiva says "Himālaya may be approached."[4] From this we learn yet another thing that there was no pardā system at all. Young maidens could sit in the pre-

1. भूयो यथा मे जननान्तरेऽपि त्वमेव भर्ता न च विप्रयोगः।
 —*Raghu.*, XIV. 66.
2. कौलीनभीतेन गृहान्निरस्ता न तेन वैदेहसुता मनस्तः ।
 —*Raghu.*, XIV. 84.
3. पार्श्वे पितुरधोमुखी। —*Kumārasaṁbhava* VI. 84.
4. याचितव्यो हिमालयः। —*Ibid*, VI. 29.

sence of strangers and could listen to their marriage talks. In the *Śākuntala* the hermit-girls sit with Dushyanta and talk to him, while Śakuntalā listens to the talk and keeps on looking at the King.[1] In Canto 1 of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, Dilīpa goes out with his Queen in an open chariot. On the way the Queen talks to villagers and is not shy of them.[2] In the same work Sītā presents gifts to the helpers of Rāma. Even Rāma could do it himself; but when Sītā does it, it has a grace of its own. This reflects very clearly the status of women in contemporary society. In the *Śākuntala*, however, the dominance of men over women echoes in many a line, *e. g.*, "The authority of husbands over their wives is absolute."[3] Slavery in husband's house was thought better than independence in father's house.[4] It was a sin to glance at another's wife.[5] Women were fond of ornaments and toilets.

The lamentation of Rati in Canto 4 of the *Kumārasaṁbhava* is a universal and eternal outburst of a wife's heart and marks out the ideal of Indian womanhood.[6] The love of the Yaksha in the *Meghadūta*, selfless,

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1· भूयिष्ठमन्यविषया न तु दृष्टिरस्याः। —*Śāku.*, I. 28.

2. नामधेयानि पृच्छन्तौ वन्यानां मार्गशाखिनाम्। —*Raghu.*, I. 45.

3· उपपन्ना हिं दारेषु प्रभुता सर्वतोमुखी। —*Śāku.*, V. 26.

4. यदि यथा वदति क्षितिपस्तथा त्वमसि किं पितुरुत्कुलया त्वया।
अथ तु वेत्सि शुचि व्रतमात्मनः पतिकुले तव दास्यमपि क्षमम्॥
—*Ibid*, V. 28.

5. अनिर्वर्णनीयं परकलत्रम्। —*Ibid*, V.

6. परलोकनवप्रवासिनः प्रतिपत्स्ये पदवीमहं तव।
अहमेत्य पतङ्गवर्त्मना पुनरङ्काश्रयिणी भवामि ते।
शशिना सह याति कौमुदी सह मेघेन तडित्प्रलीयते।
प्रमदाः पतिवर्त्मगा इति प्रतिपन्नं हि विचेतनैरपि॥
—*Kumā.*, IV. 10, 20, 33.

sinless and simple, is the symbol of the most tender sentiments of a husband's heart.

Never before had a poet described so beautifully and touchingly the separation of the bride from her parents when she is about to depart for the first time for her husband's place as has been done by Kālidāsa in Act 4 of the *Śākuntala.* This is a unique picture of the Indian family painted exquisitely by Kālidāsa in four Ślokas, which are regarded by literary critics as the finest verses in the whole range of Indian poetry. Kaṇva has been delineated here as an ideal father and Śakuntalā as an ideal daughter. In his parting message to Śakuntalā, Kaṇva says: "At the thought that Śakuntalā is departing today my heart is touched by anxiousness, my throat is choked on account of the flow of tears being suppressed, and my gaze is vacant through anxiety. If such is the perturbation felt by me, a dweller in the forest, on account of affection, what varied pangs of separation from their daughters must the worldly people be suffering ?"[1] Then Kaṇva asks his pupils to convey the following message to King Dushyanta: "Bearing well in mind us who are rich only in self-restraint and your family so exalted and that spontaneous rise of love for you in Śakuntalā which was not brought about by her relatives, you should look upon her with the common regard for all your queens. More than this depends on her fate, and it should not be expressed by the

1. यास्यत्यद्य शकुन्तलेति हृदयं संस्पृष्टमुत्कण्ठया
कण्ठः स्तम्भितवाष्पवृत्तिकलुषश्चिन्ताजडं दर्शनम्।
वैक्लव्यं मम तावदीदृशमहो स्नेहादरण्यौकसः
पीड्यन्ते गृहिणः कथं नु तनयाविश्लेषदुःखैर्नवैः॥ —*Śaku.*, IV. 6.

wife's relatives."[1] To Śakuntalā he gave the advice: "Serve the elders; adopt the attitude of a dear friend towards your co-wives; even if offended by the husband's anger, do not go against him; show courtesy to friends, consideration to strangers and humility in prosperity. In this manner young maidens attain to the position of a house-wife: others are the bane of their families."[2]

We learn from the study of the works of Kālidāsa that the people of the age were quite familiar with the geography of the land. They had a vast knowledge of the oceans, rivers, mountains, forests, towns, villages, birds and animals, and fruits and flowers. In the *Meghadūta* the Yaksha points out to the cloud the way from Rāmagiri to Alakāpurī. In Canto 4 of the *Raghuvaṁśa* Raghu's march of conquest (Digvijaya) and in Canto 13 the flight of Rāma from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā have been described in detail. The description of Vindhya and Himālaya and of the ocean is so accurate that it cannot but be based on actual observation.

Theft was unknown in those times.[3] It existed only as a word in the dictionary. The safety of roads was assured. People put the state share of the produce on the banks of rivers, tanks and wells and the revenue col-

1. अस्मान्साधु विचिन्त्य संयमधनानुच्चैः कुलं चात्मनः
त्वय्यस्याः कथमप्यबान्धवकृतां स्नेहप्रवृत्तिं च ताम्।
सामान्यप्रतिपत्तिपूर्वकमियं दारेषु दृश्या त्वया
भाग्यायत्तमतः परं न खलु तद्वाच्यं वधूबन्धुभिः॥ —*Ibid*, IV. 17.
2. शुश्रूषस्व गुरून् कुरु प्रियसखीवृत्तिं सपत्नीजने
भर्तुर्विप्रकृतापि रोषणतया मा स्म प्रतीपं गमः।
भूयिष्ठं भव दक्षिणा परिजने भाग्येष्वनुत्सेकिनी
यान्त्येवं गृहिणीपदं युवतयो वामाः कुलस्याधयः॥ —*Ibid*, IV. 18.
3. व्यावृत्ता यत्परस्वेभ्यः श्रुतौ तस्करता स्थिता। —*Raghu*., I. 27.

lectors come and pick them up. There was no fear of looting. The authority of the King was so absolute that even the wind could not dare to disturb the cloths of women fallen into sleep on the way through exhaustion.[1] Violation of law was awarded with punishment which was in proportion to the degree of the crime.[2] The innocent were never punished.[3] The practice of externment was there. The Yaksha in the *Meghadūta* is exiled from his home for a period of one year because he committed a breach of duty. Capital punishment was also awarded for capital crimes.[4] Revenue was realised in kind,one sixth of the produce.[5] The taxes were levied for the benefit of the people.[6] The property of those dying issueless passed over to the State.[7] The King used only a sixth part of the total revenue for himself.[8] Administration was based on the *Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra.*[9]

Although Kingship was the political order, yet Kings were neither tyrants nor despots. They consulted their ministers, priests and Gurus.[10] The position of the King is referred to again and again in the works of Kālidāsa. The duties of a King have been related in

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1. यस्मिन्महीं शासति वर्णिनीनां निद्रां विहारार्धपथे गतानाम् ।
   वातोऽपि नास्रंसयदंशुकानि को लम्बयेदाहरणाय हस्तम् ॥ —*Ibid*, VI. 75.
2. यथापराधदण्डानाम् । —*Ibid*, I. 6.
3. नार्हति भावोऽकारणमारणो भवितुम् । —*Śaku.*, VI.
4. शूलादवतीर्य । —*Ibid*, VI.
5. तान्युञ्छषष्ठाङ्किकतसैकतानि । —*Raghu.*, V. 8.
6. प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं स ताभ्यो बलिमग्रहीत् । —*Ibid*, I. 18.
7. राजगामी तस्यार्थसंचय इत्येतदमात्येन लिखितम् । —*Śaku.*, VI.
8. षष्ठांशवृत्तेरपि । —*Ibid*, V. 4; षडंशभाक् । —*Raghu.*, XVII. 65.
   नृपस्य वर्णाश्रमपालनं यत्स एव धर्मो मनुना प्रणीतः । —*Ibid*, XIV. 67.
10. मन्त्रः प्रतिदिनं तस्य बभूव सह मन्त्रिभिः । —*Ibid*, XVII. 50.

a description of Dushyanta in the *Śākuntala*, which are: regardless of his own personal happiness, to toil for the good of the people; to bring back those who had gone astray to the path of virtue; to settle disputes and to give protection to his subjects.[1] The relation between him and his subjects was so intimate that it excelled the bounds of fraternal affection.[2] To relieve the distress of his subjects was an important duty of the King.[3] The protection of the hermitage was another duty.[4] Work relating to the hermitage was given priority over other engagements of the King.[5] The King also saw to it that the rules of Varṇāśrama were duly observed.[6] The existence of Paurajānapada points to democratic tendencies. The King and the prince, or the prince and the prince, would not fight for the throne. In his old age the King appointed his successor and himself retired. Much of the time of the King was spent in public work.[7] It was the duty of the King in those days to provide each one of his subjects with free compulsory education, State protection and employment. Hence it is that the

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1. स्वसुखनिरभिलाष: खिद्यसे लोकहेतोः प्रतिदिनमथवा ते वृत्तिरेवंविधैव ।
   —*Śāku.*, V. 7;
   नियमयसि विमार्गप्रस्थितानात्तदण्डः प्रशमयसि विवादं कल्पसे रक्षणाय।
   —*Ibid*, V. 8.
2. त्वयि तु परिसमाप्तं बन्धुकृत्यं प्रजानाम् । —*Ibid*, V. 8.
3. आपन्नस्य विषयनिवासिनो जनस्यार्त्तिहरेण राज्ञा भवितव्यमित्येष युष्माकं धर्मः। —*Ibid*, III; राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनात् । —*Raghu.*, IV. 12.
4. राजरक्षितव्यानि तपोवनानि नाम। —*Śāku.*, I.
5. इतस्तपस्विकार्यम् । इतो गुरुजनाज्ञा। द्वयमपि अनतिक्रमणीयम् । ऋषि-गौरवादाश्रमं गच्छामि। —*Ibid*, II.
6. वर्णाश्रमाणां रक्षिता। —*Ibid*, V.
7. अविश्रामोऽयं लोकतन्त्राधिकारः । —*Ibid*, V.

people looked upon their King as father.[1] These are the three main points in the Charter of Freedom which has been issued by the Allies for the world to emerge from the ravages of the present war. And it was the highest bliss for the people to have a King who treated them with so much of love, kindness and generosity.[2] There can be no greater example of this than the fact that King Rāma sent into exile his most beloved Queen in the full consciousness of her innocence and for the mere gratification of public whim.[3] The ex-King Edward VIII is praised because he sacrificed his Empire "for the sake of the woman he loved", but what shall we say of Rāma who sacrificed the woman he loved for the sake of his people !!

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1. प्रजानां विनयाधानाद्रक्षणाद् भरणादपि ।
   स पिता पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः। —*Raghu.*, I. 24.
2. तेनार्थवाँल्लोभपराङ्मुखेन तेन घ्नता विघ्नभयं क्रियावान् ।
   तेनास लोकः पितृमान् विनेत्रा तेनैव शोकापनुदेन पुत्री । —*Ibid*, XIV. 23.
3. अवैमि चैनामनघेति किन्तु लोकापवादो बलवान्मतो मे । —*Ibid*, XIV. 40.

VIKRAMĀDITYA IN JAIN TRADITION

By

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Part I—Sources

I propose to determine the nature of Vikramāditya as figuring in the Jain tradition in the following article. I am, however, restricting myself to a brief period of three hundred years from Vikrama Saṁvat 1200 to 1500 only. As a matter of fact, this is the most important period which is characterized by the origin and growth of the Jain tradition about Vikramāditya and this is very plain from a study of Jain works during this period. Before V. S. 1200, we find very few references to Vikrama if at all, though Ujjain repeatedly figures in the older Jain literature. On the other hand, the origin of the Jain tradition about Vikrama is quite obvious in the Prakrit stanza which is assigned to Siddhasena Divākara and in which he is made to say to Vikrama significantly: "When 1199 years pass by, there will be another king like you, namely Kumārapāla." The stanza was evidently composed after Kumārapāla had established his reputation as a great donor of unbounded generosity. It would appear that by his very nature

Vikrama was not found very suitable for adoption into the circle of Jain kings in the early days; his rashness, his reckless bravery involving the killing of opponents naturally marked him out as a great *sāhasika*, 'adventurer', who could not adorn the line of modest and pious kings of the past. But at the same time there was another side to his nature, namely, that the purpose of all his adventures was absolute public service regardless of any considerations and this was quite in keeping with the ideals of a true Jain king. Vikrama was ever ready to sacrifice his all in all, nay even his life, for the sake of the meanest individual or of a rival even though he happened to be his bitterest foe. In addition to this he was also known as a noble-minded king possessed of unbounded generosity. This side of his nature seems to have been the cause of his admission into the Jinistic fold after the rise of King Kumārapāla. Throughout the period of three hundred years mentioned above, this side of his nature is always stressed. He is described as one 'who made the whole earth free from debts by his continuous gifts made possible by his acquisition of the Gold-man,' as also one 'who helped every one owing to his manifold miraculous powers' due to his association with the Agni-Vetāla. Naturally, when there arose a devout Jain monarch among the Jainas in the person of Kumārapāla, the eyes of the Jain poets and writers were turned towards another historical monarch of the past, who was well known by his era and by the stories of his great adventures, for comparison. But his actual adoption by the Jainas as their king does not seem to have taken place for about a hundred years at least after the death of that king, namely Kumārapāla.

2. The first work referring to Vikrama in the above-mentioned period is Somaprabha's *Kumārapālapratibodha* (KPP.) composed in Saṁvat 1241. It is published in the Gaek. O. Series, Baroda, 1920. Here, however, it is noteworthy that (Pp. 437-440) Vikrama's example is quoted not for imitation but for avoidance; the Parapurapraveśa which he practised is condemned, though at the end of the story Vikrama's compassionate nature is specially stressed. The work describes the spiritual life of King Kumārapāla, and we would have got other references to Vikrama had he by this time been regarded as an ideal Jain king. The verse '*punne vāsasahasse*' does not seem to have been yet composed, indicating Vikrama's admission to the fold of Jainism. He is however described as one 'who made his supplicants happy on account of his Gold-man and who helped the rise of men by his various miraculous powers'.

3. The next work, namely the *Prabhāvakacharita* (PKC.) composed by Prabhāchandra in Saṁ. 1334, however, definitely mentions Vikrama as an Uddhārakartā (*i. e.*, a pious repairer) of some sacred places of the Jainas. The work is published in the Singhi Jaina Series, Ahmedabad-Calcutta, 1940. Here he is said to have made the Uddhāras of the Bhṛigupura Tīrtha and of the temple of Mahāvīra at Vāyaṭa in the 7th year of his era; cf. P. 43, V. 77; P. 49, Vv. 71-75. Siddhasena's connection with Vikrama which was already known to the common tradition was here readily seized and prominently brought out to establish Vikrama's conversion to Jainism at the hands of Siddhasena. The traditional verse, which seems to be quoted in this work rather than composed by the author, merely mentions that Vikrama gave a crore of coins to Siddhasena when he raised his arm and uttered the word *dharmalābha*; cf. P. 56, Vv.

61-65. The technical word *dharmalābha* used in this verse leaves no doubt that Siddhasena was a Jain ascetic. But it does not say anything about the religious profession of Vikrama. This mode of blessing shows that the giver of it was a Jaina but not necessarily that the receiver also was a Jaina. The work mentions even the other occasion when Siddhasena met Vikrama at the Mahākāla temple at Ujjain. Siddhasena is here described as having performed a miracle by showing an image of Pārśvanātha springing up from the Śiva-liṅga; cf. Pp. 58-60, Vv. 121-150. On still another occasion, the work describes the skulls of Vikrama and Jīvadevasūri as jointless and says that this was the sign of a holy man; cf P. 53, V. 195. Similarly in describing the life of Kālakasūri, King Vikrama is said to have started his own era, made the earth free from debts and possessed wonderful miraculous powers owing to the 'rise of the Gold-man'. He is also said to have come to the throne after destroying the Śakas; cf. P. 25, Vv. 90-92. This last statement, however, does not seem to be quite in conformity with the Jain tradition about Vikrama's birth, for which see Episode I, in Part II below.

4. The next work in chronological order showing the development of the Vikrama tradition among the Jainas is the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* (PBC.) of Merutuṅga composed in Saṁ. 1361. This is published in the Singhi Jaina Series, Shantiniketan, Bengal, 1933, Here for the first time a separate Prabandha is assigned to the description of Vikrama's life. Yet the information which we get from it is rather meagre. It is, however, sufficient to show the nature of the Jain tradition about Vikrama. He is described as 'the storehouse of matchless adventure' and 'possessed of princely virtues'. He was extremely poor from his very birth it says, which

would mean either that he was not of a royal origin, or that he was exiled from his kingdom very early in his childhood. His trip to the Rohaṇagiri is described to show his magnanimity. He is said to have won the kingdom of Avanti and also the services of an Agni-Vetāla by means of his valour and adventure. His acquisition of the 'Gold-man' from the supposedly haunted house of a merchant called Dānta and the story of the iron statue of Poverty purchased by him are both narrated in this book. It also gives the story of the astrologer and the spotted intestine, of Vikrama's Parapurapraveśa-vidyā, of his connection with Siddhasena together with the verse (*dharmalābha iti*, etc.) given at PKC., P. 56, V. 64, of his desire to erect a Pillar of Fame and of his death by a disease which could be cured only by a crow's flesh, which however he does not eat as a true Jaina. The Prākṛita Stanza namely *punne vāsasahasse* etc. put into the mouth of Siddhasena and mentioned by me in Para 1 is found quoted here for the first time; but it does not seem to have been composed by the author.

5. The fourth work of a Jain author used by me for reconstructing the Jain tradition is the *Vividhatīrtha-kalpa* (TRK.) of Jinaprabhasūri composed between Saṁ. 1365 and 1390. This also is published in the Singhi Jaina Series, Shantiniketan, Bengal, 1934. This work does not directly give us the life of Vikrama, but indirectly supplies us with information about a few episodes about him. Thus he is mentioned as 'one who achieved the Gold-man, freed the earth from debts and started his own era'; cf. P. 39, Line 2. His association with Siddhasena at the temple of Mahākāla and the miracle of showing the image of Pārśvanātha coming out of the Śiva-liṅga performed by Siddhasena on this occasion are both mentioned by Jinaprabha as also the

verse *dharmalābha* etc. Vikrama is now definitely described as adopting the Jain religion and as making a grant of several villages to the temple of Kuḍuṅgeśvara at Ujjain, and further as one who made the whole earth marked with the signs of Jainism, after converting the Sādhus of the other faith to the Śvetāmbara system of belief (*sarvān api jaṭādharādīn darśaninaḥ śvetāmbarān kārayitvā sakalām api avanim jainamudrāṅkitām chakāra*); Pp. 88-89. Even Jinaprabha quotes the verse *punne vāsasahasse* mentioned in the last paragraph.

6. The *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekhara is the next work in our sources. It was composed in Saṁ. 1405. It is published in the Singhi Jaina Series, Shantiniketan, Bengal, 1935. The *Prabandhakośa* (PBK.) too does not separately describe the life of Vikrama, but casually mentions some episodes in his life, such as his connection with Siddhasena (Pp. 16-17, 19-20; both verses *i. e. dharmalābha* and *punne vāsasahasse* are given here), his starting of a new era and freeing the whole earth from debts, as also his sending a minister Nimba to Vāyaṭa for the erecting of a temple of Mahāvīra (P. 8), his battle with and defeat by Sātavāhana of Pratishṭhāna (Pp. 66-68) and his desire to imitate Rāma (Pp. 81-83). But the most important thing which this work mentions is the story of Vikrama's son Vikramasena, who attempted to ascend the throne of his father after his death, but was prevented from doing so by the four wooden statues that were carved in the throne. On being asked about the reason, each one of the four statues narrated a story of Vikrama's greatness, saying that so great a king alone should ascend the throne and none else (Pp. 78-81). One of the four stories narrated by the statues consists of Vikrama's trip to a princess who had vowed that she would marry only that person who could wake her

up by means of four words (*i. e.*, by four stories) during the night. On this occasion, his companion Agni-Vetāla is represented as telling him four stories to pass away the time when he and King Vikrama waited by the side of the sleeping princess. Three of the four Vetāla stories are found in the *Vetālapañchaviṁśati* as given in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*; for details see below Episode VI. It cannot be doubted that this was the form of the Jain version of the Vetāla stories. To come back to the stories of the wooden statues, another story is that of Vikrama's Parapurapraveśa-vidyā, to which reference is found in KPP. as we saw in Para 2. The remaining two stories of the wooden statues as given in this work are the same as Nos. 15 (with slight variations) and 17 of Edgerton's *Vikrama's Adventures* (Harward Oriental Series, Vols. 26 and 27). Even here it may safely be said that only these four stories (or, at least only four stories and not thirty-two) constituted the Jain version of the Siṁhāsana Tales. At any rate, on a comparison of the different versions of these four tales (see below, Episode VI), we may conclude that the story which includes the Vetāla stories and the one which describes Vikrama's Parapurapraveśa-vidyā did have a definite place in the smaller Jain version of the Siṁhāsana Tales. At the end, our work gives the story of Vikrama's trip to Bali's kingdom for the testing of a jewel; but the author significantly says that this particular story was 'outside the sphere of Jainism' (*jainatattvabāhyaṁ*), meaning thereby that the other stories given by him belong to the proper Jain tradition; cf. P. 83, Line 10.

7. The next work is the *Vikramacharitra* composed sometime about Saṁ. 1475 by Devamūrti, pupil of Devachandrasūri of the Kāsadraha Gachchha. The MS of this work which is used by me is No. 1773 (BD.

234) of the BBRAS Collection of MSS at the Town Hall, Bombay. It is a very important manuscript. It is dated Saṁ. 1492 and was copied by one Śīlasundara for Siṁhasūri, pupil and successor of Uddyotanasūri, the fellow-student of Devamūrti, the author. This work of Devamūrti is the first and perhaps the last attempt to write a full-fledged life of Vikrama among the Jainas. It is divided into 14 chapters containing about 4,820 Sanskrit stanzas in different metres and written often in the Kāvya style. At times Devamūrti rises to good poetical heights, and it will be a good service to Vikrama legends if this work is well edited and published. The following is a very brief analysis of the poem: Sarga I. Birth and childhood of Vikrama; II. Vikrama's trip to the Rohaṇagiri and acquisition of the Agni-Vetāla and the kingdom of Avanti; III. Vikrama's acquisition of the Gold-man in the haunted house; IV. Vikrama's acquisition of the Five-handled Umbrella; V. Some Jain story illustrating the Dvādaśāvartavandana; VI. Vikrama's trip to the princess who would marry the person causing her to wake up with four stories during the night; VII. Vikrama and Siddhasena; VIII. Marriage with a princess called Haṁsāvalī; IX. Vikrama's acquisition of the Parapurapraveśa-vidyā; X. A Jain story of Ratnachūḍa; XI. Sundry stories of Vikrama's Sattva and his initiation into feminine adventure; XII. Sundry stories about Vikrama including his idea about erecting a Fame-Pillar; XIII. Vikrama and Sātavāhana; and XIV. Vikramasena and the thirty-two Siṁhāsana Tales. The chapters respectively contain 94, 132, 200, 685, 244, 290, 223, 249, 159, 339, 682, 140, 242 and 1140 stanzas. It will be seen from this analysis that Devamūrti has collected all the different legends known to the Jain tradition before him and as presented

by the works described above in Paras 2 to 6, but has also added some five chapters of his own to complete the picture of the life of the Jain Vikrama. In this work Vikrama is represented as a true devout Jain king observing all religious duties enjoined for a Jain layman and paying his respects to Jain deities and Tīrthaṅkaras almost at every step in his adventures. His place among the pious Jain monarchs is now finally secured for him by Devamūrti and even the thirty-two Siṁhāsana Tales, mostly in the Jain version, are incorporated by him in the life of his here. Devamūrti mentions the two important stories which, we think, formed the nucleus of the Jain version of the Ṣiṁhāsana Tales (see last para), but devotes separate chapters to them; he does not mention them as the Siṁhāsana Tales as PBK. does. A new chapter is also added by him to describe Vikrama's acquisition of the Five-handled Umbrella which, it seems, belongs only to the Jain version of the Vikrama legends. No reference indeed is found to this in the earlier Jain Prabandhas; but the story is found only in the works of the Jain authors, so far as I know. In the introduction to the Siṁhāsana Tales, Devamūrti once more mentions Vikrama's acquisition of the Gold-man by hoodwinking the wily ascetic as is done in the Jain version of the thirty-two Siṁhāsana Tales; cf. Edgerton, *Vikrama's Adventures*, Vol. 26, Pp. 14-26. Devamūrti has already given the other version of the story of the Gold-man, *i. e.*, from the haunted house of the merchant Dānta, in Canto III.

8. Rāmachandrasūri's *Pañchadaṇḍachhatraprabandha* composed in Saṁ. 1490 is another work which deals with the Vikrama legend. But, as the name shows, it treats of only a single episode, namely Vikrama's acquisition of the Five-handled Umbrella. The work is published by

Hiralal Hamsaraj, Jamnagar, 1912. The name of the author is given in the Praśasti, which, however, is not found in all the MSS of the work. See Velankar's *Descriptive Catalogue of the BBRAS MSS*, No. 1746, where the Praśasti is given. According to it, Rāmachandra was the pupil of Abhayachandra of the Pūrṇimā Gachchha. I was unable to get Weber's edition of this work (published at Berlin, 1877). This work is divided into five chapters containing about 550 stanzas written in the Anushṭubh metre. For a discussion of its contents and its comparison with the same story given in other works, see below Episode IV B.

9. The *Vikramacharitra* of Śubhaśīla, pupil of Munisundarasūri of the Tapā Gachchha, was composed in Saṁ. 1499. It is published by the Hemachandrāchārya Granthamālā, Ahmedabad, Saṁ. 1981, in two parts. It contains 12 cantos having a total of about 5,897 Ślokas written in the simple narrative style. This work, like that of Devamūrti, is intended to be a complete life-story of the Jain king Vikrama. Both the works contain many Prākṛita and Apabhraṁśa stanzas and both represent the attempt of the Jain authors to turn Vikrama into a full-fledged Jain king. Purely Jinistic stories are added in both to fill up the gap left in the life-story of Vikrama by the earlier Prabandhakāras who wrote about him. But the strange thing about Śubhaśīla is that he does not mention the thirty-two Tales like Devamūrti, but gives only the four Tales which PBK. has given; see above Para 6. He devotes the last chapter to these Tales. For details, see Episode VI.

10. The *Pañchadaṇḍachhatraprabandha* written in simple Sanskrit prose is another work which deals with only a single episode of the Five-handled Umbrella like

Rāmachandra's work mentioned in Para 8 above. I have used two manuscripts from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of this work. No information about the author is available from the work itself or from the MS. Any way he stands last in our sources and in their chronological order. He gives the story as given below in Episode IV B, to illustrate *dharme udyama* or exertions in piety. At the end he compares Vikrama with the older epic kings like Nala, Yudhishṭhira, Māndhātā, Rāma and others.

11. I have utilized two other works for my purpose: One is the *Kālakāchāryakathā* (Long Anonymous Version) composed before Saṁ. 1336 as published by Brown in his *Story of Kālaka*, P. 36; and the other is *Purātanaprabandhasaṁgraha*, which is a collection of older Prabandhas put together by several anonymous authors. This last is published in the Singhi Jaina Series, Calcutta, 1936.

12. It will thus be seen that the Jain tradition about Vikrama as a Jain king probably originated for the first time after a hundred years or so after the great Jain king Kumārapāla. It rose to its full growth by the end of the 15th century and the author who can be credited with this performance of helping the full growth is Devamūrti of the Kāsadraha Gachchha. Śubhaśīla's work also professes to be a complete life of Vikrama, but it gives only four Siṁhāsana Tales instead of the usual thirty-two. One of these four Tales contains the four Vetāla stories presenting intellectual puzzles. This same collection of four Siṁhāsana Tales and four Vetāla stories is also given by an earlier Jain writer, namely Rājaśekhara, who composed his work *Prabandhakośa* in Sam. 1405. It is therefore

evident that the Jain version of the Simhāsana Tales originally consisted of only four Tales and that one of these contained also the four stories which represent the Jain original of the Vetāla stories. As regards the historicity of King Vikrama, it is indeed very difficult to say anything definitely with the help of the Jain tradition; but a guess may be hazarded from the wavering accounts about the birth and childhood of Vikrama as found in the Jain sources. It would seem that Vikrama was either a mere commoner, or at the most, had the royal blood in his veins only from the mother's side. In any case, he is described as extremely poor from his *very birth* and as one who won the kingdom of Avanti by his valour and adventurous contact with the Agni-Vetāla. His most prominent qualities were reckless adventures directed towards helping anyone, whether friend or foe, whether rich or poor, and his unbounded generosity involving even the sacrifice of life and kingdom. It is therefore not impossible that Vikrama was, like many other adventurers, a common person who rose to power and affluence by his valour and uncommon adventures. But,—here begins my guess-work—, owing to his nobility of mind and generosity of nature he did not become a king and remained content by becoming only the leader of a Gaṇa, I mean the Republic of Malwa. With the help of this their extremely popular hero, the people of this Republic started an era of their own in commemoration of the firm establishment of their Republic. Owing to his natural modesty, Vikrama did not give his name to this era, with the result that it was known for a long time by the name of the Republic itself, Vikrama's name being associated with it only by an undercurrent of a tradition which chiefly stressed his adventures and generosity. Later when a great king like

Chandragupta II assumed or rather received the title of Vikrama or Vikramāditya in view of his *sāhasa*, Vikrama came to be gradually regarded as the king and not merely the leader of Malwa Republic. How could otherwise a king assume the title Vikramāditya ? So argued the tradition and in course of time Vikrama as the king of Malwa was firmly established in the minds of men. The substitution of Vikrama's name for that of the Republic in connection with the great era may appear most natural after this. It is, I believe, only thus that we can remove the discrepancy between the two names which are found given to this era at two different periods of time. The existence of the Malwa Republic is proved beyond doubt even before the Christian era from coins; but the Republic must have started its own era when it was established on a firm footing and when glory and affluence were secured for it by the wonderful efforts of this great adventurer Vikramāditya. It is also noteworthy that according to Devamūrti and the *Prabandha-saṁgraha* (B) Vikrama belonged to a family of the Hūṇa kings on his father's side.

Part II—Narrative

I have divided this Narrative into six main Episodes, of which Episodes IV and V are subdivided into nine and four sections respectively. It will be seen that Episodes III and V B occur as Introduction Sections V and VII respectively of the Jain Recension of the Siṁhāsana Tales as given by Edgerton in his *Vikrama's Adventures*; cf. Harward Oriental Series, Vol. 26, Pp. 250-254. Similarly, Episode IV A, F, G occur respectively as Siṁhāsana Tales Nos. 31, 32, and 29 in the Jain Recension; cf. *Ibid*, Pp. 256-260. All the episodes given below evidently existed among the Jainas in con-

nection with the Vikrama Tradition, perhaps even from early days; but before Saṁ. 1300 or so, Vikrama was not considered as a model Jain king, *i. e.*, as one whose example could be cited for imitation by other kings or laymen. The following abbreviations are used in the Narrative :—KPP.—*Kumārapālapratibodha* composed in Saṁ. 1241; PKC.—*Prabhāvakacharita* composed in Saṁ. 1334; PBC.—*Prabandhachintāmaṇi* composed in Saṁ. 1361; TRK.—*Tīrthakalpa* composed in Saṁ. 1365-1390; PBK.—*Prabandhakośa* composed in Saṁ. 1405; DMV.—*Vikramacharitra* of Devamūrti composed about Saṁ. 1475; RPP.—*Pañchadaṇḍachhatraprabandha* of Rāmachandrasūri composed in Saṁ. 1490; SSV.—*Vikramacharitra* of Śubhaśīla composed in Saṁ. 1499; PDP.—*Pañchadaṇḍaprabandha* of Pūrṇachandra; KCK.—*Kālakāchāryakathā* in the Long Anonymous Version as given by Brown in his *Story of Kālaka*; PBS.—*Prabandhasaṁgraha*. For all these see Sources, Paras 2-11. EVA.=Edgerton, *Vikrama's Adventures* published in the Harward O. Series, Vols. 26 and 27.

EPISODE I—VIKRAMA'S ORIGIN

In the country of Gurjarātra, there was a city called Pattana, on the banks of the river Sindhu, where lived pious men devoted to Jainism. Here ruled King Śūrasena of the Hūṇa family. He had a wife called Dhāriṇī. A Gandharva who was cursed by Devarāj (Indra) descended into her womb at midnight. At proper time the queen was delivered of a son at night. In the morning, when the king came to see his new-born son, nothing was actually there, and it was decided that a demoness had snatched it off. When, however, night fell, the same child was seen lying by the side of its mother. The friends of the queen then explained how

the child assumed the form of a donkey at the time of sunrise and wandered away. This happened every day and so the prince was called Gardabhasena. When he became sixteen years old, he was married to a princess called Senā whose father was compelled to give him his daughter because, otherwise, he threatened to cause disease and death to his people by his miraculous powers. Senā enjoyed the company of her husband for a long time, because he assumed a lovely human form when he entered the chambers of his wife, though he wandered in a donkey's form by day. One night Senā's friends, advised by her mother, burnt the donkey's form left outside the chamber, when suddenly the Gandharva appeared before Senā and explained to her how he was under a curse and how the curse was ended by her mother's action. While leaving, he consoled Senā by telling her that in her womb lay a child who was destined to be a sovereign ruler of the earth. All this had happened while Gardabhasena was at his father-in-law's house after the marriage. So when Senā's father heard about this prediction of his son-in-law through his queen, he decided to kill the child whom he regarded as his future enemy. When Senā learnt this, she forcibly ripped open her womb and took out the child and gave it to a flower-maid friend of hers for safety. She herself died in the process. The flower-maid then covered the child with flowers and went to Avanti. There the child grew in extreme poverty under her care. —DMV. Canto I.

SSV., I, Vv. 14-33, gives two different versions of Vikrama's origin. According to one, Vikrama was the son of Gandharvasena, king of Avanti, but born from a Brāhmaṇa widow whom he married and adopted her first son Bhartṛihara. According to the second, King

Gardabhilla of Avanti had two wives, Dhīmatī and Śrīmatī; from the first was born Bhartṛihara and from the second Vikrama. When on one occasion Vikrama was insulted by his brother Bhartṛihara who had succeeded to the throne after his father, he left the capital and wandered away on the earth. SSV. does not say anything about the family of Gardabhasena or Gardabhilla. PBS., P. 1, says, like Devamūrti, that Vikrama was born in the Hūṇa family from Gandharvasena. DMV.'s version is closely allied with the account given by Weber, *Indische Studien*, XV, Pp. 252-255, and EVA., Vol. 26, Pp. 263-266. Other works mentioned in the Sources above do not give any information about the origin of Vikrama. PBC. describes him only as a prince who was extremely poor from his very birth. See PBC., P. 1.

EPISODE II—VIKRAMA AT THE ROHAṆAGIRI

In his childhood, Vikrama studied different arts and was liked by all people owing to his noble and lovable qualities. On account of his lion-like valour and sun-like lustre, he was called Vikramāditya. He had a Brāhmaṇa friend who was the son of a Brāhmaṇa well versed in the *Atharvaveda,* but who had no liking for sacrifices and hence was called Bhaṭṭamātra. Once desiring to acquire riches, Vikrama left for the Rohaṇagiri with his friend Bhaṭṭamātra. When they reached a village called Saṅgara, the sun set and they stayed for the night at the house of a potter. At night, Bhaṭṭamātra learnt from the potter that the mountain yielded jewels to a high-born person (any person—PBC., PBS., SSV.) who struck it with a spade thrice after touching the head with the words 'ah alas'. Bhaṭṭamātra knew that Vikrama would not stoop to such a mean utterance

and therefore when they approached the mountain next day, he told Vikrama that he had just received the news of the death of Vikrama's mother (possibly the poet means the foster-mother, the flower-girl) from Avanti. On hearing this, Vikrama was grieved and struck his forehead saying 'ah alas' thrice. The spade dropped down from his hands and lo! as soon as the mountain was struck by it it delivered three precious jewels. Bhaṭṭamātra took them and then disclosed to his friend how he had merely resorted to a trick for inducing Vikrama to do the necessary gesture and how his mother had not really died. On hearing this, Vikrama took back the jewels and threw them on the mountain saying 'Fie upon the mountain Rohaṇa who gives jewels to the supplicants only after compelling them to utter a pitiable cry.'

—DMV., II, Vv. 1-56.

The story occurs in PBC., P. 1, almost in the same form, but directly starts with these words: 'A prince Vikrama, who was the storehouse of matchless venture, marked with auspicious signs on his body and full of virtues like action and valour, lived at Supratishṭhāna in the country of Avanti. He was never given to immoral behaviour, even when he suffered from extreme poverty, from his very birth. Unable to obtain riches by any other means, he once started for the Rohaṇa mountain with his friend Bhaṭṭamātra.' PBC. gives the name of the village near the mountain as Pravara. Also see PBS., P. 1, and SSV., I, Vv. 89-107.

EPISODE III—VIKRAMA AND AGNI-VETĀLA

When Vikrama returned from the Rohaṇa mountain, he heard an announcement that any one was welcome to occupy the throne of Avanti. On inquiry,

he learnt that this was so because every night the new occupant of the throne was killed by some invisible power, who had occupied it when left vacant after the death of the previous king, who was Bhartṛihara according to SSV. and Jitāri according to DMV. PBC. does not mention the previous king at all. Vikrama accepted the challenge and won the kingdom and the willing services of the invisible power, namely an Agni-Vetāla, by his venture and valour. For details of the story, see EVA., Vol. 26, Pp. 250-251.

—PBC., Pp. 2-3; DMV., II, Vv. 57-131; SSV., I, Vv. 40-84, 121-164; PBS., P. 1. Even KPP., P. 437, PBK., P. 83, 11.7-8, and KCK., P. 43, Vv. 65-68, seem to know Vikrama's association with some invisible power.

EPISODE IV—VIKRAMA AS A KING

A—ACQUISITION OF THE GOLD-MAN

Once upon a time while King Vikrama ruled the earth, a merchant called Dānta came to the court and reported how he was cheated by his astrologers and engineers at whose advice he built a new house but which was found to be haunted. Vikrama bought the house from the merchant and went and stayed there for the night. At midnight he heard a voice saying 'Let me fall', and said to it 'Do fall'. To his wonderment, he found that a brilliant Gold-man had fallen by his side. See also EVA., Vol. 26, P. 257.

—PBC., P. 5; DMV., III, 1-200.

There is also another version of the acquisition of the Gold-man by Vikrama; it is almost the same as the 31st story of the Siṁhāsana Tales in the main recension, for which see EVA., Vol. 26, P. 236, but with a different conclusion according to which Vikrama gets the Gold-

man instead of the eight Magic powers. SSV. gives only this version of the story at Canto V, Vv. 23-74. DMV. mentions this second version also in Canto XIV, Vv. 26-44, on the occasion of describing the origin of Vikrama's throne. Even PKC., P. 25, Vv. 90-92, and KPP., P. 438, L. 5, both mention the miraculous powers of Vikrama in the form of the Gold-man. KCK. does not mention the Gold-man, but says that Vikrama gave large gifts on account of 'three boons' received by him from Yaksharāja, *i. e.*, Kubera, whom he propitiated by means of his Sattva. See P. 43, V. 67. PBK., P. 83, similarly mentions the *suvarṇasiddhi and purushasiddhi* evidently meaning the Gold-man.

B. ACQUISITION OF THE FIVE-HANDLED UMBRELLA

This story of the Five-handled Umbrella is not mentioned in any of the earlier Prabandhas. It is first found in DMV.; then in RPP., SSV. and PDP. It probably belongs to the Jain tradition alone.

Once, while Vikrama was going along the royal road, he heard a young lady deprecating him for not possessing the five-handled umbrella. On going back to the palace, he sent for this lady, but her mother went to the court instead of her. This old woman undertook to explain to the king how the five-handled umbrella could be acquired if only he was prepared to carry out her *five* demands. On Vikrama's agreeing to do so, she gave out these commands. The first was to defeat her daughter Devadamanī in a play of chess and marry her. This the king achieved with the help of his Agni-Vetāla, who contrived to bring some token of her private affairs at Indra's court, the production of which by Vikrama confounded her and put her out of tune, with the result that she did not play well and was defeated,

Vikrama then married her and the old woman gave him her next, *i. e.*, second, command. She asked him to bring a valuable jewel-box from the palace of King Jayakarṇa of Tāmralipti. Vikrama did this and by the way married Jayakarṇa's daughter. The third command given to Vikrama was to go to Sopārạ and watch the doings of one Umādevī. With great adventure Vikrama finds that this Umādevī wanted to offer 64 human victims to the 64 Yoginīs who had given her a magic Daṇḍa in anticipation. These 64 victims included her own husband and King Vikrama himself. So when all preparations were made for the offering, Vikrama suddenly snatched off the magic Daṇḍa from her hands and ran away with it, being followed by Umādevī's husband and his 62 pupils. They all went to a deserted island where, however, there lay in the palace a young cat with its eyes filled with white collyrium. Vikrama went near the cat and by its direction put some black collyrium in its eyes which turned it into a lovely princess. This princess explained that she was the daughter of the king of that island and that she wanted to be married to King Vikrama. But a Vidyādhara, who was a devout Śaiva and had received a magic Daṇḍa from Lord Śiva by which he became invincible, desired to marry her by force, and that was why her father had to leave the island out of fear for him. She further said that the Vidyādhara was going to marry her on that night. Vikrama then lay in wait for him and when he came towards midnight and took out his magic Daṇḍa to worship it before marrying the princess, Vikrama took away that Daṇḍa and hit the Vidyādhara with it and killed him on the spot. The king of the island then returned and Vikrama was married to the princess duly. Afterwards, Vikrama returned to Sopāra to find

that Umādevī had been devoured by the Yoginīs who were disappointed. On this trip, Vikrama obtained two magic Daṇḍas: one from Umādevī and the other from the Vidyādhara. By her fourth command, the old woman compelled Vikrama to banish his minister Matisāra and to invite him again after six months. In this affair, the king secured a magic garden bearing fruit in all seasons. The fifth command of the old woman was to offer a Dāna to his own priest. The priest would not accept a gift from the king, who, therefore, loitered around his house at night to find out some flaw in his conduct by means of which he could compel him to accept the gift. At this time he saw Haritālī (or Hāralikā), a sister of Devadamanī waiting for her friends Jaittu, a flower-girl, and Gomatī, the daughter of his priest. They all had an appointment in the Nāgaloka at the marriage of a Nāgakanyā. They wanted to take some presents with them and wanted a labourer for this purpose. Just then Vikrama appeared before them and offered to go with them. They then proceeded to their destination. Haritālī struck the earth with her magic Vajra Daṇḍa and they all entered the Pātāla. Gomatī then subdued the snakes' poison by her Vishāpahara Daṇḍa and all the four went to the Nāgaloka. Here Vikrama substituted himself for the proposed bridegroom of the Nāgakanyā with the help of his Agni-Vetāla and, on disclosing his identity, also married the three above-mentioned girls. On hearing this, Nāgarāja also gave him his own daughter and a magic Daṇḍa called Maṇi-daṇḍa as the dowry. Thus on this occasion Vikrama won three more magic Daṇḍas. Then a fine five-handled umbrella was prepared for him with the five magic Daṇḍas which he had thus got.

—DMV., IV, Vv. 1-685.

This story is narrated with almost the same details by SSV. and PDP. There is only a slight difference in the order of the five commands. SSV.'s 1st command is about the jewel-chest of Jayakarṇa, 2nd about Umādevī's affairs, 3rd about Matisāra's banishment, 4th about his readmission and 5th about Vikrama's trip to the Nāgaloka. SSV. does not include the marriage with Devadamanī among the five commands as DMV. and PDP. do. PDP.'s first command is the same as DMV.'s; his 2nd relates to Umādevī, 3rd to Jayakarṇa's jewel-box, 4th to the minister's banishment and readmission, and 5th to the trip to the Nāgaloka. SSV. mentions the five Daṇḍas as Sarvarasa, Vajra, Vishāpahara, Bhū-sphoṭa and Maṇi; while PDP. calls them respectively Siddharasa, Vijaya, Vishāpahara, Ratna and Maṇi. DMV. does not give any names to the first two; but the last three are according to him Achalachālana, Vishāpahara and Maṇi. Further, SSV.'s fifth command is to offer gifts not to Vikrama's own priest but to deserving persons. In this connection he indulges in a diatribe against the Brāhmaṇas and concludes that the deserving persons are only the Jain ascetics; cf. SSV., IX, Vv. 561-582. According to his version the gifts were then offered to the Yatis, but they could not accept them and then they were distributed to the poor. Vikrama's trip to the Nāgaloka in this version takes place in his next daily round in the city after the dark. PDP. agrees with DMV. in this respect.

On the other hand, RPP. much differs from these three in the story of the Pañchadaṇḍa Chhatra. A magic Daṇḍa figures in his story even before Vikrama's meeting with the old lady. According to him, Vikrama was offended at the remark of a young lady in a house, and he sent his officers to chastise her just then and

there. They were, however, unable to harm her because they were not able to pass beyond a line drawn by her on the ground with her magic Daṇḍa. The king then returned to the palace and sent his men to her house seeking to get an explanation from some one in the house about the young lady's behaviour. The old mother then went to the court and hereafter the story proceeds as in the DMV. version upto the end of the 1st command. The 2nd and the 3rd commands of RPP. are about Umādevī of Sopāra and the jewel-box of Jayakarṇa as in PDP. But in respect of the 4th command RPP. entirely differs from the other three authors. His 4th command is to see what was happening in the house of one Dhanya in his capital. This Dhanya was an old man and was yet selected by a young girl called Ratnamañjarī as her husband. On the night when Vikrama visited her house she killed her husband in order to enjoy the company of a young and handsome robber who had broken into her house. On seeing this Vikrama killed the robber and went away. Next day, Ratnamañjarī died as a Satī with her husband and the robber. On being asked about her behaviour, she directed Vikrama to her sister Kochī Kāndavikā. Vikrama went to her, and at her bidding waited to see what was happening at her place during the night. When his own minister came there, he saw how she sent him along with himself to his own queen's palace with the help of a magic Daṇḍa. Vikrama was of course hidden in a box on which the minister was sent through the air. On going there, Vikrama saw how his queen was unfaithful to him; but without punishing her he returned with the minister, hidden in the box just as he had gone. Kochī Kāndavikā then gave him the magic Daṇḍa as a token of her favour. This same story is narrated by SSV., but

not in the same context. In Canto XI, he tells it to illustrate 'Womanly Ventures' (Vv. 207-585). A magic Daṇḍa does not however play a part in it; in its place we get a *lekhanī śubhā* (XI, V. 350). Again, the robber at Dhanya's house is not killed, but dies by a falling door (XI. 397). Vikrama, like a true Jaina, does not kill him ! In respect of the five Daṇḍas also, KPP. differs from the others. His five Daṇḍas seem to be :—(1) one with which Devadamanī baffled the king's officers in the beginning (I.20); (2) second and (3) third called Vijaya (II. 650) which Vikrama secured in his trip to Umādevī; (4) fourth which Kochī Kāndavikā gave him (IV.478); and (5) fifth which he received as a dowry from Nāgarāja in the Nāgaloka (V. 110). I was not able to find Dhanya's story in DMV.

C. ACQUISITION OF PARAPURAPRAVEŚA-VIDYĀ

Once Vikrama went out of his kingdom to study the lore of entering another's body by leaving one's own. He had with him his companion who was either a potter or a Brāhmaṇa. When he found out a Yogin who could teach it to him, he insisted that both he and his friend be initiated into the lore even though the Yogin warned him of the danger of this course. When they finished their study, they both returned to Avanti. Seeing a royal elephant (or horse) lying dead outside the city, Vikrama had a desire to test his recently acquired lore. So he entered the dead elephant's body. Just then his wily companion entered Vikrama's body, which was given in his charge for safe-keeping, and entered the city as the king. Seeing this treachery, the king in the elephant's body wandered away to the forest and on seeing a parrot's dead body lying with a fowler, he entered it and requested the fowler to take him to the capital and sell him to the

highest bidder. The fowler did accordingly and the king in the parrot's body somehow managed to reach the hands of his queen. She took great fancy for him even when she did not know that he was a king. (According to the PBK. and SSV. version, the queen was told about his plight by the king, but KPP. says that the king did not disclose it out of shame. DMV. agrees with KPP.) When once a cuckoo or a Gṛihagodhā was found dead, the king left the parrot's body, entered it and kept in hiding. The friend of the king who had treacherously entered his body was somehow induced to revive the dead parrot for the queen who had grown very miserable after his death. When the friend entered the dead parrot's body, the king at once resumed his own body and explained the whole situation to the inmates of the palace. The king, however, ultimately pardons his treacherous friend as behoves a true Jaina. PBK. brings in one more dead body namely of a goat which the friend finally entered when the king resumed his own body.

—KPP., P. 437; PBC., P. 6; PBK., P. 79; DMV., IX; SSV., XII. 347-385; PBS., P. 6.

D. ERECTION OF A FAME-PILLAR

One night, when the king was taking his usual rounds in the city, he decided to erect a Kīrti-Stambha or a Fame-Pillar next morning in order to commemorate his good works. Just then, being troubled by two fighting bulls he mounted upon a pillar of the house of a Brāhmaṇa nearby. The bulls struck at the same pillar which awoke the Brāhmaṇa. He came out and by chance saw that the moon's orb was obscured by Śukra and Guru in the sky. He roused his wife and explained to her how this forebode ill to the king and how he proposed to perform a Homa for preventing this. The

wife said that he need not care for the king who did not pay for the marriages of their seven daughters. When the king heard this, his pride was humbled and he gave up his idea of raising the Fame-Pillar in honour of himself. According to SSV., the king paid the necessary money to the Brāhmaṇa and then erected the Fame-Pillar. DMV. agrees with the PBC. version given above.

—PBC., Pp. 8-9; DMV., XII. 51-61; SSV., VII. 286-307.

E. IMITATION OF RĀMA

Vikrama once thought of imitating Rāma and asked the people to call him 'abhinava Rāma'. He then asked if anyone knew any unusual thing about Rāma which he himself did not do. Hearing this, a Brāhmaṇa from Kośala took the king to Kośala and directed him to dig at a particular place. When the king did so, a gold-roofed house was discovered wherein also a single shoe sewn with golden lace was found. The Brāhmaṇa explained that that was a shoemaker's house and that the shoe belonged to the shoemaker's young wife who was much fondled by her husband and who on one occasion left her husband's house being displeased with him. She went to her father's place having put on only one shoe in the disturbed state of her mind. Her father persuaded her to go back to her husband, but she said she would not go until Rāma himself came there and told her to go back. On hearing this, Rāma did go there and sent her to her husband's house. At the Brāhmaṇa's direction, the other shoe of the girl was discovered at her father's house which was excavated at a little distance from the first place.

—PBK., Pp. 81-83; SSV., X. 191-251; PBS., P. 9.

F. POVERTY-STATUE AND VIKRAMA'S SATTVA

Once a poor man visited Vikrama's court, complaining that he had an iron-statue of Poverty which could not be sold anywhere in his kingdom. This he said was a blot on the king's name, because he had heard that anything whether good or bad could be sold for a proper price in his capital. The king thereupon bought that statue and kept it in his treasury. During the same night, the presiding deities of elephants and horses as also the Goddess Lakshmī left the palace because of this. In the last part of the night, Vikrama's Sattva itself went to the king to take leave of him; but when the king saw that his Sattva was leaving him he prepared to kill himself. Sattva was pleased with this attitude of the king and agreed to stay on. Then the other deities also returned and stayed on with the king. For the story, cf. EVA., Vol. 26, P. 259.

—PBC., P. 5; DMV., XI. 170-205.

G. PALMIST AND THE SPOTTED INTESTINE

For the story, see EVA., Vol. 26, P. 256. This is given at PBC., P. 6, and DMV., XI. 206-235, also PBS., P. 10. A palmist was once greatly perturbed when he saw no auspicious signs of Royalty on Vikrama's body. The only thing which could make this possible was the possible existence of a spotted intestine on the right side. Vikrama, when he heard this, took a knife and was about to open his belly to verify but he was prevented from doing so by the astrologer who said that that courage was a sufficient indication of his Royalty.

H. VIKRAMA AND SĀTAVĀHANA

At Pratishṭhāna, there once lived two Brāhmaṇas with their widow sister. She went to the Godāvarī

one day for bathing, when a Nāga chief called Śesha was struck with her beauty and enjoyed her. At the time of leaving, the Nāga chief told her that she would bear a son from him who would be a great monarch and that she should call upon him whenever she would be in a difficulty. In course of time, a son was born who was called Sātavāhana by the people, as he in his childhood sports himself became a king and prepared artificial soldiers and army with clay and gave them to his friends. One day, an astrologer came to the court of Vikrama and foretold that Sātavāhana would be a king at Pratishṭhāna. In the meanwhile, Vikrama also heard a story about the wonderful intelligence of the boy Sātavāhana. Fearing him as his future rival, Vikrama attacked Pratishṭhāna. When Sātavāhana heard this, he prepared an army of clay while playing. He put life into these clay soldiers by the favour of the Nāgarāja and put that army in the field against King Vikrama. In the battle, Sātavāhana defeated Vikrama who fled away to his capital. According to another version, Vikrama died in this battle by an arrow of Sātavāhana.

—PBK., Pp. 66-68.

According to SSV.'s account (Canto II), Vikrama had married Sātavāhana's daughter from whom was born Vikramasena or Vikramacharitra. SSV. gives both the accounts given above about the battle of Vikrama with Sātavāhana. DMV. states that Sātavāhana's mother was one Manoramā, wife of Subhaṭa, a body-guard of King Siṁha of Pratishṭhāna. In other respects, DMV. agrees with the PBK. account.

—TRK., P. 59; PBK., Pp. 66-68; SSV., XI. 963-1003; DMV., XI. 1ff. See also EVA., Vol. 26, P. 200.

VIKRAMĀDITYA IN JAIN TRADITION

I. VIKRAMA'S DEATH

As said above, according to one account Vikrama died in his battle with Sātavāhana. But another version of the story of his death is that he returned defeated to his capital and then fell seriously ill. Crow's flesh was recommended to him by his physicians; but he refused to take it and died in a solitary place in the company of Siddhasena, like a devout Jaina. In this connection a Prākṛita verse is quoted, according to which Vikrama did eat crow's flesh but was not cured.

—PBC., P. 9; DMV., XIII. 1-242; SSV., XI. 963-1008.

EPISODE V—VIKRĀMA AS A JAIN MONARCH

Vikrama is repeatedly mentioned in association with the Jain Yati Siddhasena Divākara in the Jain tradition. But in one or two places, Vikrama is mentioned even as a contemporary of Siddhasena's Guru Jīvadevasūri. At some places, Vikrama is mentioned as the pious repairer of Jain holy places and temples. Thus at PKC., P. 43, V. 77, he is said to have brought about the repairs of the Bhṛigupura Tīrtha. At PKC., P. 49, Vv. 71-75, and PBK., P. 8, Vikrama is stated to have sent his minister Nimba (or Limba) to Vāyaṭa Grāma for helping poverty-stricken men and for causing repairs to the Mahāvīra temple at that place. On this occasion, the golden pitcher and the flag were restored by him at the hands of Jīvadevasūri. TRK., P. 2, describes Vikrama as the Uddhārakartā of the Śatruñjaya-tīrtha. But the usual topic which the Jain authors describe in details is Vikrama's meeting with Siddhasena when the latter gave a blessing to a mental homage paid by the former, and when the latter is said to have performed a miracle of showing an image of Pārśvanātha

coming out of the Śiva-liṅga at the Mahākāla temple. For the full account, see EVA., Vol. 26, Pp. 251-254.

—PKC., P. 56, Vv. 61-65; P. 58, Vv. 121-152; PBC., P. 7; TRK., Pp. 88-89; PBK., Pp. 16-17, 19, 20; DMV., Canto VII; SSV., Cantos V and VI.

In this connection, some of these works quote a verse *punne vāsa* etc., according to which Vikrama once asked Siddhasena: 'Would there be a Jain king like me in future?' and Siddhasena replied that after 1199 years there would be the Jain king Kumārapāla. As I have said in Para I of the Sources, this verse marks the real origin of the Jain adoption of King Vikrama into their fold.

—PBC., P. 8; TRK., P. 89; PBK., Pp. 16-17.

EPISODE VI—SIṀHĀSANA TALES

It would appear that according to the purely Jain tradition the Siṁhāsana Tales were only four. Thus PBK., PBS. and SSV. give only four Siṁhāsana Tales, and not thirty-two as Devamūrti gives, following very probably the Non-Jain tradition. This original group of the four Tales definitely comprised the two stories, namely, one which describes Vikrama's acquisition of the Parapurapraveśa-vidyā (see above Episode IV C) and the other which describes his trip to a princess who would marry only the person who would compel her to speak by means of four stories during a night. This second Tale also contains four subsidiary stories told to Vikrama by his Vetāla (or, by Vikrama to Vetāla) which certainly represents the original form of the Vetāla stories according to the Jain tradition.

After the death of Vikrama, his son Vikramasena (or, Vikramacharitra according to SSV.) attempted to

ascend his father's throne. At that time, the four wooden statues carved in the throne prevented him from doing so, saying that only a great king like Vikrama could occupy that throne. On being questioned, each of these four statues told a story of Vikrama's unparalleled greatness. In addition to the two stories mentioned above (the second will be given below), SSV. gives (1) the story of a Brāhmaṇa girl Rukmiṇī who was married to a god, a king, and the Takshaka Nāga and was claimed by all the three, the correct judgement being given by Vikrama when the matter was referred to him by a Paṇḍita at his court; and (2) the story of the magician who startled Vikrama by creating a woman whom he claimed as his wife, making her burn herself in the presence of all and finally bringing her back to life out of Vikrama's own harem. This last is Story No. 30 of the Siṁhāsana Tales, for which see EVA., Vol. 26, P. 235. On the other hand, PBK. gives Stories Nos. 15 and 17 of the Siṁhāsana Tales (for which see EVA., Vol. 26, Pp. 144 and 154) in place of these last two stories of SSV.

DMV.'s treatment of the Siṁhāsana Tales entirely differs from that of PBK. and SSV. DMV. assigns a separate canto to them like SSV., but instead of four, he gives thirty-two Tales. As an introduction, he gives the story of the 'Gold-man' in the second version (See above Episode IV A) and the story of the gift of that Siṁhāsana by Indra to Vikrama. He then proceeds to narrate the thirty-two Tales almost as they are given at EVA. (in the Jain Recension). The following are the exceptions: In place of Story 24, DMV. has the story of a merchant who had four sons. After the death of their father, they propitiated a Rākshasa who gave them a gold-filled chamber every month after receiving a human victim from them. On hearing this, Vikram

pleased the Rākshasa by his supreme sacrifice and compelled him to grant the gold-filled chamber to the merchant's sons without receiving a human victim. In place of Story 29, DMV. has a slightly different story. Here we get EVA.'s Story 24, but with the substitution of King Vairisiṁha of Kāñchī for Sātavāhana. In Story 30, we get the account of Vikrama as harassed by Śani, when a pearl necklace was swallowed by a peg. In Story 31 we get the story of the Clever Mountebank, for which cf. EVA., Vol. 26, P. 235 (where it is Story No. 30). In Story No. 32 we get the account of Vikrama's trip to Bali's kingdom for testing a jewel. This story is said to be outside the tradition of the Jainas by PBK., P. 83. See Para 6 above.

The story of Vikrama's trip to a princess, including the four sub-stories of Vetāla, is given by all the authors who refer to the Siṁhāsana Tales, namely PBK., PBS., DMV. and SSV. The differences are slight. PBK., PBS. and DMV. say that the name of the princess was Līlādevī who lived in the kingdom of women. Their story is as follows :—She declared that she would marry any one who would make her speak four times by telling four stories in the course of a night. Vikrama succeeded in doing this with the help of his Vetāla who told him four stories to pass away the time while they both waited by the side of the princess's bed. These four stories presented intellectual puzzles and interested the sleeping princess who therefore gave the correct answer to the puzzles. In the matter of these four tales, PBK. on the one hand and DMV. and SSV. on the other differ from each other; the former makes the Vetāla the narrator of them while the latter make the king the narrator and the Vetāla the hearer. These four stories according to PBK are (1) the story of a girl whom four

men wanted to marry and who died suddenly, but was revived by a Yogin; the question was who was entitled to marry her; (2) the story of a son whom three different persons claimed and the question was to whom did he rightly belong (this is the 19th Vetāla story of the *Vetālapañchaviṁśati*); (3) the story of a girl who was claimed by two men whose heads were severed, but afterwards wrongly fixed at the time of their revival by the favour of a god; the question was to whom did she belong as a wife; and lastly (4) the story of a wooden doll who was shaped, adorned, clothed and animated respectively by four friends during their respective watches at night on a journey; the question was to whom did she rightfully belong. Of these stories, Nos. (1) and (3) are the 2nd and 6th of the *Vetālapāñchaviṁśati* stories as given in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (N. S. P. ed., Pp. 465-536). DMV. narrates this story of Vikrama's trip to the Princess Līlādevī of the kingdom of women in Canto VI of his poem and not in the midst of his Siṁhāsana Tales. His version of the story closely follows that of PBK. On the other hand SSV. narrates this as a Siṁhāsana Tale like PBK., but his version slightly differs; the name of the princess is Surasundarī and not Līlādevī. She was the daughter of King Bhīma of Śrīpura in the country of Tilaṅga. The four Vetāla Tales according to SSV. are also slightly different. He puts Story No. (4) given above in the second place. His Nos. (1) and (3) are the same as above, while in the 4th place, SSV. gives the story of a loyal servant who died for his king, his parents for him, and the king for all these. The question was who was the bravest among them all. This last story is the 4th of the Vetāla stories as given in the *Kathāsaritsāgara.*

Thus there can be no doubt that the original tradition of the Jainas had only four stories in connection with the Siṁhāsana and not thirty-two; similarly, it knew only four stories presenting intellectual puzzles associated with the name of the Vetāla, and not twenty-five. Only later Jain authors adopted the recension of the thirty-two Siṁhāsana Tales and twenty-five Vetāla Tales. DMV. was probably the first Jain author who adopted the thirty-two stories in the Jain recension.

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623 The heading of the article should be emended as SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN THE WORKS OF KALIDASA.

GENERAL.—The names of all the Gupta emperors are to be separated from their suffix 'Gupta' and read as Chandra Gupta, Samudra Gupta, Kumāra Gupta, Skanda Gupta, etc.